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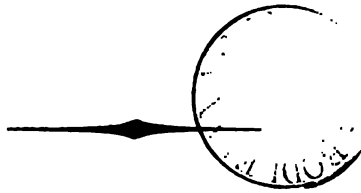
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# CONTENTS

OF

No. 225.

ART.	Page
I.—1. Travels in Peru and India, while superintending the Collection of Chinchona Plants and Seeds in South America, and their Introduction into India. By Clements R. Markham, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. London, 1862.	
2. Cuzco and Lima: a Visit to the Capital and Provinces of Modern Peru. By Clements R. Markham, F.R.G.S. London, 1856.	
3. Travels in Peru and Mexico. By S. S. Hill, Author of 'Travels in Siberia,' &c. London, 1860.	
4. Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Equador, Peru, and Chili. By William Bollaert, F.R.G.S. London, 1860 - - -	1
II.—1. Papers by the Central Society of Education. London, 1837.	
2. The History of Adult Education, &c. By J. W. Hudson, Ph.D. London, 1851.	
3. An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions; and especially how far they may be developed and combined so as to promote the moral well-being and industry of the country. By James Hole, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutions. Published under the sanction of the Society of Arts. London, 1853.	
4. Middle Class Education and Class Instruction in Mechanics' Institutions, considered in two Reports of the Society of Arts; with Extracts from the Evidence received by a Committee appointed by the Council of the Society. Published by the Society of Arts. London, 1857.	
5. Handbook of Mechanics' Institutions. By W. H. J. Traice. London, 1856.	
6. Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes. Leeds, 1861.	
7. Social Science; being Selections from John Cassell's Prize Essays by Working Men and Women. With Notes. London, 1861 - - - - -	34

ART.		Page
III.—1.	History of the Russian Empire. By N. Karamzin. St. Petersburg, 1842.	
2.	History of Russia. By S. Solovief. Moscow, 1858.	
3.	The Provincial Institutions of Russia in the Seventeenth Century. By B. Chicherin. Moscow, 1856.	
4.	The Russian People and State. By W. Leshkof. Moscow, 1858.	
5.	The Peasants of Russia. By N. Beliaief. Moscow, 1860.	
6.	The Works of Constantine Aksakof. Moscow, 1861.	
7.	Extracts from Russian History by Solovief, in the 'Ruski Vestnik,' or Russian Messenger. Moscow, 1861-2.	
8.	Articles on the Ancient Polity of Russia by Stchapof, in the 'Vek,' or Age. St. Petersburg, 1862.	
9.	Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation en Russie. By N. de Gorebtzof. Paris, 1858.	
10.	Cours de Littérature Slave. By A. Miçkiewicz. Paris, 1860.	
11.	Des Réformes en Russie. By Prince P. Dolgorukof. Paris, 1862.	
12.	The Russians at Home. By Sutherland Edwards. London, 1861 - - - - -	60
IV.—1.	The New Testament in the Original Greek; with Notes and Introductions. By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. New Edition, revised and enlarged. 1861.	
2.	The Greek Testament; with Critical Revised Text. By Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury. 4th Edition. 1859.	
3.	A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles; with a Revised Translation. By C. J. Ellicott, B.D. 2nd Edition. 1861.	
4.	St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Ephesians, and Galatians. By C. J. Ellicott, B.D. - - -	95
V.—1.	Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons on the Discipline and Management of Pentonville, Millbank, and Parkhurst Prisons, and of Portland, Portsmouth, Dartmoor, Chatham, and Brixton Prisons, with Fulham Refuge and the Invalid Prison at Lewes, for the Years 1854-1861. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1855-1862.	
2.	Annual Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland for the Years ended 1854-1861. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1855-1862.	



Act.		Page
	3. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Costs of Prosecutions, the Expenses of Coroners' Inquests, &c.; together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1859.	
	4. Report from the Select Committee on Prosecution Expenses; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th July, 1862. London, 1862.	
	5. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Provisions and Operation of the Act 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 99, and to Report thereon to the House; together with the Minutes, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th July, 1856.	
	6. First, Second, and Third Reports from the Select Committee on Transportation; together with Minutes, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London, 1856.	
	7. Report of a Visit to the Convict Establishments in Ireland. By the Stipendiary Manager appointed under the Prisons' (Scotland) Administration Act (J. Hill Burton, Esq.). Edinburgh, 1862.	
	8. Observations on the Treatment of Convicts in Ireland; with some Remarks on the same in England. By Four Visiting Justices of the West Riding Prison at Wakefield. London, 1862.	
	9. The Prison Chaplain: a Memoir of the Rev. John Clay, B.D., late Chaplain of the Proston Gaol; with Selections from his Reports. By his Son, the Rev. Walter Lowe Clay, M.A. Cambridge and London, 1861.	
	10. Our Convict Systems. By the Rev. W. L. Clay, M.A., Author of 'The Prison Chaplain.' Cambridge and London, 1862.	
	11. Female Life in Prison. By a Prison Matron. Second Edition, Revised. 2 Vols. London, 1862.	
	12. The Immunity of Habitual Criminals; with a Proposition for Reducing their Number by means of Longer Sentences of Penal Servitude, Intermediate Convict Prisons, Conditional Liberation, and Police Supervision. By Captain Walter Crofton, C.B., Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. 2nd Edition. London, 1861 - - - - 138	
VI.—1.	South Kensington Museum. Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages, and Period of the Revival of Art. 1862.	

ART.	Page
2. Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediæval, Renaissance, and more Recent Periods, on Loan at the South Kensington Museum. June, 1862. 5 Parts. Edited by J. C. Robinson, F.S.A. - - - - -	176
VII.—Christopher North : a Memoir of John Wilson. By his Daughter. Edinburgh, 1862 - - - - -	208
VIII.—Miscellanies. Collected and edited by Earl Stanhope. London, 1863 - - - - -	241
IX.—Speeches of Mr. Cobden, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Disraeli, on the Last Night of the Session, August 1, 1862. Hansard, London, 1862 - - - - -	253

# CONTENTS

OF

No. 226.

Art.	Page
I.—1. The Progress and Present State of British India; a Manual for General Use, based on Official Documents furnished under the authority of the Secretary of State for India. By Montgomery Martin, Author of 'History of the British Colonies,' 'Indian Empire,' 'China,' &c. London, 1862.	
2. Rural Life in Bengal, illustrative of Anglo-Indian Suburban Life; more particularly in connexion with the Planters and Peasantry; the varied Produce of the Soil; with copious Details of the Culture and Manufacture of Indigo. Letters from an Artist to his Sisters in England. By the Author of 'Anglo-Indian Domestic Life,' &c. London, 1860.	
3. Letter to Lord Stanley on the Dearth of Cotton, and the Capability of India to supply the Quantity required. By W. F. Fergusson, Agent for the Landholders' and Commercial Association of British India. London, 1863.	
4. A Letter to the Lord Stanley, M.P., &c., on the Policy of the Secretary of State for India. By John Dickinson, F.R.A.S., &c., Chairman of the India Reform Society. London, 1863 - - -	289
II.—1. My Diary North and South. By William Howard Russell. 2 vols.	
2. Eighty Years' Progress of the United States—showing the various channels through which the People of the United States have risen from a British Colony to their present National Importance, &c. &c. 2 vols. New York. Worcester, Mass. London.	
3. Our Whole Country; or, the Past and Present of the United States, Historical and Descriptive; containing General and Local Histories of each of the States, &c.; also Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Persons, &c.; with a large and varied Collection of interesting and valuable Information, &c. Illustrated by 600 engravings. By John Warner Barber, Author of 'Historical Collections of Connecticut and Massachusetts,' &c.; and Henry Howe,	

ART.	Page
Author of 'Hist. Coll. of Virginia, Ohio, and the Great West,' 2 vols. Cincinnati. London.	
4. The National Almanac and Annual Record for the Year 1863. Philadelphia: J. W. Childs. London. Trübner.	
5. The South Vindicated. By the Hon. James Williams, late American Minister to Turkey. With an Introduction by John Baker Hopkins. London.	
6. The Second War of Independence in America. By E. M. Hudson, late Acting Secretary of Legation to the American Mission to the Court of Prussia, &c., &c. Translated by the Author from the Second enlarged and revised German Edition. With an Introduction by Bolling A. Pope. London.	
7. The Rebellion Record: a Diary of American Events. Edited by Frank Moore, Author of 'Diary of the American Revolution.' New York. London.	
8. Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army: being a Narrative of Personal Adventures in the Infantry, Ordnance, Cavalry, Courier, and Hospital Services; with an Exhibition of the Power, Purposes, Earnestness, Military Despotism, and Demoralisation of the South. By an Impressed New Yorker. London	322
III.—The English Cyclopædia: a New Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Conducted by Charles Knight. 22 Vols. 4to. London, 1861	- - - 354
IV.—1. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Salmon Fisheries of England and Wales. 1861.	
2. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire whether, having regard to the rights of property of the Crown and individuals in the Salmon Fishings on the Sea-coasts and in Rivers and Estuaries in Scotland, it is just and expedient that any and what Legislation should take place for the Regulation of such Fishings, &c. 1860.	
3. The Natural History of the Salmon, as ascertained by the recent experiments in the artificial spawning and hatching of the ova and rearing of the fry at Stormontfield on the Tay. By William Brown. Glasgow, 1862.	
4. The Natural History and Habits of the Salmon; with reasons for the decline of the Fisheries, &c. By Andrew Young. London, 1854.	
5. Fish-Culture: a practical Guide to the modern system of Breeding and Rearing Fish. By Francis Francis. London, 1863.	

Art.	Page
6. View of the Salmon Fishery of Scotland; with Observations on the Nature, Habits, and Instincts of the Salmon. By the late Murdo M'Kenzie, Esq. Edinburgh, 1860.	
7. The Tweed Fisheries Acts, 1857 and 1859.	
8. The Irish Fishery Laws: a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel. By William Sinclair. London, 1863.	
9. Some Remarks upon Mr. M'Mahon's Bill. By Wm. Lysaght. London, 1863.	
10. Second Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries (England). 1863.	
11. Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. IX. Art. 'Fisheries.' Edinburgh, 1855 - - - - -	388
V.—1. The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined. By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part II. 1863.	
2. An Introduction to the Old Testament. By S. Davidson, D.D. Vols. I. and II., 1862; Vol. III., 1863.	
3. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Von F. Block. 1860.	
4. Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung. Von Dr. H. Hupfeld. 1853.	
5. Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Von H. Ewald. 1843-1862.	
6. Commentar über die Genesis. Von F. Delitzsch. 3rd edition. 1860 - - - - -	422
VI.—1. Russia for the Russians, and Poland for the Poles. By S. Sulima. Leipzig and London, 1863.	
2. La Question Polonaise-Russe. Par P. Schebalski. Leipzig, 1862.	
3. Geschichte des Revolutionszeit. Von H. von Sybel. Düsseldorf, 1860.	
4. Poland: A Letter to the Earl of Ellenborough. By General Count Zamoisky. London, 1861.	
5. Nationalities of Europe. By R. J. Latham, M.D. London, 1863 - - - - -	448
VII.—1. Lady Audley's Secret. By M. E. Braddon. 3 vols. Seventh edition. 1862.	
2. Aurora Floyd. By M. E. Braddon. 3 vols. Second edition. 1863.	
3. No Name. By Wilkie Collins. 3 vols. 1862.	
4. Recommended to Mercy. 3 vols. 1862.	
5. Such Things are. By the Author of 'Recommended to Mercy.' 3 vols. 1862.	

Art.		Page
6.	The Last Days of a Bachelor. By James M'Grigor Allan. 2 vols. 1862.	
7.	Nobly False. By James M'Grigor Allan. 2 vols. 1863.	
8.	The Law of Divorce. By a Graduate of Oxford. 1861.	
9.	Wait and Hope. By John Edmund Reade. 3 vols. 1859.	
10.	The Old Roman Well. 2 vols. 1861.	
11.	Miriam May. Third edition. 1860.	
12.	Crispin Ken. By the Author of 'Miriam May.' 2 vols. Third edition. 1861.	
13.	Philip Paternoster. By an Ex-Puseyite. 2 vols. 1858.	
14.	The Weird of the Wentworths. By Johannes Sootus. 2 vols. 1862.	
15.	Passages in the Life of a Fast Young Lady. By Mrs. Grey. 3 vols. 1862.	
16.	Only a Woman. By Captain Lascelles Wraxall. 3 vols. 1860.	
17.	Harold Overdon. By Chartley Castle. 1862.	
18.	Liberty Hall, Oxon. By W. Winwood Reade. 3 vols. 1860.	
19.	Danesbury House. By Mrs. Henry Wood. 1861.	
20.	The Daily Governess. By Mrs. Gordon Smythies. 3 vols. 1861.	
21.	The Woman of Spirit. 2 vols. 1862.	
22.	Clinton Maynyard, a Tale of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. 1862.	
23.	Spurs and Skirts. By Allet, 1862.	
24.	Ashcombe Churchyard. By Evelyn Benson. 2 vols. 1862	
	- - - - -	481
VIII.—	The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Edinburgh and London, 1863	
	- - - - -	514

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *Travels in Peru and India, while superintending the Collection of Chinchona Plants and Seeds in South America, and their Introduction into India.* By Clements R. Markham, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. London, 1862.
2. *Cuzco and Lima: a Visit to the Capital and Provinces of Modern Peru.* By Clements R. Markham, F.R.G.S. London, 1856.
3. *Travels in Peru and Mexico.* By S. S. Hill, Author of 'Travels in Siberia,' &c. London, 1860.
4. *Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Equador, Peru, and Chili.* By William Bollaert, F.R.G.S. London, 1860.

WHEN the Spaniards first landed upon that part of the American continent which bore the name of Peru, it comprehended the whole of that enormous territory west of the Andes, from the second degree north, to the seventh degree of south latitude, and included the valleys and table-lands lying between the great mountain-chains, with certain tracts east of the Andes, constituting the whole of that vast region now subdivided into the five States of New Granada, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chili, and Peru. It extended for 4000 miles in a straight line, and varied in breadth from 300 to 400 miles. These Republics now occupy the territory of a great native empire, and its inhabitants tread on the dust of an ancient people, whose government was in every respect the most complete contrast to their own. Immobility was its characteristic, and that attribute is stamped on all the great public structures which have survived the ravages of time; for they exhibit a cyclopean architecture as vast as that of Babylon, and almost as solid as that of Rome. A state of turbulence constantly verging upon anarchy has been inflicted on the descendants of the men who destroyed a mighty empire which, if despotic in its form, was paternal in its aspect, and certainly made the welfare of its subjects the primary object of its care; for this great monarchy fell not from the effects of any internal corruption, but it became the prey of a gang of rogues, plunderers, and ferocious bravoës, such as probably never before or since disgraced the flag of a Christian State.



Of the different fragments into which this great political edifice was broken, modern Peru is perhaps the most interesting, if not the most important. It has long suffered, and we fear still suffers, from great misgovernment, but it abounds in the elements of wealth, and many of its most important material interests are connected with those of England. We propose, therefore, to avail ourselves of the opportunity which the publication of Mr. Markham's work presents, to bring before our readers some of the principal features of a country which he has recently explored, for a purpose to which we shall hereafter refer.

The civilisation which Peru had attained when it first became known to the Spaniards is sketched by Robertson, and more minutely delineated in the attractive and popular pages of Prescott. The government may be described as a system of imperialism associated with communism. The sovereign was supreme and irresponsible; and, like the Emperor of China, he was regarded as the vicegerent, almost as an impersonation, of the Deity. A redistribution of the soil was made every year, and it was proportioned to the wants of every individual. Labour was enforced on all for the benefit of all. Idleness was not only reprobated as a vice, but punished as a crime. Marriage was obligatory on all. The subject worked more for the community than for himself. A system of organised labour provided for the construction of great public works; and magazines were established for the support of the people in case their ordinary resources failed. The country was exempt from the two greatest afflictions of modern society—pauperism and war. No powerful and ambitious neighbour disturbed its repose; the only enterprises undertaken were against the wild frontier tribes, and their only object was to bring savages under the civilising rule of a beneficent despotism. Not a beggar was to be seen within the limits of the empire. Under this peculiar system if no one could be poor, no one could grow rich. Competition, the main-spring of modern progress, was unknown; a monotonous uniformity, compatible with much happiness but destructive of individual self-reliance, must thus have constituted the normal condition of the ancient Peruvian nation under a government to which they are represented as having been devotedly attached.

No writer has yet thrown any clear light on the origin of this peculiar civilisation, or has been able to pronounce positively whether it was self-originated or derived. Either Japan or China, however, probably first moulded the institutions of the Incas. Junks have been often blown upon the western coast of South America and wrecked; and it is conceivable that although the first communication between the countries was  
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thus accidental, an intercourse of some kind may at a very early period have been established between them. There are traces of this early connexion between China and Peru in some ancient ceremonial observances. Thus the remarkable annual solemnity in which the Emperor of China recognises the importance of agriculture, had an almost exact counterpart in an observance of the Peruvian sovereigns. A sod was annually turned at a stated season by the monarch, who guided a golden plough, and the day was kept as a public festival and passed in general rejoicing.

There was, however, an earlier civilisation in Peru than that which is supposed to have been introduced by the Incas. Near Lake Titicaca, and 12,930 feet above the level of the sea, are still to be seen the ruins of vast edifices which must have belonged to a people considerably advanced in the arts of life. These consist of immense monolithic doorways and masses of hewn stone, on which the Incas themselves are said to have gazed with astonishment. Colossal male and female figures, crowned with turbans, indicate a people very different from the population of Peru under the Incas, and the very curious sculpture, together with its minute detail and high finish, points to another phase of civilisation, if not to a separate race. It is remarkable that this very ancient civilisation should have had its seat in a region so elevated as not to be very propitious either to the respiration of man or to cereal production, being a plain, almost constantly frozen, 135 feet above the lake. Some subsequent upheaval of the country has probably changed its climatic condition. The remains of the great temple and city of Pachacamac, near Lima, afford additional evidence of the remote civilisation of Peru. On a conical hill, 458 feet above the level of the sea, are the ruins of a temple, which, if the stories of the Spaniards are to be believed, must have even surpassed in splendour the more celebrated Temple of the Sun at Cuzco. It was built of sun-dried bricks, but all the riches of the country must have been lavished upon its interior decoration. The massive doors were plated with gold and studded with precious stones. It was dedicated to Pachacamac;\* and, as it contained no image or representation of the Deity, a pure and simple Theism is supposed to have been the primitive religion of Peru, which was afterwards corrupted by the Incas into an idolatrous worship of the sun. They are said not to have ventured at first to demolish this great temple, or to pollute it by the introduction of any visible symbol of the Godhead, but to

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\* *Pacha* signified in the ancient language of Peru 'the Creator'; *Cama* 'the Earth.'

have built by its side another temple dedicated to the Sun, to whose worship they hoped gradually to convert the conquered race.

The ancient empire of Peru contained a population of 30,000,000 souls, and the country was cultivated in a manner of which China now affords the only example. Sandy plains were rendered fertile by irrigation, and mountain-steeps from which the llama could have scarcely picked its scanty food, were shaped into terraces, and tilled with elaborate care. The *andeneria*, as they were termed by the Spaniards, rose one above another, tier over tier, up the steepest acclivities of the hills. No ground was neglected on which a blade of corn would grow; and harvests waved on heights now visited only by the condor and the eagle. When subsistence was secured taste was gratified. The hanging gardens of the Andes were the delight of a people who, by fixing their habitations in the most picturesque situations, evidently appreciated the scenic grandeur of their country. The palaces of an ancient nobility are yet to be discovered by their crumbling walls, in places now rarely trodden by the foot of man, and where the jungle has for ages effaced every trace of former cultivation. Boundary stones indicating a very minute subdivision of the land are still to be met with in every part of Peru; and innumerable huacas, or vast burial-mounds, attest the former populousness of the country. The western coast, once one of the most populous and productive districts of the empire, is now, with the exception of a few valleys, a desert; and these valleys, which open upon the Pacific, do not now contain a tenth part of their former population. The valley of Santa, for instance, once maintained 700,000 inhabitants; the number does not now exceed 12,000. There were once in the valley of Ancullama, in the Province of Chancay, 30,000 individuals who paid tribute; there are now only 425 people, of whom 320 are negroes. The city of Cuzco, which numbered 200,000 inhabitants at the time of the Spanish conquest, now contains only 20,000. A vast territory, extending from the Amazon to the Andes, and from the shore of the Pacific to the sources of the Paraguay, is now almost as depopulated as if it had been smitten by a destroying angel, or had fallen under the scourge of a Genghis Khan.

The representations of the conquerors of Peru must of course be received with considerable reserve. They were thrown into a state of temporary delirium by the wonderful wealth that met their eyes on every side. In a country which possessed no external commerce, and where money was unknown, gold and silver could have been valued only as ministering to luxury, or as applicable to ornament and to the arts. It is quite credible, therefore,  
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that the royal gardens at Cuzco possessed fountains of solid gold, and imitations in gold and silver of flowers, fruits, insects, animals, and birds. Vases and statues of gold on every side presented themselves to the excited Spaniards; but when they pretend to describe funeral piles constructed of golden faggots, and vast granaries bursting with a plethora of gold-dust, we may be certain that they have wandered into the regions of romance. No object so much excited their cupidity as the magnificent golden plate which symbolized the Peruvian Deity in the great temple at Cuzco, and which, sparkling with the finest emeralds, was placed to catch the first rays of the sun as it rose above the mountains and to fill the edifice with dazzling light. This sacred emblem, before which millions had bowed in adoration, fell by lot to one of the adventurers, by whom it was afterwards lost in play. It was ultimately broken up by the military ruffians, who plundered indiscriminately temples, palaces, and tombs.\*

The administration of Spain in Peru resembled that of her other great Transatlantic dependencies. The viceroalties of the New World were often conferred on men of honour and humanity, but they were the instruments of a policy adapted only to ruin a colony, and eventually to impoverish the empire itself. If the highest appointments of the Crown were generally conscientiously made, this cannot be said of the inferior offices; and of all the South American viceroalties, Peru was the one which most excited the cupidity of parvenues and adventurers. It was pre-eminently the land of gold. Every ruined spendthrift and needy grandee looked to it as a place wherein to repair his shattered fortune. Even the Church was often recruited from persons notorious either for their incapacity or their vices; and it was not uncommon for the degenerate member of some noble family, whose conduct had brought reproach upon its name, to undergo a sudden conversion, and to be at once transformed into a colonial bishop or a dean. The riches of the country were believed to be inexhaustible. There was no necessity to dig the earth, or to grope in the beds of streams, or to undergo any other exhausting toil; the labour of thirty millions of human beings, reduced to a condition of practical slavery, was to be commanded for the production of gold.

It is asserted by Robertson, and his statement has been repeated by subsequent writers, that the humane laws which were framed by the great Council of the Indies for the protection of the natives of South America negative the common belief that

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\* The late General Miller ascertained this curious fact from the archives of Cuzco.

they were subject to the revolting cruelties which have been generally imputed to the first settlers in the New World. The rapid depopulation of the country can, however, be accounted for in no other way. The regulations which emanated from Spain were certainly intended to protect the Indians from colonial oppression; but the edicts were rarely put in force, and the provincial magistrates, who were themselves often the greatest offenders, possessed an efficacious mode of blinding the eyes and shutting the ears even of the members of that august court, with many of whom they were generally believed to have had secret relations. The 'mita,' or system of forced labour, caused that unprecedented consumption of human life in Peru, which has reduced the country to its present depopulated state. The mines had been worked for ages by a system of forced labour under native dynasties, but it was regulated by justice and humanity. No toil was allowed that proved injurious to health, and the hours of labour were limited. The demand made by their new masters upon the industry of the Indians was enforced without measure and without mercy, and it was as efficacious in depopulating the country as if it had been visited by the united plagues of pestilence, famine, and the sword.

The number of inhabitants in that portion of the ancient empire of the Incas which now constitutes Peru, has been computed to have once amounted to ten millions. At the close of the eighteenth century it had fallen to less than two millions. We had occasion in a recent Article\* to notice a system practised by the petty chiefs of Borneo called the 'serra,' or forced trade, in which the head man of a district enters another district, and compels its inhabitants to purchase goods at exorbitant prices. The same form of oppression was practised by Europeans in Peru. The 'reparto' resembled the 'serra' of Borneo. Merchants and traders were allowed the privilege, for which they doubtless paid highly, of entering any Indian village, and forcing the people to buy their goods, whether they required them or not. The refuse of warehouses and all the unsaleable articles which encumbered the shops of Lima and Cuzco were thus imported into the mining districts and thrust upon unwilling purchasers. Damaged velvets and tawdry brocades were offered to Indians who required only a covering of coarse baize; men were requested to buy silk stockings who passed their lives in the beds of rivers searching for gold; spectacles were thrust upon youths who were gifted with the eyes of eagles, razors upon those who had no beards, and books upon people who were

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\* 'Quarterly Review,' No. 222, p. 499.

unable to read. The vampires of the State sucked the blood of the unhappy Indian during his life, and the vultures of the Church preyed upon his corpse. A funeral, furnished by the priest, wax lights and masses, consummated the work of plunder, consumed the little property that remained, and made his widow homeless and his children beggars. It is easy to account for the intensity of the hatred which induced the Indians to sympathise with the Creoles in their revolt from the mother country, and to fight furiously in their cause against Spain.

Of all the great officers of the Spanish Crown, the Viceroy of Peru were the most magnificent, but they were beset with temptations almost too great for humanity. The instant one of these great functionaries set his foot in Peru, he was surrounded with greater pomp than his sovereign, and he received a homage rarely bestowed on the greatest of kings. Alcaldes crowded round him and vied for the honour of holding his stirrup and helping him to his horse; governors of provinces supported the golden canopy under which he walked in state; flowers were strewn in his path; and the grossest forms of adulation met his ear; for he could make or mar the fortune of any man in his viceroyalty. One act of homage paid to one of these great functionaries is highly characteristic. On the occasion of his public entry into Lima, the streets through which he passed were paved with silver ingots of the value (it is alleged) of sixteen million pounds. The revolt of Peru from Spain was the necessary result of the system on which the great dependency had been governed. It had felt alike the heavy oppression of the monarchy and the arrogant domination of a democracy. The revolutionary junta of 1808 was as proud, imperious, and unconciliating as the Crown had ever been; while the great American colonies, with a growing sense of their importance, possessed no small portion of the hereditary pride of the mother country. They were no longer content to be regarded as inferiors, and to be held in no estimation except as ministering to the wants or augmenting the power and dignity of Spain. Like the other South American republics, Peru owed to foreign aid much of the success of its efforts to acquire freedom. The courage of English auxiliaries had been chiefly instrumental in effecting the liberation of Columbia, and a portion of the same force afterwards assisted in achieving the independence of Peru.

From 1821 to 1860 there have been twenty-one rulers of this country, who have assumed the various titles of Protectors, Presidents, Delegates, Dictators, and Supreme Chiefs. In Bolivia, which at first formed a portion of the state of Peru, and which is naturally a part of Peru, one President is reported

ported to have quelled more than thirty revolutions in seven years. Contrasted with the chronic anarchy of Mexico and the habitual turbulence of Bolivia, Peru must be regarded as a well-regulated commonwealth. Of the thirty-seven years of its national life, twenty-eight have been passed in peace. It has had seven years of civil dissension, but only two of foreign war. Peru was for a short time a member of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, but the federal principle of government has failed as completely in South as in North America. It has been shown to be completely unsuited to countries of such vast extent and imperfect civilisation. The disorganisation of Mexico is principally attributable to its unhappy form of government. Central America, New Granada, and the Argentine Confederation, have all suffered and still suffer from a similar cause. In extensive and thinly-peopled regions, without roads, or very imperfectly provided with them, and where there are but few educated men qualified to discharge public duties, the local governments become the centres of unceasing conspiracies. A vigorous central power is the condition of national existence; without it there can be neither permanence, solidity, nor cohesion. Peru employed the first years of its independence in endeavouring to annex Guayaquil, but failed. In the many ignoble civil contests to which the country has been a prey, the soldiery seldom knew for whom or for what they were fighting, and the rival armies more than once put an end to the contest by fraternising with each other. The troops sometimes deserted their generals, and sometimes the generals their troops. A distinguished commander is said to have fled from the field of battle while his battalions were still hotly engaged, and to have first heard of the victory they had gained many days after the event; and on another occasion the leaders of both armies 'retired' during the contest, the one into a wood, the other to the shelter of a British ship of war.\* Leaving, however, the present political and social state of Peru for further remarks, we proceed to notice some of the physical peculiarities and moral features of the country.

The modern republic of Peru is about 1100 geographical miles in length and 240 in width, and is divided into three well-defined zones. First, the sandy waste on the coast, varying from 40 to 60 miles in width; secondly, the sierra, commencing at the foot of the Western Cordillera, and terminating at the base of the Eastern Andes; the third or most easterly portion of Peru is the montaña, which is but little known, and consists of vast

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\* Markham's 'Cuzco and Lima,' p. 332.



impenetrable forests and alluvial plains, extending to the frontier of Brazil. From the coast the surface gradually rises to the region of paramos, or frozen plains; and from the eastern slopes of the Andes run those great rivers that pour their waters into the Amazon. The Andes, with their ramifications, have been roughly estimated to cover, in Peru, an area of 200,000 square miles; and the plateaux connected with them are, with the exception of Thibet, the most elevated table-land on the globe; but unlike Thibet, instead of merely affording pasture for cattle and sheep, it is the seat of an advanced civilisation, of cities towering far above the region of clouds, and of villages perched on heights exceeding the summits of the Jungfrau and the Wetterhorn.\* The city of Puno, on the shore of Lake Titicaca, is 12,874 feet above the level of the sea; La Paz, in Bolivia, is 12,192; the town of Potosi 13,350; and the celebrated mines of that name 16,083. Rising far above even these lofty regions are the great Eastern Andes in a continuous chain from Cuzco to Bolivia, covered with perpetual snow. The geological formation of a large portion of this vast mountain-range consists, according to Mr. Forbes, of fossiliferous schists, micaceous and slightly ferruginous, with frequent veins of quartz. The loftiest peaks in South America belong to this formation. Illampu, or Sorata, 24,812 feet high, Mr. Forbes states, is fossiliferous up to its summit.† The city of Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru, the romantic beauty of whose environs probably determined the choice of its site, is 11,380 feet above the level of the sea, or 2000 feet above the Great St. Bernard, and although only 800 miles from the Equator, enjoys a temperate and delightful climate. The great lake Titicaca, lying between the two mountain chains, the Cordillera or coast range, and the Eastern Andes, is one of the most remarkable features in Peru. It is 12,846 feet above the level of the sea, 160 miles in length, from 50 to 80 miles in breadth, and 240 miles in circumference. Silver and copper abound in the lofty mountains by which it is surrounded, and its aspect is one of wild and gloomy grandeur. The only mode of navigating this lake is still the Indian 'balsa,' a rude boat constructed of reeds tied together. The first map of the lake was made by Mr. J. B. Pentland, H. M. Consul-General in Upper Peru.

On the eastern slopes and spurs of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes grow those trees which supply one of the most valuable of known medicines. The cinchona, which produces the quinine of pharmacy, is found from 19° S. latitude to 10° N.,

\* Wheat, rye, barley, and maize, all thrive well at these elevations in South America.

† 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' 1861.

following

following the almost semicircular curve of the Andes over an area of 1740 miles. Growing on the declivities and in the ravines of the mountains, these trees are the objects of eager search to the cascarilleros or bark-collectors of Bolivia and Peru, who pass the greater portion of their lives in the woods, but who, if they once lose themselves amidst the trackless forests, or provisions fail, are seldom heard of again. No precipices daunt and scarcely any torrents can stop them. The object of Mr. Markham's visit to the forests of the Peruvian Cordillera was to procure some of these trees for transplantation to India.\* The export of bark from Peru has been gradually falling off in consequence of the improvident manner in which it is collected by the cascarilla dealers. The bark is often obtained by the most reckless and improvident destruction of the trees. Humboldt reported that in one district alone 25,000 cinchona trees were destroyed every year by barking, and allowing them to die by rot. This was the more extraordinary since all that was required was to cut the trees down instead of barking them standing. If the trees are felled, a rapid growth of young wood immediately springs up, and in six years the saplings, in favourable regions, are ready to be felled again; but if left standing and deprived of their bark, myriads of insects penetrate the stem and soon complete their work of destruction. The importance of making an attempt to introduce the cinchona into our possessions, where it is most largely and beneficially used,† was obvious. It had been urged by Mr. Pentland in 1838, and by the late Dr. Royle in 1839. An experiment had been tried by the Dutch in Java, but with imperfect success. The Neilgherry and Sylhet hills were pointed out by Dr. Royle as excellent localities for naturalizing the cinchona in India. The difficulties inseparable from the conveyance of many hundred trees from the slopes of the Andes to the ghauts of Southern India were not all that Mr. Markham had to encounter. Popular feeling in Peru had been greatly excited by the attempt to transport the cinchona to other countries, and it was only by great courage and tact that

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\* The discovery of quinine is due to the French chemists Pelletier and Caventon, in 1820: they considered that a vegetable alkaloid analogous to morphine and strychnine existed in quinquina bark, and they afterwards discovered that the febrifugal principle was seated in two alkaloids, separate or together, in the different kinds of bark called quinine and cinchonine with the same virtues, which, however, were much more powerful in quinine.—*Markham's Travels*, p. 17.

† 'Since quinine has been more extensively used, there has been a steady diminution of mortality among the European troops in Bengal; and whereas, in the year 1830, 3·66 was an average percentage of mortality to cases treated, 1 per cent. may now be counted the average. . . . Nor have the results among sepoy been dissimilar.'—'Quinine and Antiperiodics in their Therapeutic Relations,' by John Macpherson, M.D. Calcutta, 1856.

Mr. Markham was enabled to baffle the schemes that had been formed for interrupting his undertaking. He has reason to be satisfied with the complete success of his enterprise. The cinchona is now established in our Eastern possessions; young trees of all the valuable species are flourishing and multiplying in Southern India and in Ceylon.

The vast and desolate ridges of the Cordillera, rising in regular progression, form the gigantic steps to those mountain masses, the Andes, the peaks of which have been found wholly inaccessible to the footsteps of man. Mr. Bollaert in 1856 ascended Tata Jachura, 17,000 feet above the sea, and from it he obtained a near view of the higher Andes, many of the summits of which he thinks must have been from 3000 to 6000 feet higher than the one on which he stood. The cloudless sky at the elevation which he reached was the colour of the deepest indigo, the icy peaks and serrated ridges showed a bold and well-defined outline, and the stars were as visible as at night. The passes which open into the Trans-Andean regions are so narrow and rugged, that Mr. Markham compares them to an attic staircase after an earthquake. The ravines and the sides of the hills, even at very high altitudes, are covered with wild flowers, many of which have been long naturalized in England, and form some of the chief attractions of our gardens. Lupins, fuchsias, blue and scarlet salvias, verbenas, and calceolarias, cover the valleys with their brilliant tints, and heliotropes load the air with their perfume. A large extent of the Andean region is, it appears, capable of cultivation, and might, as it formerly did, maintain tenfold its present population.

In descending the Eastern slopes of the Andes, Mr. Markham was greatly impressed by the extraordinary scenery.

‘As we continued the descent,’ he says, ‘the scenery increased in magnificence. The polished surfaces of the perpendicular cliffs glittered here and there with foaming torrents, some like thin lines of thread, others broader and breaking over rocks, others seeming to burst out of the fleecy clouds, while jagged black peaks glittering with streaks of snow pierced the mist which concealed their bases. After descending for some leagues through this glorious scenery, the path at length crossed a ridge and brought us to the crest of the deep and narrow ravine of Cuyo-cuyo.

‘The path down the side of the gorge is very precipitous through a succession of andeneria, or terraced gardens, some abandoned and others planted with ocas (*Oxalis tuberosa*), barley, and potatoes, the upper tiers from six to eight feet wide, but gradually becoming broader. Their walled sides are thickly clothed with calceolarias, celsias, begonias, a large purple solanum, and a profusion of ferns; but it was not until reaching the little village in the bottom of the hollow  
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that all the glories of the scene burst upon me. The river of Sandia, which takes its rise at the head of the ravine, flows by the village of Cuyo-cuyo, bordered by ferns and wild flowers. It is faced near the village with fern-covered masonry, and is crossed by several stone bridges of a single arch. Almost immediately on either side the steep, precipitous mountains, lined, at least a hundred deep, with well-constructed andeneria, and faced with stone, rise up abruptly. In several places a cluster of cottages, built on one of the terraces, seemed almost to be hanging in the air. Above all, the dark rocks shoot up into snowy peaks, which stood out against the blue sky. A most lovely scene, but very sad,—for the great majority of those carefully constructed terraces, eternal monuments of the beneficence of the Incas, are now abandoned.

‘In the morning I rode down the beautiful gorge to the confluence of the rivers of Sandia and Huaccuyo. After this junction the stream becomes a roaring torrent, dashing over huge rocks and descending rapidly down the ravine towards Sandia. On both sides vast masses of dark frowning mountains rear themselves up for thousands of feet, and end in fantastically-shaped peaks, some of them veiled by thin fleecy clouds. The vegetation rapidly increased in luxuriance with the descent. At first there were low shrubs, such as *Baccharis odorata*, *Weinmannia fagaroides*, &c., which gradually gave place to trees and large bushes, while all the way from Cuyo-cuyo there were masses of ferns of many kinds, begonias, calceolarias, lupins, salvias, and celsias. Waterfalls streamed down the mountains in every direction, some in a white sheet of continuous foam for hundreds of feet, finally seeming to plunge into huge beds of ferns and flowers; some like driven spray; and in one place a fall of water could be seen between two peaks which seemed to fall into the clouds below. The descent from the summit of the pass over the Caravayan Andes to Sandia is very considerable, nearly 7000 feet in thirty miles, from an arctic to a sub-tropical climate. The height of Crucero is 12,980 feet, of the pass 13,600, of Cuyo-cuyo 10,510, and of Sandia 6930 feet above the sea.’

The cinchona had remained a wild tree of the forest from the time of its discovery in 1638 until Mr. Markham succeeded in introducing it into India. The exportation of bark from Peru is now insignificant; the principal supplies are derived from Bolivia; but the seedlings and suckers, upwards of 500 in number, which Mr. Markham procured, he obtained from the province of Carabaya in Peru. Their usual companions are fern trees, Melastomaceæ, and arborescent passion flowers. A few only of the cinchonas yield valuable bark, the others are commercially worthless. They are never found nearer the Equator than 12° S. The *C. Calisaya* (the most valuable of the Peruvian bark trees) is, Mr. Markham says, by far the most beautiful tree of these forests. The leaves are of a dark rich green, smooth and shining, with crimson veins and a green petiole edged with red. The  
deliciously

deliciously sweet bunches of flowers are white, with rose-coloured laciniae edged with white marginal hairs. The greater number of the plants which Mr. Markham had succeeded in procuring unfortunately perished on their route to India *viâ* England and the Red Sea, being unable to endure the heat to which they were exposed. Seeds and plants had, however, been obtained by the agents employed by him in other districts, and these, with some trees presented by the Dutch Government, have enabled him to establish plantations in the Neilgherry Hills, at Darjeeling, and in Ceylon. We may, therefore, reasonably expect ample supplies of the invaluable Peruvian bark from the carefully tended cinchona districts of India, at a time when the forests of Peru and Bolivia will have probably ceased to yield any in consequence of the injudicious treatment to which they have been long exposed.

The character of the Trans-Andean region of Peru is that of vast forests, frequented by a few Indian tribes, who shun the approach of civilised man, and resent any intrusion into their haunts by a flight of poisoned arrows. The aborigines of the valleys of the Eastern Andes are the most cruel, ill-favoured, and untameable of South American savages. They wander naked through the dense woods by tracks unknown to any but themselves, and are armed with bows and slings. They live on monkeys, birds, bananas, and fish. Of these people, called Chunchos, little is known. They are supposed to occupy a large extent of territory within the Brazilian Empire, and they are accused of cannibalism. Missionaries who have penetrated into their country affirm that there are three tribes, the Antes, the Chunchos, and the Cascibas, which war upon each other solely for the purpose of gratifying their passion for human flesh; but tales of cannibalism are seldom supported by the testimony of eye-witnesses, and in countries where animal food is easily procurable they are seldom entitled to credit. The Chunchos are said to make an exception unknown in the usages of the other tribes—they never eat their female prisoners. This forbearance, however, does not arise from any superior humanity or from any chivalrous feeling, but from a confirmed belief that women are impure beings and were created for the torment of man, and that their flesh is to be eschewed as in the highest degree poisonous.\*

The richness of the vegetation of the Peruvian forests, particularly on the borders of the great tributaries of the Amazon, almost exceeds belief. Trees growing on the banks of the Purus reach the height of 290 feet, and they are of proportionate thick-

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\* Hill's 'Travels in Peru and Mexico,' vol. i., p. 309.

ness, and support on their trunks a hundred different parasitical plants, which present the appearance of a shrubbery growing on one majestic tree. Some distil fragrant gums, others are laden with the richest fruits. The chirimoya, the pride of Peru, which Mr. Markham compares to 'spiritualized strawberries,' possesses that happy mixture of sweetness and acidity which is so grateful in a tropical climate. The scent of the blossom is as exquisite as the flavour of the fruit.\* It is difficult to conceive a greater source of enjoyment than even such a partial glimpse into the virgin forests of the world. These wildernesses of wood had scarcely before been entered by an European. To scale

' the immeasurable heights  
Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,'

and that in an enterprise so beneficial to mankind, must have given rise to thrilling emotions. Mr. Markham especially deserves our commendation for the interesting narrative in which he has described his achievement.

In striking contrast to this Trans-Andean region of Peru is that belt of land which extends from the foot of the Western Cordillera to the sea. There rain never falls: a damp mist pervades the atmosphere and veils the sun for months. Instead of the rich and varied foliage of the montaña, gigantic cacti forty feet high abound. The extreme dryness of this portion of Peru is caused by the prevalence of the south-easterly winds, which are deprived of their moisture in their passage over the continent before they reach the eastern slopes of the Andes. Little snow or rain, therefore, falls in the Cordillera of South Peru. The dry winds from the Andes passing over the lands of the western coast are the cause of its peculiar aridity. If the winds blew from the west, they would of course arrive charged with moisture from the Pacific, and the now desert tract of Peru would be a garden. The smaller area of sterility caused by the prevalent direction of the winds cannot but be regarded as a beneficent arrangement; Brazil would otherwise have been a desert instead of a small portion of Peru; and a country of boundless resources, adapted for the future home of millions, would have been almost uninhabitable for want of that humidity which is the principal cause of its exuberant fertility. The desert region is now confined to a comparatively unimportant strip of land fronting the Pacific, and lying between the lowest range of the Andes and the sea.

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\* The chirimoya, Mr. Bollaert says, takes its name from 'chiri,' cold, and 'mahu,' seed, or cold-seeded. It is a species of anona, and sometimes weighs as much as two pounds.

The productions which chiefly contribute to the resources of Peru are not now derived from mines of silver and gold, but from substances the commercial value of which has been of comparatively recent growth, and the steady demand for which promises to enrich the republic to an extent which could never have been anticipated. The desert region before referred to abounds in a mineral for which there is a great and increasing demand, namely, nitrate of soda, which is found in layers, several feet thick, over a space of nearly 50 square leagues. Its existence in Peru had been known to Europe for more than a century, when, in the year 1820, a small quantity was imported, by way of experiment, into England; but the duty being considered greater than the supposed value of the commodity, the nitrate was thrown into the sea. In 1830 a cargo reached the United States, but it proved unsaleable. In 1831 another attempt was made to introduce it into England, and it then realised from 30s. to 40s. per ton. Mr. Pusey was one of the first to call the attention of agriculturists to its valuable properties, and, having instituted a series of experiments, he gave it the preference for many purposes over guano. When mixed in equal quantities with common salt, he found that it produced on some soils a greater effect than the better known fertilizer: applied in the early spring it was found to act as a cordial to feeble and sickly vegetation, and its influence upon cold and undrained clays was found to be most beneficial.\* It was moreover proved that the poorer the soil the greater was its effect, and it supplied to wheat precisely the kind of nourishment which it required. Such being its recognised importance in agriculture, it is satisfactory to know that the supply from Peru is practically inexhaustible. The province of Tarapaca alone contains nitrate of soda that will suffice for the supply of the world for centuries.

The exports of nitrate of soda from Peru, which were only 18,700 cwts. in 1830, amounted in 1858 to 61,000 cwts. In 1860 the export from the port of Iquique alone amounted to 1,370,248 cwts. Allowing 100 lbs. of nitrate for every square yard of the deposits already known, they will yield 63,000,000 tons—sufficient, at the present rate of consumption, to last for 1393 years. An interesting description is given of these valuable deposits by Mr. Bollaert, by whom their extent and importance were first fully made known. The principal places in which nitrate of soda is found are on the western margin of the pampas, in the sides of ravines, and in the hollows

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\* The result of these experiments is detailed in the 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society' for 1853.



of the mountains on the coast ; and it is remarkable that no deposit has yet been discovered within eighteen miles of the sea. It appears to be the received opinion that common salt has gradually undergone a chemical conversion into nitrate of soda. Salt being the probable origin of nitrate of soda, it becomes a curious subject for inquiry how such vast accumulations could have been formed in the dry region of Peru. Malte Brun describes the surface-salt in several places as 'reflecting the image of perpetual winter,' and says that small crystals, resembling hoar-frost, might frequently be observed suspended from the trees ;\* and Mr. Bollaert conceives that the great Pacific, under a cloudless sky and burning sun, is converted into a caldron perpetually giving off saline particles, which are wafted to the land and there precipitated. The ordinary dews are sensibly saline. Wherever salt is deposited there it remains, as there are no rains to wash it back into the ocean. The soil thus becomes in the course of ages saturated with salt, and the large salures or superficial deposits appear to have been drawn from the earth by the action of a powerful sun on a surface moistened with dew. The salt if removed speedily reappears. A trader who had quite cleared the mountains of Santa Rosa of their salt found, he says, 'a very fair crop' on them three years from the time of his first visit.†

It has been ascertained that sodium is almost universally present in the atmosphere. This has been proved by some recent and interesting experiments on the chemical effects of the prismatic spectrum. The salts of certain metals are found to impart bright colours to the flame of the blow-pipe. Every metallic base produces a certain bright line in the spectrum ; the colour of the line and its position afford a decisive test of the presence of the metallic base by which it is produced, and this effect is observable even when the quantity present is infinitesimally small. Sodium produces a bright yellow colour, and its universal presence has been ascertained by its detection even in dust blown from a book at a distance of several feet from the spectrum.‡ A curious result of the extreme dryness of the atmosphere charged with saline particles has been observed in some of the more elevated regions of Peru. The pure drying winds have the effect of embalming bodies submitted to their influence. The ancient Peruvians appear to have occasionally availed themselves of the desiccating quality of the air by leaving their dead aboveground instead of burying them. In the desert of Atacama there is a cemetery of

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\* 'Geography,' vol. v. p. 447.

† Near the town of La Nueva Noria are two towns, Noria and Salar, both of them constructed entirely of salt.

‡ See 'Researches on the Solar Spectrum,' by Professor Kirchhoff of Heidelberg.  
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this description, which was accidentally discovered by Dr. Reid, a late traveller in Peru. He found the dried bodies of 600 men, women, and children, all in a perfect state of preservation, and in a sitting posture, arranged in a semicircle, gazing as it seemed on vacancy. There they had sat for centuries: a jar of maize and a cooking utensil were found by the side of each.

Peru has recently contributed a new and valuable substance to the arts in borate of lime. It is found in the nitrate districts, in nodules generally imbedded in dry saline mud. This discovery is likely to be one of importance to Peru, inasmuch as it at present possesses a monopoly of an article which is extremely valuable in some manufactures, 60*l.* per ton having been paid for this mineral in England by smelters. The Peruvian Government does not permit the working and export of borate of lime except as a monopoly, conceiving it to be an important element in the future wealth of the country.

In the Bay of Pisco, and about twelve miles from the main land, is situate that small but celebrated group known as the Chincha Islands, from which Europe for the last twenty years has chiefly received its supplies of the most valuable of manures. Little could the Spaniards have imagined, when they first visited the coasts of Peru and were amazed at the vast flocks of sea-birds which darkened the sky in their flight, that these birds had deposited in the course of ages on a few barren islands a treasure which rivalled the riches of the Peruvian mines; that hundreds of ships would proceed annually from Europe to carry it away; that it would excite the cupidity of civilised nations, and even become the subject of civil conflict, and the prize of successful revolution.\* The guano of Peru, like the nitrate of soda, greatly affected the course of British husbandry. One great merit of this manure is its condensed form, which admits its transport for 6000 miles at a considerable profit. It may be almost termed a fertilising essence, so powerful are its properties.† Yet this substance forms the mass of lofty cliffs, and is quarried in some places eighty feet deep. The region of this extraordinary accumulation of the excrement of sea birds may truly be called Pacific Ocean. No rain has ever been

\* The Peruvian civil war of 1853-4 was called the Guano War, and the possession of the Guano Islands was the prize. The United States attempted to assert a right of carrying away the guano without paying for it, on the pretext that it was an uninhabited island and the common property of the world; and even Daniel Webster lent his great name to this attempted aggression upon the rights of another nation, which was supported by a large party in the States. It is needless to say that Europe repudiated all participation in the meditated spoliation.

† The convicts who work the guano are provided with iron masks, so great is the pungency of the ammoniacal salts.

known to fall there ; no storms of thunder and lightning disturb the perpetual serenity of the atmosphere. The ocean is of an ultramarine blue. The sun-sets are gorgeous beyond belief, and the sky glows with tints as bright but as evanescent as those of the rainbow. A tepid sea swarms with fish, which provide the multitude of birds which haunt it with inexhaustible nutriment. The ancient Peruvians knew and appreciated this manure, but from the limited means of transport which they possessed the consumption could not have been very great. The first cargo of guano arrived in England in 1841, and the demand has since rapidly increased. Calculations have been made of the quantity yet available for exportation. It was at one time estimated that the Chincha Islands contained 250,000,000 tons of guano, and that at the then selling price in England it would realise 3,000,000,000*l*.<sup>\*</sup> On a careful survey made by the Peruvian Government in 1846, the quantity of guano then remaining on the islands was supposed to be about 33,170,795 tons, which, at a profit of 4*l*. per ton to the Government, represents a sum of 132,688,984*l*. Mr. Markham, however, gives the total quantity of guano in the three Chincha islands in 1853 as 12,376,100 tons; and as from that time to 1860 2,837,365 tons have been exported, he estimates that there were remaining in 1861 only about 9,538,735 tons, which, at its present rate of consumption, will last until 1883. No further supplies can then be expected. It is to be hoped, therefore, either that nitrate of soda will adequately supply its place, or that science will provide some adequate substitute.

The cultivation of cotton has recently become a favourite speculation in Peru. The soil and climate of the coast valleys are well suited to its growth, and the quality is excellent. The quantity of land available for cotton cultivation is immense, and the profit has lately been such as to tempt capitalists into this branch of agriculture. Peru may therefore speedily become a valuable source of supply for England. An important service has lately been rendered by Peru to India by giving it the true Peruvian cotton-plant. Peruvian cotton has long been known in India, but the species introduced came originally from Brazil, and was grown in, and adapted for, a hot, moist climate. The native cotton of the Peruvian coast valleys had never been tried. On a dry soil it is found to succeed admirably, and as it possesses a staple even longer than that of New Orleans cotton, it may eventually render England independent of future supplies from the American States, and we shall obtain an article of first-rate quality from our own great dependency. Consider-

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<sup>\*</sup> Rollart, p. 149.

able excitement has been caused in the Madras Presidency by this opportune discovery.

Peru has also recently contributed to our Australian colonies an animal of great value and importance. The introduction of the alpaca into New South Wales will probably form a new starting-point in the marvellous progress of Australia, and in its results may even surpass the introduction of the merino by Macarthur. Australia owes the possession of a considerable flock of alpacas to the energy and perseverance of Mr. Charles Ledger, a gentleman who had long devoted himself to the study and breeding of these useful creatures in Peru. Neither the llama nor its allied species, the alpaca and vicuña, were known to Europe before the conquest of Peru. The two former were found in a domesticated state by the Spaniards, while the vicuña ranged the Andes as the chamois does the Alps. From the earliest period to which the Peruvian traditions extend, the llama had been used as an animal of burthen, beasts of draught being unknown in the country, and they were considered capable of carrying from 100 to 120 lbs. The Spanish writers inform us that 11,000 of these animals, laden with gold from the different provinces of Peru, were simultaneously put in motion by order of an imprisoned Inca, to carry to Caxamaca the treasure which was to redeem him from captivity. The llama is still used as a beast of burthen, but its chief value consists in its wool. In 1834 the importation of llama and alpaca wool into Great Britain amounted to only 5700 lbs.; in 1859 it had risen to 2,501,634 lbs. The future value of the alpaca to Australia will arise from its fleece, which is wrought into many admirable textures. Blended with silk the glossy wool of the alpaca produces a fabric equal to the most lustrous satin; wrought in patterns, it has an effect equal to the richest silk brocade; it makes an admirable substitute for figured silks; when it is intermixed with cotton, an attractive article is produced at a very moderate price; while for tropical use, a coat may be made which has all the appearance of fine cloth at a fourth of its cost, and is of less than a fourth in weight. Such being the value of the wool of the alpaca, it became of importance to ascertain whether it could be introduced and acclimatised in one of our colonies.

It was the earnest desire of Mr. Ledger to convey a flock of these animals to New South Wales, the climate and soil of which he conceived were suited to their constitution and habits. A peculiar grass (*ichu*), their favourite food, grows abundantly on the Australian uplands. The difficulties, however, to be surmounted in getting the animals out of Peru were great. It was



colonies. New Zealand, Tasmania, the Cape, Vancouver Island, and British Columbia possess a suitable climate; and it might perhaps be worth a trial whether it would not succeed in some parts of Scotland. The alpaca appears to be hardier and freer from constitutional diseases than sheep, and the flocks require very little tending. They seldom stray; and their power of enduring cold, heat, damp, hunger, and thirst, has been as fully proved in Australia as on their native mountains in Peru.

The falling off in the production of the precious metals has been very marked in Peru since it became an independent state. A country which once stood in the same relation to Spain as Australia does to Great Britain, and California to the American States, is now a very inconsiderable contributor to the metallic wealth of the world. The abundance in which the precious metals were found in Peru by the first Spanish settlers must have represented the accumulated produce of centuries. No data exist for forming any estimate of the annual yield of the mines while the country was governed by its native sovereigns, but it was probably regulated merely by the requirements of the state. We know, however, that a great and immediate increase took place as soon as the Spanish Government became aware of the mineral wealth of its new acquisition. In the year 1681 it was proved from official documents that from the period of the first discovery of the great silver-mine of Potosi, 1480 millions of dollars had paid duty to the Crown; and it was believed that half as much more had been smuggled out of the country, making altogether the prodigious sum of 2960 million dollars, equivalent to 592 million pounds sterling. Mr. McCulloch estimates that the present produce of all the gold and silver mines of Peru and Bolivia does not exceed on an average 750,000*l.* a-year; while Mr. Markham gives the export of specie from Peru alone, in 1859, as amounting to only 200,000*l.*, of which a portion consisted of coined money and plate. Peru is nevertheless still eminently rich in the precious metals, and good government is alone wanted to develop its vast mining capabilities. The mines of Guantajaya, in the province of Tarapaca, have been called the Potosi of the South; but these workings of almost fabulous richness which have produced masses of pure silver weighing 800 lbs., are in the midst of a desert. The only material for building is salt, water is only to be obtained from springs twenty miles distant, and not a blade of grass grows in the district. These mines are still worked, but in so imperfect a manner that long periods elapse in which no discoveries are made; yet masses of pure silver, fifteen yards long and a yard thick, occasionally reward the perseverance of the explorer.

Malte

Malte Brun makes the extraordinary statement that great wealth had been obtained in the Pampa de Novar, where there was a piece of ground half a square league in size, from which, when the turf was removed, immense quantities of sulphuretted and native silver were found in filaments adhering to the roots of the grass. The mines of Huanlaxaya are also occasionally very productive. They are situate in a mountain hollow 2800 feet above the sea. The silver is found in nodules called 'papas,' weighing from 160 ounces to 900 lbs., and imbedded in a stratum of limestone fragments and dried mud. The mining operations appear to be of the most unscientific and improvident character. No regular plan of working by shafts and adits is adopted, the only system being to extract as little rock as possible; and instead of bringing it, in miners' language, 'to grass,' to leave it in the mine, to the hindrance of further explorations. Long periods thus necessarily elapse between discoveries, and mines which once employed four thousand persons now scarcely give occupation to one hundred and fifty. Careless and unscientific working is the only cause of the present poverty of the Peruvian silver-mines. Mr. Bollaert, himself a practical miner, states that he could indicate spots where rich veins would certainly be cut, and probably great discoveries made. The mountains surrounding Lake Titicaca are well known to be rich in silver. The mines of Santa Rosa and El Carmen produced 600,000*l.* in ten years of very inefficient working; and a single 'boya' in another mine, three yards in length and twenty in height, produced 100,000*l.*\*

Peru is probably still as rich in minerals as when the Spaniards took possession of the country. The Eastern Andes everywhere abound with veins of quartz impregnated with gold; and Mr. Markham, in his recent travels, saw many such, of which the yield would undoubtedly, he thinks, be considerable. The streams in the province of Carabaya are all rich in gold, in the form both of dust and nuggets. The river Challuma and its tributaries are, and have been for ages, auriferous to a great extent, but the approaches are rugged, and almost impracticable for the transport of machinery. The great mountain Ilimani was struck by lightning in 1681, and a portion of its apex thrown down, from which large quantities of gold were obtained. All the rivers which flow into the Amazon from the Andes are auriferous—many in a high degree; and it was doubtless chiefly from these streams that the ancient Peruvians obtained their immense supplies of gold. In forming an estimate of the wealth of Peru, it is proper to take into

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\* Bollaert, p. 240.

consideration the hoards of gold that are confidently believed still to exist in the country, secreted in ravines very difficult of approach or buried in places known only to the Indians. Great numbers of vases and other ornaments in the precious metals were hidden at the period of the conquest. Strange stories are related of Indians becoming possessed of gold in an unaccountable manner, and of their mysterious periodical visits to unknown localities among the mountains.

Peru is not known to be rich in gems. The diamond has not been found there; but at the time of the Spanish conquest emeralds were abundant, and many derived from Peru are now among the crown jewels of Spain. It is doubtful whether any have been found in modern times within the present limits of the republic, but in the opinion of mineralogists the gem exists there. Emeralds were freely used in the Incarial times. The river Esmeraldas, in Ecuador, is so called from the quarries on its banks formerly rich in these crystals. The mines are believed to have been worked successfully by the Jesuits, and stones as large as pigeons' eggs were occasionally met with. Sky-blue as well as green emeralds have also been found in the Cordillera of Cubillán; and the Spaniards are said to have collected such vast quantities of these gems on their march to Quito that they were obliged to throw them away in order to disencumber themselves. The geological position of the emerald being ascertained, there can be little doubt that valuable discoveries of the gem would reward a diligent search. All accounts agree in the fact of its former abundance, particularly in the State of Ecuador, which once formed an integral part of Peru. Humboldt informs us that emeralds are found in the neighbourhood of Santa Fé de Bogotá in veins traversing clay-slate, hornblende-slate, and granite, and that they are also associated with calcareous spar and iron pyrites in veins of black carbonaceous limestone. The deep green of the emerald arises from the presence of protoxide of iron, to which common bottle-glass owes its tint.

The general calmness of the atmosphere in Peru is in singular contrast with the frequent disturbances of the earth. On the coast the only thunder ever heard is from below. At Lima slight shocks of earthquake are felt daily, but they are as little regarded as hailstorms in England. Earthquakes are of rare occurrence in the districts of active volcanoes, but in other portions of the country these appalling phenomena are both frequent and violent. Humboldt mentions places in Peru where the earth has rocked incessantly for days together. A volcanic mountain, Jorullo, after ninety days of subterranean thundering, rose in one night 1580 feet above the surrounding



surrounding level.\* No familiarity with these awful occurrences can ever reconcile the human mind to them. From early childhood, Humboldt remarks, 'we are habituated to the contrast between the mobile element water and the immobility of the earth; but when suddenly the ground begins to rock, the illusion of the whole of our earlier life is annihilated in an instant; we feel ourselves transported to the realm, and made subject to the empire, of destructive, unknown powers, and can no longer trust the earth on which we tread.' A late traveller in Peru has recorded the feelings of one who was long resident in the region which is most severely afflicted with earthquakes: 'I have faced,' he said, 'the bayonet, and stood before the cannon's mouth, and I cannot say altogether without the sensation of fear—that was the fear of human enemies; and the prospect of death is generally accompanied by a hope of the future—but during a severe earthquake the reason is subdued, and my predominant feeling was, that we were utterly lost. It seemed as if the Almighty had abandoned His creatures and His works, both material and immaterial, and that nature was about to expire.'† In the region of the Peruvian Andes there is an alternation on a grand scale of districts of active and dormant volcanoes, but some of the latter have not shown signs of activity for three centuries. Sir Charles Lyell conceives it possible that different sets of vents may thus reciprocally relieve each other in providing an escape for the imprisoned gases and lava.‡ Few volcanoes in the region of the Peruvian Andes have in recent times been known to pour out lava, but they occasionally freely eject vapour and scoria. It is remarkable that the shocks of earthquakes in Peru are most violent which proceed from the direction of the sea. There are indications of the regular recurrence of volcanic movements, which point to some general cause of the phenomena which is at present inscrutable. Thus Lima was violently shaken by an earthquake on the 17th of June, 1578, and again on the same day of the same month in 1678; and the eruptions of Coseguina, in the years 1709 and 1809, are the only two recorded of that volcano previous to the one of 1835. The whole ridge of the Cordilleras fronting the Pacific is studded with volcanic peaks, most of them in a state of habitual activity, over a range of sixteen degrees of latitude. Not less than twenty-four distinct volcanoes—of which thirteen have been seen in eruption—are reckoned in this group. Aconcagua, east of Valparaiso, lat.  $32^{\circ} 39'$ , said to be above 23,000 feet high and therefore one of the most lofty

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\* On the 29th September, 1759.

† Hill's 'Journey to Cuzco.'

‡ Lyell's 'Principles of Geology,' book 21, chap. x.

mountains in South America, is still active. The city of Mendoza, the capital of the province of that name belonging to the Argentine Confederation, and seated on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, was destroyed in March, 1861, by a terrific earthquake, in which ten thousand persons perished. This convulsion was local only, the western side of the chain being undisturbed.\* The volcanoes of Peru rise from a lofty plateau to heights of from 17,000 to 20,000 feet. The most tremendous earthquake which Peru is known to have experienced was that of 1746, when two hundred shocks were felt in twenty-four hours; the city of Lima was totally destroyed, and a portion of the coast near Callao was converted into a bay. Of the four thousand inhabitants of Lima only two hundred survived. Earthquakes are now of almost daily occurrence in other parts of Peru, and the rise of the coast-line along the shores of the Pacific shows that an elevatory action is still going on, the same probably that in the course of centuries has effected a change of climate in the region of ancient civilisation bordering on Lake Titicaca. The bed of the sea has been raised on the western coast to the height of more than eighty feet by subterranean movements, and terraced beaches of shingle and shell are found at various heights. The most remarkable proof of the changes to which Peru has been subject is the existence, at a short distance from the capital, of the dried-up channel of a large river worn through the solid rock, but which, instead of having a fall in the direction of its former outlet, has now the inclination of its bed toward its source. A ridge of hills has been raised directly across the original course of the stream, and its water has been turned into some other channel.

The rivers which have their sources in Peru and fall into the Amazon, would, if they prove to be navigable, connect the country with the eastern portion of South America and with the Atlantic seaboard; and when the great streams, whose tributaries rush down the slopes of the Eastern Andes, have been more thoroughly explored, and found, as they doubtless will be, adapted for steam navigation, it is impossible to estimate the benefit to Peru and to Europe which the opening up of these vast regions to commerce will produce. The territory which stretches away for hundreds of leagues to the frontier of Brazil, and which constitutes two-thirds of the republic of Peru, forms a portion of the basin of the Amazon which is almost wholly unexplored. The probability of a complete system of river navigation existing between Peru and

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\* Scrope on 'Volcanoes,' p. 436.

the Atlantic is too obvious to have escaped attention. There is already a Peruvian settlement at Loreto, a place where the great river Yaravi discharges its waters into the Amazon. Two of the great tributaries of the Amazon, the Huallaga and the Yucayali, drain a large portion of the montaña of Peru, and flow through plains rich in almost every description of tropical produce. Sugar, cotton, and cocoa are grown in abundance.\* The Yucayali is itself an immense river, although only a tributary of the Amazon, and drains a large part of the Peruvian Andes, emptying itself into the Amazon two hundred and ten miles below the mouth of the Huallaga. The two first-named great rivers, which have a northern direction, are fed by numerous tributaries navigable for vessels of light draught. The Yucayali receives the waters of the Agnatya, which flows through forests of sarsaparilla; and the commercial importance of these regions may be estimated from the fact that four yards of cotton cloth, worth 2s., after a voyage from Liverpool round Cape Horn, could be exchanged for 100 lbs. of sarsaparilla, which, transported down the Amazon, would, it is said, realise a profit of from fifty to sixty dollars in England.† This great tributary, the Yucayali, is half a mile broad and twenty feet deep at its embouchure; and the Amazon is at the same place three quarters of a mile broad and thirty fathoms deep; but the distance of the upper feeders of the Yucayali from the civilised region of Peru, and the obstructions which would probably be interposed to its navigation by the savage tribes which frequent its banks, make its value as a channel of transit doubtful for the present.

The river which promises the most certain communication between Peru and the Atlantic seems to be the Purus, which empties itself into the Amazon by four mouths about 740 miles above Pará. The tributaries of the Purus flow through vast forests and plains, which extend up to the very slopes of the Andes, within sixty miles of Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru. The river is of great width, and is believed to be quite free from obstructions. If the Purus should, upon a scientific exploration, be found—as it is confidently believed it will be—navigable throughout its whole course, a route would be immediately available which would shorten the distance to Europe by one-half; and the sugar and cotton of the great Trans-Andean plains, the gold of Carabaya, the wool of the Montaña, the bark, sarsaparilla, indigo, vanilla, cinnamon, and the fragrant gums, medicinal plants, and useful dyes which can be obtained in almost unlimited variety and abundance from the Peruvian

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\* Markham's 'Cuzco and Lima.'

† Ibid., p. 258.

forests,

forests, could then be conveyed cheaply and expeditiously to European markets.

The undeveloped riches of the great basin of the Amazon have recently engaged the attention of capitalists, and hopes have been expressed that the system of water-communication which we have indicated, and which certainly exists between Peru and the Atlantic, may be speedily rendered available for commerce. In a former number of the 'Quarterly Review'\* we commented on the judicious measures which had been adopted by the Governments of Brazil and Peru for encouraging steam-enterprise in these important regions. We have since heard that a Brazilian Company now possesses eight steamers on the Amazon and its tributaries, for the conveyance of passengers and goods. More recently measures have been taken to supply the Peruvian rivers with steamers with a view to encourage and to facilitate immigration. In 1858 a convention was entered into between Brazil and Peru, establishing the free navigation of the Amazon; and early in 1860 a Brazilian steamer arrived at Laguna, on the Peruvian river Huallaga, upwards of 3000 miles from the mouth of the Amazon. The navigation of the great river has since been declared free by the Brazilian Government—a measure which redounds greatly to its honour, and from which it cannot fail to derive important commercial advantages. Roads are being at length made by the Peruvian Government for the purpose of connecting the interior of Peru with the nearest navigable points on some of the tributaries of the Amazon. Those who are conversant with the views of the Peruvian Government state that it is now thoroughly convinced of the importance of this hitherto neglected portion of its territory, and is resolved to bring its multifarious products within the reach of Europe. Pará at the mouth of the Amazon already exceeds in the number of its staple commodities, all of which are indigenous to the regions of which it forms the outlet, those of any other port in the world.

The Government of Peru, like that of most of the other South American States since the people succeeded in emancipating themselves from the yoke of Spain, partakes more of the character of a military despotism than of a republic. Theoretically these Governments are all based on popular rights, but the greater number of them are essentially despotisms. A President is generally elected for six years; in Peru he is practically Dictator, although a Council of State is appointed by the Congress to preserve the appearance of constitutional forms. For adminis-

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\* No. 216, Article on the 'Brazilian Empire.'

trative purposes the republic is divided into twelve departments, which are governed by prefects; the departments are divided into provinces under sub-prefects; and the provinces are subdivided into districts under governors. In 1858 a new constitution was framed by the National Assembly elected for the purpose. An attempt was then made to introduce the federal system of government into Peru; but a plan which would have divided the country into a dozen petty states was happily abandoned. The whole patronage of the State is vested in the President, whose power is thus enormous, and he is able to influence the popular elections at will, and secure a subservient majority. Such is the character of the struggle for place that the respectable classes as a rule abstain from mixing themselves up in political contests. In this respect Peru resembles North America. 'I have heard,' Mr. Markham says, 'many men of abilities and moderate politics declare that, happen what might, they would never disgrace themselves by any interference with, or by taking any part in, political affairs.' The effect of the present system of government in keeping the best men of the country out of the political arena is confirmed by another writer: 'Peruvians,' it is remarked, 'are not to be found filling high political posts. The best specimens of the natives of Peru are either to be met with leading unobtrusive literary lives and preparing for better times, or on their estates actively and energetically developing the resources of their country.'\*

The population of Peru, according to the latest census, consists of about 2,200,000 souls. The late President, General Castilla, has by one act of his administration merited the approbation of the civilised world. Slavery has been abolished, and compensation granted to the holders of this species of 'property.' The military force of the country is in undue proportion to the population. A standing army of 15,000 men consumes the resources and impairs the productive powers of the nation. Two-thirds of the revenue of the state is drawn from the exports of guano, and certainly no country ever possessed so extraordinary a financial resource; but when this fails, Peru will probably pass through a perilous crisis. The only considerable tax, the capitation tax, on which the Government can permanently rely has been lately repealed, and its only ways and means will consist of a customs revenue, which will probably prove quite inadequate to the improvident expenditure of the country. England possesses a considerable trade with Peru, importing large quantities of its guano and nitrate of soda, together with wool, cotton, hides,

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\* Hill's '*Travels in Peru and Mexico*,' vol. ii. p. 70.

bark, silver, and gold; giving in exchange woollens, linens, cotton and silk goods, machinery, cutlery, earthenware, and some luxuries. The imports of British produce have steadily increased. In 1847 they amounted to 600,814*l.*, in 1861 to 1,195,110*l.*\*

The South Americans maintain that the Spanish character transplanted to the New World has undergone a sensible improvement. Their vices, they say, they owe to Spain; their virtues to themselves. If Spain bequeathed to her colonies a full measure of her haughtiness and pride, they have certainly engrafted on these failings some vices peculiarly their own. Several of the old colonies of Spain have, however, advanced beyond the mother country in religion. The Roman Catholic bigotry of the Peninsula is not reflected in all the republics of the New World. There have been in Peru indications even of an approaching revolt against the authority of the See of Rome. A distinguished ecclesiastic published in 1856 a remarkable work in six volumes, entitled 'A Defence of Governments against the Pretensions of the Court of Rome,' for which he was excommunicated. The Peruvian Government immediately put itself in opposition to the Papacy, and prohibited the execution of the sentence. The Papal decree was replied to by a manifesto which, for cogent reasoning, bold language, and stirring eloquence, is said not to have been surpassed by any production of the Reformation. It inculcates the political subordination of bishops to the State, and the submission of the clergy to the laws; suggests the abolition of all priestly immunities, and the imposition of restraints upon monastic and conventual bodies; affirms the right of marriage for priests, and earnestly recommends toleration. These opinions, which have been openly countenanced by the Government, must, we think, be the precursors of an ecclesiastical reform which will eventually detach Peru from the Papacy, as they have already shaken its hold on the popular faith. The courageous divine, who has acquired great celebrity in Peru by his defiance of Rome, had been in a declining state of health before the arrival of the bull of excommunication. The thunder of the Vatican had the effect of a beneficial electric shock upon his system, imparting an energy

\* Receipts for 1859 :—

	Dollars.
Guano .. .. .	15,875,352
Customs, &c. .. .. .	5,079,489
Surplus from 1858 .. .. .	938,389

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21,893,230

Of this sum the army and navy absorb 9,476,432 dollars.

Almost all the material for the woollen clothing of the Indians is manufactured in Yorkshire.

to which it had been long a stranger, and of which Peru is likely to feel the lasting effects.\*

The position and prospects of the Indian race in Peru is a subject of much interest. Their character has doubtless in some degree suffered from the effects of long-continued slavery and oppression, but they assuredly do not deserve the reproach of being wholly incapable of civilisation.† Recent travellers, on the contrary, express their belief that everything in Peru is gradually tending to a native political preponderance. The Creole population does not increase; the Indian population, on the contrary, is making rapid strides; and the people are recovering from the long-continued stupor and despair into which, as a nation, they were thrown by the conquest of their country. The numbers of each class are thus estimated:—Whites, 240,000; Mestizos and dark, 300,000; Negroes, 40,000; Indians, 1,620,000. The natives therefore possess an immense numerical preponderance in Peru, and constitute in fact almost the entire labouring class. No great immigration from Europe has yet counterbalanced the Indian element in South America, and that half of the continent differs materially from the other in its social state. Although fearfully reduced by centuries of oppression, the Indians greatly outnumber the descendants of their conquerors; while in the north they have succumbed before European civilisation until their number has become insignificant, and their political importance inappreciable. In one portion of Peru a tribe exists which has strictly preserved its independence. The Indians of Peru might be mistaken on a first impression for a spiritless and inoffensive race, out of which all energy had long been crushed by a merciless tyranny, as if hope had departed and ambition had become extinct; but under this calm and impassive exterior are concealed smouldering passions which have more than once broken out into frenzied excitement, and produced deeds of heroic daring not surpassed in the annals of any country or race. The Indian is slow in his movements, but persevering in whatever he undertakes. He performs the longest journeys with troops of mules laden with the produce of his land, and, with a little parched maize and the solace of his indispensable coca,‡ undergoes incredible fatigue; while the women remain at home superintending the cultivation of the soil, and

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\* Dr. Vigil is the ecclesiastic referred to. He is the superintendent of the National Library at Lima.

† Mr. M'Culloch attributes this character to them: see 'Geographical Dictionary,' article 'Peru.'

‡ A leaf which in its effects somewhat resembles the betel-nut, and possesses the property of preventing fatigue.

tending the herds of llamas, alpacas, and sheep. The habitations are of rough stone, and seldom consist of more than one apartment, without windows; and at one end is an elevated part on which the family sleep, on llama and sheep skins. The dress of the men generally is a coarse cotton shirt, woollen breeches and jacket, stockings without feet, a large hat, and high sandals. A long strip of cotton hangs loosely round the neck to protect it either from cold or intense heat; and a waistband of various colours, and a poncho of blue or red, complete a not unpicturesque costume. The women wear a long cotton garment, over which is a woollen dress, a long mantle fastened with pins of silver, sandals, a necklace of coloured beads, to which is often appended a small cross of gold, and occasionally a silver spoon. They marry young, in accordance with the policy of their ancient government, and generally lead irreproachable lives. Many noble families, descended from the Incas, are found in different parts of the country, and their genealogies are as strictly and proudly preserved as those of any European nobility. In the unavoidable absence of a priest, a cacique will not hesitate to officiate in some of the services of the Church; and one who was long resident in Peru, records the impression made upon him by hearing a chief on one of the feast days reading prayers to an assembled congregation, while the sun was sinking behind the mountains, and filling with its rich golden rays the interior of the chapel. The people are governed by *alcaldes* elected by themselves, and no tax-gatherer has yet ventured to enter their country. Four years after the establishment of the Republic they issued from their mountain fastnesses and inflicted a severe defeat on a regiment of infantry. Apprehensions are entertained that the Indians may regain their independence and endeavour to establish some modified form of their ancient government. They are known to cling to their political traditions, and the anniversary of the death of the last of their kings is still celebrated by a rude tragedy which stirs their nature to its profoundest depths and produces the most passionate emotions. Great intellectual progress has, moreover, been made by the Indians since the Spaniards evacuated Peru. Formerly they were not permitted to enter the colleges; they are now encouraged to do so, and it is not improbable that they will eventually prove themselves as much superior to the Creoles in practical ability as they are believed to be in character and in morals. They have acquired considerable military experience during the many revolutions in which they were compelled to take a part; some retain the arms with which they fought, and implements  
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of war are believed to be hidden among the mountains, where materials for the manufacture of gunpowder abound. Their courage is unquestionable. The Cholos of Arequipa in 1858 defended a position against the disciplined troops of Castilla for upwards of eight months, and their desperate valour during the assault of the town was as remarkable as their previous extraordinary endurance. They were in the pay of Vivanco, the rival of Castilla; and out of 600 rank and file, 540 fell at the barricades.\*

The Indians certainly entertain a hope of ultimately freeing themselves from the foreign domination to which they have been subjected for centuries. It has been ascertained, says Mr. Bollaert, that there is an alliance between the Indians speaking Quichua, called Los Gentiles by the Spaniards, and the more barbarous tribes living in the fastnesses of the primeval forests; and if they should persevere in their avowed intention to establish a government of their own, he thinks that they will find the enterprise every day more easy. Nor is this anticipation of a renovated nationality confined to Peru. It pervades Bolivia, Ecuador, Chili, and all the other states which once constituted the great Peruvian monarchy. The idea of a political revival seems to be ever present to their minds; and the reverence which they entertain for the burial-places of their ancestors, and for the spots where their leaders fell in the many noble but unfortunate struggles for their country, proves that they preserve unbroken the memories of the past; nor are the bloody deeds of the Pizarros and Almagros, and others whose names are embalmed in immortal hate, likely ever to be forgotten. Although to a great extent Christianized, they retain many observances connected with their former faith, and there are still tribes which venerate the mountains on which their forefathers worshipped, and bow to the rising sun. One of the most interesting races with which we are acquainted, therefore, instead of exhibiting only 'the fading remains of a society sinking amidst storms, overthrown and shattered by overwhelming catastrophes,' † is presented to us in an attitude of expectation. It will not be one of the least of the triumphs of Christianity if it should have succeeded

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\* There is a striking difference, Mr. Markham says, 'between the Cholos of Arequipa and the Inca Indians of the interior, who come to the towns with their llamas laden with silky vicuña wool: the former are a turbulent, excitable race, who will fight desperately behind walls, but are without stamina and unable to endure fatigue; the latter are a patient, long-suffering people, capable of extraordinary endurance, and are in the habit of marching distances which appear incredible to those whose experience is confined to the movements of European troops.'—*Markham's Travels in Peru*.

† Humboldt.

in eradicating from the hearts of a sensitive and deeply injured race the desire of retaliation and revenge. The Indians have certainly been treated with more justice and humanity by their Republican rulers than they ever were by the Government of Spain. The capitation tax has been repealed; there is no system of forced labour; and the only practical grievance is the conscription. Villages are often surrounded by soldiers, and all the able-bodied men are driven off to serve in the ranks, in open violation of the constitution and the law. Intelligent, affectionate, grave, patient, and long-suffering, the Indians possess many claims to sympathy and respect. It is a touching proof of their confidence in each other, and of the almost total absence of crime, that the doors of their huts are rarely closed, and that their property is as safe in their absence as if it were protected by locks and bars. Their courage has been repeatedly proved in the extensive but ill-organised revolts by which from time to time they have attempted to regain their independence; their probity is equally beyond impeachment; and it is the opinion of one fully competent to judge, that there is no safer region in the world for the defenceless traveller than the plateaux of the Peruvian Cordillera.\*

This interesting country may not have passed through all the changes incidental to a state of society in which an antagonism of races exists; but, notwithstanding the political aspirations of the Indians, it seems likely that the Spanish Americans will maintain their ascendancy, and perhaps conduce to the social elevation of the people whom their progenitors enslaved. Any change in their condition will, we trust, be brought about rather by education and opinion than by a renewed appeal to arms. There are many public men in Peru, we know, of high character, and who are fully sensible of their responsibilities; and the late General Miller,† who could not be suspected of regarding the

\* Markham's 'Travels,' p. 178.

† The 'Memoirs of General Miller,' published many years ago, give the most complete account of the War of Independence. He died in October, 1861, on board a British ship of war in Callao Roads, and his remains were interred with all the honours which the Peruvian Government could show. Mr. Markham, in the brief memoir of this eminent soldier, which he has given in the Appendix to his work, states that when the body was being embalmed twenty-two wounds were counted in different parts, and two bullets were extracted from it. In February, 1839, on the overthrow of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, General Miller was banished, with many other able and distinguished men, whose names were removed from the Army List. This unjust and illegal act was subsequently cancelled by a law of Congress. After leaving Peru in 1839, General Miller was appointed in 1843 Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the Islands in the Pacific. It is satisfactory to be able to record, for the honour of the Peruvian nation, that the whole of his claims were acknowledged.

the country which had repaid his services by years of neglect with undue partiality, certainly formed a favourable estimate of the future. Education is becoming a subject of primary importance, the press is said to diffuse sound principles and to be conducted with moderation, and the recent religious movement will doubtless awaken the people to greater intellectual activity, and perhaps lead to very important results. Peru is certainly not the least advanced of the South American States; but the neighbouring Republic of Chili has acquired a more respectable political position, and its people have displayed of late a creditable aptitude for self-government. In Peru the archives of the Spanish viceroys have been recently diligently explored, and the reports relating to the Spanish administration of the country have been for the first time published. They are said to detail with terrible minuteness the manner in which a country rich in all the elements of wealth and happiness was barbarously plundered, depopulated, and oppressed. They will serve a high purpose if they should inspire the Spanish American people with an earnest desire to redress the multiplied wrongs which their ancestors committed; and if the fragment of a great empire which they conquered should eventually become the secure inheritance of their children's children, may they prove to the Indian race that, if their ancient institutions have irretrievably perished, they have exchanged a paternal despotism which enfeebled while it protected them, for the innumerable blessings of modern civilisation and the regulated enjoyment of freedom!

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ART. II.—1. *Papers by the Central Society of Education*. London, 1837.

2. *The History of Adult Education, &c.* By J. W. Hudson, Ph.D. London, 1851.

3. *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions; and especially how far they may be developed and combined so as to promote the moral well-being and industry of the country.* By James Hole, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutions. Published under the sanction of the Society of Arts. London, 1853.

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by Congress without a dissentient voice. But unfortunately the executive in Peru is still able to set the laws passed by the representatives of the people at defiance: delays and evasions were resorted to by Castilla, and the last days of a man from whom Peru had perhaps received more valuable services than from any of her own sons, were embittered by the treatment which he experienced from the President of the Republic.

4. *Middle*

4. *Middle Class Education and Class Instruction in Mechanics' Institutions, considered in two Reports of the Society of Arts; with extracts from the Evidence received by a Committee appointed by the Council of the Society.* Published by the Society of Arts. London, 1857.
5. *Handbook of Mechanics' Institutions.* By W. H. J. Traice. London, 1856.
6. *Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.* Leeds, 1861.
7. *Social Science; being Selections from John Cassell's Prize Essays by Working Men and Women. With Notes.* London, 1861.

IT is man's lot to live by the sweat of his brow; but the bitterness of that doom is not complete, unless man be tied to the earth with the double chain of toil and of ignorance, and debarred from that alleviation of his lot which is afforded by his natural heavenward glance, his capacity for intellectual enjoyment and progress, his sense of beauty and of moral fitness. To refresh the jaded mind, and to give it a healthy action during the brief interval in which the working man is permitted to forget that he is but a part of a machine, and to engage in tasks and occupations of his own, is the professed object of what are called Mechanics' Institutes; and those who consider the vast influence which they are capable of exercising either for good or for evil, will pardon us if we devote a few pages to the examination of the present condition of these bodies, and of the principles upon which they ought to be conducted. The germ of these institutions is perhaps to be traced to Birmingham. In the year 1790 the Sunday-school teachers of that town combined together to afford simple instruction and moral guidance to the adults who had outgrown their classes. Shortly afterwards the Birmingham Brotherly Society was formed, which professed a like but somewhat higher aim, for scientific lectures were delivered to which the labouring ranks were admitted gratis. It is worth notice, as indicating the character of the movement, that no one could be a member who habitually neglected public worship. Meanwhile, something similar was taking place in Scotland. About the year 1800, Dr. Birkbeck, being about to lecture for a scientific institution in Glasgow, called 'Anderson's University,' had occasion personally to superintend the construction of his apparatus, and in so doing, became struck with the intelligence of the workmen, and was led to offer them a course of free lectures. They responded warmly, and came in considerable numbers. A 'Me-

chanics'

chanics' Class' was then formed, and continued to exist till 1823, in which year its members ceased to attend at the Andersonian establishment, and formed a 'Glasgow Mechanics' Institution' of their own.

In Edinburgh, in 1821, a 'School of Arts' was founded for the instruction of the labouring classes. Mr. Leonard Horner became its secretary. Science as bearing on the mechanical arts was the chief topic of the lectures which were delivered. The year 1823 saw like efforts in London. An article in the 'Mechanic's Magazine' had suggested the formation of an institution for the improvement of working mechanics in science, art, and manufactures. Dr. Birkbeck, who was then in London, zealously espoused the project, which soon reckoned the names of Brougham, Denman, Hobhouse, and Lushington among its patrons. The London Mechanics' Institution was forthwith founded, and the next ten years witnessed a very energetic movement in favour of similar undertakings throughout the kingdom.

Unhappily, the question—like all questions affecting the working classes at that period—was entangled with a political agitation. During the struggles that preceded the passing of the Reform Bill, operatives (as they began to be called) were caressed by one school of politicians, suspected by the other, and, perhaps we may be allowed to say, well understood by neither.

Certain it is that the patrons of 'Mechanics' Institutes were chiefly drawn from the ranks of the advanced Reformers, and hence the whole movement was looked upon as closely connected with the progress of liberal opinions. It was probably from this cause that many of the clergy and others who might have exercised a beneficial influence kept aloof from it. This was not very unnatural at that time, but it would be without excuse in ourselves, who live in a calmer political atmosphere.

We propose, then, to make some inquiry into the subject of adult education and improvement as promoted by means of reading-rooms, libraries, lectures, and evening-classes among that portion of the population which may perhaps be most conveniently marked off and described by the fact that they are in the receipt of weekly wages.\*

At the present time the actual number of institutions for adult improvement is unquestionably very large. Mr. Hole, in his

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\* We do not include under this head the societies for the improvement of young men: for though they have a certain affinity with our subject, the fact that they are intended for young men especially, if not exclusively, distinguishes them from it. Moreover, they draw the greater part of their members from a grade above that of the artisan.

essay on the subject which gained a prize from the Society of Arts, and was published in 1853, calculates that 'institutes of the same nature, but established under various names, as mechanics' institutes, literary societies, mental improvement societies, have increased to the number of 700, containing 120,000 members.' But with regard to the constitution of these societies, we may cite the Report of a Committee appointed by the Society of Arts in 1853, on the subject of Popular Education (p. 36):—'Mechanics' institutions are no longer institutions for mechanics; some enrol a small number of artisans, while others reckon none at all.' And again: 'Though still called mechanics' institutions, they are places of resort for the tradesman, the shopkeeper, and the middle-class generally of the neighbourhood.' And there is other trustworthy evidence to the same effect.

The first impulse towards the creation of institutions for the improvement of working men was almost wholly of a scientific character. It seems to have been taken for granted that, because there are striking instances of the sons of toil reaching high intellectual eminence, the whole of the mass could and would do likewise, if a fair field were afforded and the key of knowledge put within their power. But the fact that Brindley and Stephenson and others sprang from the working classes, does not show that the whole of the working classes under favourable circumstances would be Brindleys and Stephensons. The truth is that the whole scheme was pitched far too high to be of general use.\* The Report of the Committee of the Society of Arts, from which we have already quoted, well says: 'These institutions were started somewhat in advance of their time; they were designed to lecture men on literature and science, many of whom could neither read nor write.' And when they came—as in process of time they nearly all came—to alter their scheme, and to admit topics of a more general kind into their libraries and lectures, they had already lost the working classes, and could not recover them. Indeed it was hardly likely that they should recover them, for too often the literature was as much above the *average* level of the artisan as the science had been. If, then, from these and the like causes the machinery which was set up for the purpose of bringing the working man within reach of the means of rational improvement has, to a great extent, fallen short of its object, we agree with Dr. Hudson that this fact 'demonstrates the necessity for creating another class of societies, to which the

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\* In the School of Arts at Edinburgh no book was admitted into the library but what related to science or art (Hole, p. 16).

working operative shall alone be admissible,' or at least to which he may more readily be induced to resort.\*

We are happy to say that some steps have already been taken in this direction. In many places attempts, more or less successful, have been made to create reading-rooms and libraries for *bonâ fide* working men. Among such we may name the reading-rooms maintained by railway companies and by some large manufacturing and trading partnerships for the men in their employ.

Such, too, are the Lyceums and Peoples' Institutes set up in the north of England for those who could neither pay the high subscription nor relish the advanced style of literature in the old mechanics' institute.

Such, lastly, are the modest associations set on foot by many parochial clergymen or earnest laymen, in order that the mechanic may have the means of spending the evening innocently, and at the same time of acquiring some really serviceable knowledge. These prevail rather extensively, but the numbers that attend them are usually limited, and they are seldom in a very thriving condition. If more general co-operation could be obtained, they might present a valuable germ for gradual expansion.

A distinction must, however, be drawn between institutions for mechanics and artisans, and the schemes of a kindred nature which are being multiplied on every side for the labouring poor or for the neglected and depraved. The mechanic and artisan class do not readily mix with the poor, nor even with the lower orders of unskilled labourers; and the benefit of both will, we believe, rarely be attained by the same undertaking. In the country, indeed, this distinction is less marked, but in many towns it is well defined; and attempts to fuse together skilled workmen and rough labourers are likely, we fear, to end for the most part in disappointment. If this be so, it is expedient in all cases for the promoters to settle beforehand which body of men they intend to attract, and to manage matters accordingly.

We fear, however, that such efforts as those to which we have just referred have not always been preceded by much acquaintance with the habits and feelings of the working classes. And hence the project has occasionally taken not so much the shape which is really attractive to the working man, as the shape which, in the opinion of those above him, ought to attract

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\* In some instances existing institutes might be modified so as to effect the same result, but in many cases this would be impracticable.

him. Moreover, a patronising character has sometimes been allowed to attach to the whole project, which often utterly repels, and is always distasteful to the intelligent artisan. A wise man will seek in the first instance to study those whom he seeks to improve, lest offence unwittingly given should mar his best plans. And not only may groundless estrangement ensue, but grave practical blunders may be committed, from a want of acquaintance with the feelings of the working classes. Thus, for instance, the association of men and boys in the same institution may not seem at first sight a heinous fault. But the Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes tells us as the result of experience that—'it appears to be established that it is almost impracticable to unite adults and youths in the same classes. From a natural diffidence, the elders do not like to mix with their juniors in the night classes, and they are often easily and quickly surpassed by those who are younger and who have a greater aptitude than themselves; and hence, in many cases where adults have joined, after a short time their attendance has ceased.'\*

It is true that this refers primarily to classes for instruction, but no institution ought to be without such classes, if it be possible to have them. Moreover, even in the reading-room we believe the same principle holds good. The adult who reads his paper with difficulty, and discusses the news with a limited amount of intelligence and a still more limited power of expression, is not pleased to be outshone by a better scholar and geographer of fifteen years of age. Besides, there is a natural levity and restlessness about the manners of boys which suit ill with the gravity of grown men. No one would think of bringing boys into a club in Pall Mall; why should they be more tolerable in what is, in fact, the club of the workman?

Another point, the mention of which may perhaps provoke a smile, but cannot be slighted with impunity, is, that full and complete toleration must be accorded to smoking. The pipe is deemed an indispensable comfort by many working men, and they are apt to remain deaf to every inducement so long as it is withheld. It is not, indeed, needful that more than one room should be set apart for the smokers, for there are those of their own class who object to tobacco. But accommodation of some sort must be provided for them, or they will desert to the public-house to enjoy their pipes in peace. The truth is, restraint of every kind, beyond what is absolutely necessary for order and propriety, should be studiously avoided. The very name of 'Free

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\* Report for 1861.



and easy' given to the social meeting in the tap-room, shows plainly enough what is supposed to be attractive by those whose livelihood depends on conciliating working men.

We incline to think also that in some cases institutes become unpopular from the absence of any kind of refreshment. Men accustomed to the public-house, though willing, it may be, to be weaned from intoxicating drinks, naturally desire some substitute, such as tea or coffee; and as they would be ready to pay for these when they consumed them, no additional expense would take place in the general management.

But in most cases of failure or ill success, we believe the root of the evil will be found to be the same which we have noticed in respect to the movement thirty years ago, namely, that the average mental calibre of working men has been overrated. Nowhere has this fault been committed in a greater degree than in the department of Lectures. These are frequently admirable in themselves, and full of interest for persons in the higher ranks; but when considered in reference to their professed purpose, they must often, we fear, be called brilliant failures.

Even were an ardour for scientific knowledge as general as some suppose, it would be impossible for the mechanic to follow many of the lectures which are addressed to him, though styled elementary. Most lecturers take for granted an amount of previous acquaintance with the subject, or at least with other departments of knowledge leading to the subject, such as their hearers in the humbler ranks cannot possibly possess. It requires a great and continuous effort on the part of a teacher to bring himself down to the level of his audience when below that which he is accustomed to address.

Thus, to give an example of our meaning, let us suppose that the business of the evening is to give an outline of astronomy. Many lecturers would begin by assuming, perhaps unconsciously, the doctrine of inertia, viz., that a body only moves in any direction when acted on by some force. But if an audience of working men were asked what would happen to a body perfectly alone in space, with nothing to act on it, we suspect not a few would say that, if unsupported, it would fall. We have ourselves received such an answer under such circumstances. Hence we must begin by explaining that bodies only fall to the earth by reason of the earth's attraction; and that if all other bodies and forces were removed from the one in question, there would be nothing to affect it, and it would (so far as we can see) remain at rest. The lecturer would thus have cleared his ground, and would have prepared his hearers to follow him. In a discourse on  
astronomy

astronomy to educated people, it is fair to presume that they have some slight acquaintance with the principles of statics and dynamics ; but in a like discourse to a roomful of operatives, no such presumption can be made. The same is the case with other subjects. It must never be taken for granted that there has been previous training up to the point at which the subject logically commences. On the contrary, the problem is not only to state clearly the special topic, but to give a rapid outline of such preliminary matters as are requisite, in order that it may be understood. Hence it is obvious that it is only certain points that are fit to be handled in this way—a consideration which has an important bearing on the question, What are the best topics for lectures?

But even when care has been taken not to credit the audience with too large a stock of previous knowledge, we must take heed that the treatment of the subject and the terms employed be not such as to mystify rather than enlighten. Imperfectly educated men never willingly deal with abstractions. They never use them in their own talk, and seldom attach a distinct notion to them. Yet in science, as commonly taught, abstract notions abound. It follows that we must often alter to a great extent the method of putting the subject, in order to be intelligible to such men. And if we are not intelligible to them, we cannot wonder that we do not interest them. Now, as science has essentially to do with general conclusions, they cannot be eliminated from it. But they may be introduced, gradually, and as exemplified in particular instances, which give the mind something to fasten on, as a type of the general expression. In other words, the generalised result of an induction should not be alluded to, without some hint of the individual facts on which it is based.

But if the mere generality of a principle creates a difficulty to an undisciplined mind, what shall we say when it is clothed in strange and uncouth terms, to the meaning of which the hearer, for want of a classical education, has no key? ‘Gravity,’ ‘momentum,’ ‘impact,’ ‘affinity,’ and scores more of words that might be enumerated, embarrass many who would take in the notions well enough, if conveyed by examples and under a less ambitious name. Speaking of the experience of the Ancoats Lyceum, one of the authors before us says :—

‘For several years lectures were delivered, and it was found that wherever first-rate talent was engaged not one-third of the members attended ; but when gratuitous lectures were given by local men, and delivered in a language that could be understood, the attendance was uniformly satisfactory.’

But

But why did not first-rate talent speak in a language that could be understood?

In a word, it is necessary to look at the topic to be treated from the point of view and in the way in which it is looked upon by those to whom we speak. A wise teacher will not content himself with enforcing his own view, but will first show that he is acquainted with that of his hearers, and so gradually persuade them to accompany him to a more advanced standing-point.

Experience tends to show that the native good sense even of men imperfectly educated can follow a plainly-expressed argument with pleasure, provided their power of sustained attention be not overtasked. Reasoning, therefore, is not out of place, but it should be such as not to demand a continuous strain on the mind. There should be breaks and pauses, clearly marked as such, here and there; and, if possible, some change of subject from time to time. Men used to bodily labour, and unused to mental exertion, are doubly unfitted for prolonged attention. It demands that they shall keep their limbs still, and subdue the restlessness which accompanies animal spirits and great muscular vigour; and that they shall rouse their thoughts and overcome the lassitude which arises from an unwonted effort of the brain. Hence pauses which allow the audience to change their positions are not without their use.

In respect to delivery, a lecturer is too apt to adopt that undemonstrative manner which marks most men of cultivated intellect; nor, indeed, would we have him rant or rave. But as men of simpler minds require every assistance from emphasis to detect the point of the sentence or argument—for emphasis is to them like light and shade in a picture—he that would engage them for long together must not despise the aid of a lively, variable intonation.

*Mauvaise honte* is a sad hindrance, and must by all means be laid aside; for if it be worth while to speak to the working classes, it must be worth while to speak effectively. The bounds of good taste will seldom be overstepped by an educated man; his danger is in the other direction. And be it observed that our lecturer has an advantage over the preacher, or at least over the parish clergyman, in the point of which we are speaking: for the latter has to address a mixed assemblage, and runs the risk of startling the educated class in his congregation by that liberal use of animation and emphasis which would arouse and interest his poorer brethren; but the former, who has to do with the working classes alone, may safely solicit their attention by every available method.

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We are far from contending that all lectures should be extempore. Few can expect to interest and amuse by a spoken address more than Mr. Dickens does in one of his readings of his own works. And a good reading from Shakespeare will often be attended with eagerness. Hence it should seem that the main point lies rather in the treatment of the subject and the style of delivery than in the mere fact of the lecture being written or unwritten. A man may utter a perfectly extempore speech in so heavy a way as to make it an effectual soporific; and on the other hand it is surely possible to deliver written words in so dramatic or colloquial a way as to give them the same lively air as if uttered on the spur of the moment. As regards the structure of the address, the advantage in some points is on the side of one which is written. Nothing repels a half-educated mind like an involved style. Yet speakers of no mean ability are apt now and then to fall into parentheses, out of which they do not always find their way as intelligibly as might be desired. Even in Parliament the figure anacoluthon is not wholly unknown. Now in a written composition it is easy to avoid such errors, for a little labour will make the sentences short and simple. Again, as to phraseology. A speaker who clothes his ideas in the words which naturally rise to his lips as he goes on will fall into the expressions that are habitual to him. Yet the ordinary language of cultivated men is not that of the working classes. When the subject is a philosophical one, there is double danger on this head, as we have already seen. Now a resolute desire to translate the matter in hand into popular words may succeed when aided by the deliberation which a man can command in his study, but may be overmastered by the force of habit when he trusts for his expressions to the impulse of the moment. But let us not be misunderstood. It may be, after all, that the most effective lecturer is the one who can give a telling address without manuscript. Our point is that a good written is better than a bad spoken address, and we think that many could write well who could not speak otherwise than imperfectly.

Before concluding these brief hints on the style of lectures, let us notice the great value of anecdotes. They have always a terse and easily seen point, they bring down the matter in hand at once from the abstract to the concrete, they afford a natural and easy break in the discourse, and they effectually enliven the whole aspect of the subject. Thus they are more or less of use in all the points to which we have sought to draw attention.

But we must pass on to observe that some lectures probably fail because the subjects are ill-chosen. The minds of the hearers

hearers are never brought in their freshness and morning vigour to the consideration of the subjects of lecture. Personal adventures in travel are always found to interest and amuse, and the tourist may interweave in his narrative much information about distant lands, which in this form will be understood and remembered. Biographical lectures seldom fail. Historical knowledge may thus be imparted, and moral and religious suggestions conveyed, without ostentation. The great facts of civilisation, such as railways, the electric telegraph, steamships, newspapers, the post-office, are interesting and practical. The elements of human physiology in relation to health are also a very popular topic. These latter subjects, as relating to everyday life, form a link between scientific and general lectures. Purely scientific lectures should, in our judgment, be sparingly used, unless they bear upon the trades and occupations of the audience, when they have a special value, and may be useful as well as interesting.\* But whatever be the matter in hand, much may be done by the aid of illustration. Indeed, of all the steps that can be taken to make a lecture popular, few are more effective than to accompany it by diagrams or pictures.

And here we must do justice to the Society called 'The Working Men's Educational Union,' which has effected so much in this line that we cannot refrain from wishing that its managers would perfect their good work by going one step further. Founded in the year 1852, this Society has published at various times a large number of diagrams and illustrations, together with a list of useful works from which materials for lectures may be gathered. Of the former it is difficult to speak too highly. Being printed on linen, they are durable and thoroughly adapted to their purpose; and they are executed in a style which, while it attracts the illiterate, will bear the criticism of the artist. The only objection which we have to make is to the notification in the Report that 'the Union does not lend the diagrams.' Their expense wholly forbids their purchase with a view to a single lecture, and the consequence is that the machinery for their diffusion is most inadequate. Could the Society be persuaded to set up depôts in the principal towns throughout Great Britain, and to arrange that the diagrams might be hired at a small cost for lectures in the neighbourhood, it would confer a real benefit on the country. But until this is done its work is sadly incomplete. It is true, indeed, that Mr. Stock of Paternoster Row has come forward to supply in some measure the deficiency, and that

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\* Many suggestions of lecture-subjects will be found in the Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.

the diagrams may be hired from him at a reasonable charge. But this is by no means equivalent to their being lent out by a society with regularly organised branches throughout the kingdom, and is chiefly important as tending to show that the scheme now recommended is quite practicable. The probability is that in a short time it would be a source of profit instead of entailing any loss.

It is almost superfluous to mention dissolving views as a resource for rendering a lecture popular. Should the Committee of the Working Men's Educational Union adopt our suggestion with respect to their diagrams, it would be worth consideration whether their depôts might not also have a few good lanterns and slides, to be lent out at a moderate rate. Being in the hands of a Central Association the slides might from time to time be changed for others, and the old ones passed on to another town, where they would have the attraction of novelty.

It will be observed that the suggestions which we have ventured to make are based on the ground that undertakings for the benefit of working men should promote rational recreation as well as instruction. This indeed does not seem to have been contemplated by the founders of the original mechanics' institutes, who, as we have seen, looked only to the acquirement of knowledge, and that chiefly of a scientific kind. But when it was found that these institutes failed to attract the working classes, other schemes, called Lyceums (to which we have already alluded), were set on foot in many places. These, as Dr. Hudson tells us, were set up with the avowed object of affording lighter reading and amusement of different kinds. They have not always answered very well,\* but the fact of their establishment indicates a want of which thinking men are bound to take account.

We cannot get rid of the desire for recreation—woe to us if we could! It is to the mind what the free play of the limbs is to the body after constrained toil, and fits it for fresh use; and if there be any part of mankind who stand specially in need of it, surely it is the class whose day has been spent in the close air of the workshop or factory in constant and monotonous labour.

'Mr. Chadwick has shown,' says Sir B. Brodie in his "*Psychological Inquiries*," 'that many are driven to drinking gin as affording a temporary relief to the feelings of depression and exhaustion produced

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\* So at least we gather from Dr. Hudson and Mr. Hole, the latter of whom says, 'The Lyceums soon declined, and most of them are now extinct;' but an essayist who has obtained one of the prizes offered by Mr. Cassell (the well-known publisher of Ludgate Hill, who has done so much to diffuse good educational works among the masses) seems to think that in some towns they have continued to attract members.

by living in a noxious atmosphere; and he gives instances of individuals who had spontaneously abandoned the habit when they were enabled to reside in a less crowded and more healthy locality, where they could breathe a purer air instead of loathsome exhalations. The case of such persons is analogous to that of others who become addicted to the use of opium, as the means of relief from bodily pain.'

Now, what gin does physically, recreation by virtue of the connexion between soul and body also does to a certain extent by raising the spirits, and thus reacting on the nervous sensibility. Legitimate amusement, therefore, both by occupying pleasantly time that might else be spent at the gin-palace, and also by diminishing the craving for physical excitement, has a directly useful tendency as an antidote to the passion for alcohol.

Among the means of refreshing our jaded spirits there is nothing more valuable than the enjoyment of wit and humour. These faculties have, beyond doubt, been implanted in us by the Author of our being for this end, and we are not to extirpate but to cultivate them. Yet, by an alliance with impure passions, these very faculties too often do their part to degrade rather than to benefit mankind, especially in those ranks of society where the secondary restraints by which good breeding aids the cause of morals are less peremptory and efficient. What a noble object, then, is it for one who would be a benefactor of his kind to exhibit the powers of wit and humour in a pure form, and to prove the possibility of exercising them without sensuality or profaneness! The refining influence of intercourse between the different ranks of society could not be better shown than by such endeavours; and, lest any should slight the object as too humble or too easy, we may add that it is not one to be lightly achieved. It is not easy to hit the distinction between, on the one hand, dealing in too subtle pleasantry for the appreciation of homely minds, and, on the other, degenerating into that which is coarse and associated with images of an undesirable kind in the minds of the hearers. We believe, therefore, that those who take the truest and most enlarged views will be most ready to promote occasional lectures avowedly of an entertaining kind, and that those who can give such lectures with real success will be useful labourers in the cause of social improvement.

Passing from lectures to other appliances, we must not omit the mention of chess and draughts. Experience shows that these are much resorted to, and that they may be made to take the place of more questionable games. Mr. Thomas urges, as a practical man, that, 'at any rate, a room should be specially set apart for chess and draughts.' And we believe him to be in the right.

But

But it is to music that we look for one of our strongest allies in improving the recreations of the working men. It is a pleasure which can be shared by their families, and one which is invariably popular. In some neighbourhoods, the public-house, the small theatre, and the casino offer the only opportunities for its enjoyment. Not only, therefore, because it is in itself a valuable source of pure pleasure, but because it is now made to minister on a vast scale to temptation and vice, is it desirable to present it in an innocent form. What with learning and practising, and what with an occasional performance before friends and neighbours, it is surprising how much time may be spent in a harmless and pleasurable way through a taste for music. Accordingly, singing-classes, and classes for instrumental music, are strongly insisted upon by all who have much experience of the pursuits of English mechanics; and when some proficiency has been attained, an amateur concert makes an agreeable variety in the conduct of an institution, serves to advertise its advantages to the neighbourhood, and enables its musical members to show their skill to their friends and acquaintance.

We turn now to the Library. It is manifestly unwise to fill the shelves with nothing but works of advanced science or art, or on the more profound subjects of literature. Yet some such there must be. For in a library it is not as in a lecture-room; all is not for all; choice can be exercised, and different tastes and different stages of intellectual progress ought to be consulted. There should be something for the native genius, as well as for him who will never rise above the level of his fellows. But it must be recollected that the latter belongs to the more numerous class. One of Mr. Cassell's prize essayists, after speaking of the delights of science, thus describes the majority of men in his own rank of life:—

‘This strength and peace of mind, however, which springs from scientific acquirements, is not the kind of motive to attract a working man to a mechanics’ institute. It will come to him perhaps as the chief consoler at the end of his travels, but it is not sufficiently enticing to make him commence the journey. To the greater proportion of working men we have no hesitation in saying it will never come at all; for it must not be expected that because we want them to join mechanics’ institutes, that therefore they are all to be literary men. . . . The majority of men, as of old, will doubtless continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the present practical question is, how we can best entice them to spend pleasantly their leisure hours.’ \*

Again, this passage shows that amusing works must form a

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\* Social Science, Prize Essay, p. 94.



fair proportion of the library. The want of works of a lighter class, including fiction of the higher and purer kind, has caused the failure of well-meant undertakings. Those who look with suspicion on such works should remember that the absence of well-chosen fiction from the shelves of the library to which he subscribes drives the working man to supply the want by cheap trash in the shape of tales and novelettes, which are thrust upon him at the corner of every street. Surely it requires no lengthened argument to show that it is a real benefit to give him a taste for something higher, and to enable him to feed his imagination (for imagination makes itself felt in all men, and will be fed) with pure and innocent sustenance. Nor is it by any means true that those who are attracted by such works never rise above them. On the contrary, it is found by experience that the introduction of light and amusing literature always produces an increased demand for the graver works also.

Certainly there should always be a fair share of religious works. Any other system would countenance the idea that those who are most anxious to promote the welfare of their neighbours in this life are careless about the next.\* And what seems required by sound principle is justified by experience. The results of book-hawking associations tend to show that there is a constant demand for religious books, if well selected.† The subject of book-hawking suggests the mention of an association which has done much to stimulate that method of disseminating information among the people, and which has another and better title to a place in these pages on account of the encouragement which it has given to the creation of libraries. We refer to the London Society for the Diffusion of Pure Literature, which offers at half-price to the managers of libraries for the working-classes books to the value of from five to ten pounds to be selected from the catalogue of the Society. The Report states that nearly two hundred such grants were made between June, 1860, and June, 1861. It is true, indeed, that a great part of these grants have been made towards libraries and institutions on rather a small scale. Still the result affords to a certain extent a true criterion of the tastes of those for whom libraries of this nature are intended; and among the works stated to be most

\* Let us in passing pay a tribute of warm commendation to that capital periodical the 'Leisure Hour': it has done, and is doing, a great work among the masses, by exciting a taste for a pure species of light literature, accompanied by much useful and even religious matter.

† One of Mr. Cassell's writers, speaking of the improvement in the libraries of Mechanics' Institutes, says, that 'now theology is not eschewed as at first.'—p. 114.

popular,

popular, religious books, especially in the shape of Lives, are found in a rather large proportion.

Historical works, works explaining in a familiar way the phenomena and objects of common life, voyages, travels, biographies, and good standard poetry—these are always more or less in demand; and if we do not dwell upon them, it is only because no doubt is likely to arise as to their utility.

The 'Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes,' from which we have already quoted, has some good remarks on reading-rooms:—

'It is of the first importance that the institution should possess a reading-room, supplied with periodical literature and such newspapers as the state of the funds will permit and the number of members require. It gives the institution a recognised place of meeting to which reference for information may be made, and also for the exhibition of public notices to the members. It should be sufficiently ample for accommodation, be heated by open fireplaces, well lighted, and present that appearance of comfort which would make it a powerful counter-attraction to the public-house. Its walls might be decorated with cheap prints and maps, with occasional announcements of recently received news of great public interest.'

The next point which claims our attention is that of evening classes. No institution can be fully developed without a system of classes, and they should (or, at all events, some of them should) be of the very simplest description. Reading, writing, and arithmetic should be thoroughly taught, but with an absence of all that is pedantic and of a needlessly scholastic character. On this latter ground it will generally be best that the instructor should not be a person who is engaged in teaching children, otherwise he will be inclined to treat his adult pupils too much as boys. The teacher of an adult-class, though less fitted, perhaps, to obtain a certificate from the Privy Council Office, requires practical talents of a higher order than the most accomplished master of a National School. He must know how to persuade and humour scholars whom he cannot command and punish. It is no small piece of good fortune to find such a man when he is wanted.

Other subjects of instruction may be added where there is opportunity. What is termed mechanical drawing has a direct bearing upon the business of many trades, and is both useful and popular. A singing or music-class is also very attractive. French and Latin classes are less often needed among *bonâ fide* working men; but if there be a sufficient demand for them, and the means of supplying such demand, of course they may be established.

It will commonly, we believe, be found to be well worth while for an institution to pay liberally for good teachers, and those who join the various classes seldom refuse to pay a fair sum towards the expenses of them. Mr. Hole cites Dr. Hook as saying that dependence cannot be placed on amateur teachers, except as auxiliaries, and in this we quite concur. The Report of the Yorkshire Union recommends that the remuneration of teachers should be in proportion to the numbers in their classes, and we believe that this method has often stimulated them to diligence and to the cultivation of a popular method of instruction.

The Society of Arts has organised a system of examinations well calculated to prove an incentive to study. An institution which desires to avail itself of them must come into union with the Society of Arts, either directly or through some provincial union in the neighbourhood, and must pay two guineas yearly to its funds. When thus associated, the institution enjoys certain privileges as to the purchase of books, periodicals, &c., at a reduced rate, and has a right to send in any of its members to the Society's examinations without the payment of any fee.\* The examinations comprise arithmetic, book-keeping, mathematics, animal physiology in relation to health, agriculture, mining, political economy, geography, history, English literature, logic and mental science, French, German, drawing, music, &c., &c. They are conducted either by the Society itself in London, or by local educational boards under its auspices. Two prizes are awarded in each of the subjects of examination, and graduated certificates of merit are granted to candidates who pass with success.

It cannot be questioned that this system is one of much value. It forms, to some extent, a bond of connexion for institutions in the South of England like what has long prevailed among those in the North, by means of county unions of mechanics' institutes. And such unions are useful as the means of disseminating information which isolated bodies cannot well procure for themselves. Good lecturers are thus to be heard of, and other benefits obtained which flow from a common centre, and which it is easy to imagine, though we cannot now stay to enumerate them. At the same time, great independence is left to the several institutions, which is, indeed, a matter of prime necessity. As regards the system of examinations, we conceive that as it becomes more known it will exercise an important influence on the studies of those for whose benefit it has been established.

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\* Institutions whose annual income is under 75*l.* may send up their members for examination without being in union with the Society, but the candidates in this case are charged half-a-crown each.

At present, however, it is probable that there are a number of institutions which cannot produce candidates up to the mark of the Society's requirements. In such cases a simpler plan may be employed with advantage. Prizes may be offered by the managers of an institution, either for proficiency in any of the subjects taught in the classes, or for the study of some particular work. The fault of all efforts after knowledge in late or even middle life is their desultory character; and nothing corrects this evil and gives exactness to study so much as bringing it to the test of examination. Hence, if a working man can be induced to read a work of thought, not merely for a superficial purpose, but with a view to master the argument and reproduce it in answer to an examiner, a real and lasting benefit is gained far beyond the mere value of the particular work in question. It has been found that the offer of a liberal prize has proved a sufficient inducement to lead men to make this effort, and that, too, in cases where they would certainly have shrunk from going up to the more public trial of the Society of Arts.

In the foregoing remarks we have naturally treated our subject chiefly in its relation to large towns where mechanics and artisans abound. But we should be sorry to omit to say that in many country places a spirit has been aroused for village libraries and reading-rooms, and that we hope it will be diffused yet more widely. The principal hint which we have to offer is, that in such cases it is best to transpose the whole thing, so to speak, into a lower key—to be still less ambitious of science, and more careful to provide innocent amusement. Sound elementary instruction by means of evening classes is most useful in rural districts, and should always form a part of the plan. Plain popular lectures, with pictorial illustrations, and on topics in which an agricultural population may naturally be expected to take an interest, may be the means of eventually introducing something higher. But at first they must be *very* plain and *very* popular.

‘Nearly every village contains its minister of religion, its medical man, its lawyer, and its schoolmaster, capable of giving general information on topics of vital importance to the community, such as moral and social duties, the laws and conditions of health and disease, the nature and origin of our laws and institutions. Let them exert their powers, and they will awaken the minds of those around them to seek for further information.’ \*

The same author gives a citation from the ‘Report of the

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\* Hole, p. 148.

Parliamentary Committee on Public Libraries,' which is much in point:—

'It is the opinion of this Committee that much of the future character of our agricultural populations, social, moral, and religious, may depend on the extension and due formation of village libraries. In so important an object it is alike the duty of the landed proprietor and of the parochial clergy to assist. By such means the frivolous or unprincipled books which now circulate among our rural population may be replaced by sound, healthy, and genuinely English literature. The people may be taught many lessons which concern their material as well as their moral and religious welfare. The cleanliness and ventilation of their dwellings, habits of prudence, of temperance, a taste for something better than mere animal enjoyment, may be instilled through the instrumentality of well chosen books.'

Our readers have, no doubt, asked themselves what bearing such institutions as we have described, especially in towns, are likely to have on the religious interests of those for whom they are intended. In the first place we conceive that indirectly many results are likely to follow from them, useful to the cause of religion. There are hours and seasons in the life of all classes of society which cannot be wholly occupied either by work or by religious exercises. And it is at such times that irreparable mischief is often done to some, who do not want for opportunities of religious teaching. In the hours of relaxation, the less-educated and less-refined part of mankind are especially exposed to influences of a degrading character, which neutralise the effect of the direct instruction that they receive.

However we may multiply churches, and increase our spiritual machinery, if we do not provide for leisure moments, and take care that debasing pleasures do not form the only change from manual labour, we shall but too probably find that the effect of our teaching, like Penelope's web, is undone as fast as wrought:

'Have the objectors,' asks Mr. Hole, 'considered the alternative? Have they ever visited our singing-rooms and casinos? It is not drink, much as our people are given to drinking, which attracts the majority of the people there. The casino supplies what neither the gin-palace nor the beer-house supplies—amusement, a transient relief from the exhaustion and monotony of daily toil. We have ourselves counted 1300 young men and women in one such place at one time. There the young man learns to smoke and drink, and the sooner he does so, he fancies, the better he asserts his manliness. There, the young female learns the meaning of coarse and indelicate allusions, and what is worse, to laugh at them. . . . What sort of school is this, whence to expect good servants or dutiful children? What sort of preparation is it for those who either already have assumed, or shortly will assume,

assume, the responsibilities of married life—of parental obligation? How will they become fitted to be the manly citizens of a free country? . . . And let us not blame the working classes, at least not solely. Few of them had ever an opportunity of knowing better. If they went to school at all, they were removed before they could be permanently impressed: They have seldom cheerful homes, supplied with the attractions and comforts of life. . . . Would the young man enjoy the charms of music? There are no nimble, ready fingers to touch the piano; no fine books, engravings, or chess-board to while away a spare hour. Fatigued with the day's toil, what shall he do for a little excitement, or how ward off sleep till bedtime? . . . To raise the working man we must take hold of him where he is, not where he is not; attract him, get possession of him, and you may lead him by degrees to something better.\*

Is the man once familiarised with such places of resort as are described in the commencement of this passage, likely to be amenable to the influences of religion? And must it not then be a vast gain to those who are charged with spiritual duties to have the power of recommending to their people a place where their evenings may be spent in pure and healthy social intercourse, if not in actual moral improvement?

But we are prepared to go further. It is in our opinion a fallacy to imagine with some, that direct religious instruction cannot be admitted within the walls of a working-men's institution. Such a view would greatly damp the sympathy of many, including ourselves, for such undertakings. Let it be distinctly understood that attendance is optional, and we believe that the Bible-class may be properly introduced among the subjects of instruction; and that, from time to time, a lecture with a religious bearing will not be without interest. We are of course aware that the bugbear will immediately suggest itself to some of our readers, that all sects must be equally represented, if one be admitted, and so forth. But we are speaking of the great and leading features of Scripture studies, not of points of ritual; and we incline to think that there is still a majority in favour of old-fashioned Protestant Christianity among the working-men of England; and that there will be no pressing demand from any large number for any other teaching. We speak, indeed, principally of the South; but, as far as we know, apathy on religious subjects is more common than antagonism. There are those who deem the mass of mechanics to be saturated with scepticism; but it is the prominence rather than the numbers of sceptics that forces them into notice. There is, undoubtedly, a spirit of inquiry abroad; but this very spirit will make the subjects of it

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\* Hole, p. 74.

alive to religious questions, and interested in conversing upon them in a friendly way. It is this type that a well-conducted Bible-class will often assume, rather than a more didactic form: but in whatever mould it may be cast, more will depend on the tact and judgment with which it is conducted, than on any rules that can be laid down beforehand. And we cannot too strongly insist that tact is only to be acquired as a fruit of intercourse with and knowledge of those with whom we have to deal.

Hitherto we have said nothing as to the persons to whom the management of institutions for working-men may be best committed. The question is a delicate one in itself, and its difficulties are not lessened by the sensitiveness which prevails respecting it in some quarters. By not a few it is held, that no scheme can be satisfactory which does not vest the power of management wholly in men of the working class. This view is very strongly expressed by one of Mr. Cassell's essayists, Mr. Walker of Carlisle. Speaking of some institutions in that city, which exhibit what he considers the true type of such undertakings, he says:

'Whilst it is open to all classes to join them, one of their chief regulations provides that none but working men in the receipt of weekly wages can, under any circumstances, take part in the direction of their affairs—a rule which in face of past experience, of the management of mechanics' institutes especially, cannot well be pronounced either invidious or unnecessary, since it secures their continuance in the hands of those who must necessarily from their position know best how to attain the objects they were established to attain. All donations and advice tendered in the spirit of this rule are thankfully received and respectfully considered, but care is always taken that the independence it establishes is never in the least compromised. Independence in every way is indeed their motto. In everything they do, they take their stand on the noble principle of self-reliance, always the surest as it is the manliest basis of success, and they rely on themselves especially both to provide and apply the sinews of war.\*'

'We are constrained to say that in this doctrine, if laid down as of general application, we are unable to concur.

In the first place we think that those who give pecuniary aid to the support of an undertaking have a right to share in its management. Hospitals, schools, public companies, and nearly all associations that we are acquainted with, are compelled to recognise this maxim; and it is hardly probable that the particular species of institution with which we are now concerned will be found to form an exception to so general a rule.

Indeed the editor of Mr. Cassell's volume of 'Prize Essays,' who now and then appends a few remarks of his own, 'thinks it

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\* Cassell's 'Prize Essays on Social Science,' p. 104.

a very fair view of the case,' that while the higher classes contribute to the funds, they should be represented on the committee. 'But,' he adds, 'we believe their true position is that of friendly advisers, not of subscribers or active managers.' With this writer, therefore, the question is narrowed to the simple issue, whether such undertakings can be carried on without the assistance of wealthy friends. Now we cannot but observe that in a Report now before us of the Working Men's Reading-room in Lord Street, Carlisle (which we believe to be one of those eulogised by Mr. Walker), we find a strong appeal to the wealthier classes to give this aid, and an acknowledgment of donations received. Indeed we should not have thought much argument needed to show that most schemes of this nature involve a large outlay at first, as well as considerable current expenses—at least if they offer any great advantages in the way of lectures, classes, and libraries. A mere reading-room may perhaps cost little, but an effective establishment for mental improvement will inevitably demand proportionate funds. The mechanics of Glasgow, when (as we have seen) they separated in 1823 from Anderson's University and set up a hall of their own, passed a resolution that 'as the institution had begun without the assistance of the wealthy and influential citizens of Glasgow, it should be continued without asking their support, and that such property as it might acquire should belong to the mechanics of Glasgow for ever.'

But Dr. Hudson, who narrates the circumstance, adds the following observation :

'This resolution was indicative of the spirit which has but too frequently animated the working men in their undertakings in recent times. Our social as well as our political history have abundantly proved that such an assumption of independence has rarely been sustained. The Glasgow Mechanics' Institution has followed the general rule in its recent career, by not only being dependent on the assistance of the wealthy citizens of Glasgow for the building it occupies, but for their contributions from year to year to carry on the institution with efficiency.' \*

If, then, there be ground to think that the help of the richer classes cannot well be dispensed with, we may, in fact, claim Mr. Cassell's editor as on our side; for we have seen that he thinks it only fair that all who contribute should take part in the

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\* 'Hist. of Adult Education,' p. 43. See also the strong remarks of Mr. Hole at p. 88 of his Essay, which are in entire accordance with this view. The Legislature also must be deemed to be of a like opinion, for the Act 17 & 18 Vict., c. 112, was passed with the express object of facilitating gifts of sites for such institutions.





The system might be open to the slight objection that it was itself more difficult to retain than even the facts it was meant to hold tight in the treacherous brain of the learner. No matter—a class for the study was forthwith formed. No one can estimate the amount of time and energy wasted in such abortive attempts to reap the fruits of knowledge without sowing the seed. The working man requires guidance, both how to learn and what to learn.—p. 42.

We have endeavoured in different parts of this paper to point out some mistakes, which, as we conceive, have sometimes been made by the promoters of working men's institutions, and may have led to their premature decay. But we must in fairness add that such decay is not always to be laid at the door of the promoters. Not unfrequently, we fear, it springs from the fickleness and unreasonableness of the members. We have too sincere a regard for the working classes to consent to flatter them; and we are compelled to say that their insufficient sense of the value of mental and moral improvement is forced upon the minds of those who have been brought much in contact with them. They think little of lightly abandoning undertakings calculated to confer large benefits on them, because they may not in every particular fall in with their individual views. A juster appreciation of the subject and its difficulties, and a more earnest temper in respect to it, seem to us indispensable if they are to furnish from their own body wise and enlightened managers. The editor of Mr. Cassell's *Essays* seems to think that advice will always be at hand from the higher classes to prevent errors and abuses. But where, we would ask, is there ground in theory or experience for supposing that advice will be persistently tendered when there is no power to prevent its rejection? This very writer, when arguing against the exclusion of working men from the management, says, 'No class can be expected to take an interest in associations in the direction of which they are allowed no part' (p. 107). How was it that he did not see that the same must be true in regard to the friends of such associations who belong to the higher ranks? They, too, will not long continue to take an interest in affairs in which they have no voice. There is but one way to secure their counsel and sympathy: they must be entrusted with a share of influence and authority. Our complaint would rather be that their co-operation has been too long withheld, owing to the separation of ranks in this country; and it would appear a strange remedy to increase this separation, and to prevent united effort under a mistaken notion of independence.

Upon the whole, then, we strongly incline (as a general rule, but with the full admission that all rules allow of exceptions) to some mixed system of government; and from certain passages  
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from the pens of others of Mr. Cassell's essayists we are disposed to hope that they would agree with us in the matter. Mr. Robinson, a warehouseman, puts the point with much moderation:—

'There is no one,' he says, 'more likely to know the want of a working man than the working man himself, and the stability of a People's Institute depends in many cases on his *taking a share in its government*; \* for it is impossible that the middle-class directors can be supposed to divine his wants to a nicety, or even to appreciate much of what is really necessary for them to do.'—p. 110.

And Mr. Thomas, a clothier's cutter, thinks that in the government of such undertakings 'we should imitate Wesleyanism, and, as far as possible, find something for every man to do.' †

At all events we have Mr. Hole on our side. He very sensibly says:—

'The Committee should be composed, wherever possible, both of employers ‡ and of the working classes. The former have more administrative talent and experience, and are more accustomed to conduct large organisations and introduce improvements; the latter are needed to secure due attention to the interest of the operative members, and to give them confidence in the management.' §

This, we think, shortly expresses the right principle; but what the precise form should be in which it is embodied we should be slow to pronounce. So long as the leading idea is maintained, much variety may be admitted as to the details; but while the form matters little, the spirit is all important. Those who befriend the institution must be careful never to interfere more than can be avoided with the tastes of those who use and benefit by it. The risk of conflict may be materially lessened by laying down at starting certain fundamental rules assented to by all, and by providing that these shall not be altered except upon mature deliberation and with general consent. In minor matters the wishes of the members should always be carried out; and danger to the welfare and highest interests of the undertaking should be the only motive for refusing compliance.

The great defect at present is that the operatives of this country know and see so little of those above them. Let them come to have a better acquaintance with their wealthier neighbours, and distrust and jealousy will be lessened or disappear; and it is because co-operation in schemes like those of which we

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\* The italics are ours.

† See also some extracts from a paper by Mr. M'Burnie, p. 108, written in a similar spirit.

‡ We should prefer to say 'higher classes' instead of 'employers.'

§ 'Prize Essay of the Society of Arts,' p. 117.

have been speaking is so favourable a method for making the various classes of society better acquainted with each other, that we feel the question to be one of so much importance. The craftsmen of England are too often at the mercy of every Demetrius, because they have not better counsellors. Like the craftsmen of Ephesus, there are times when they are unable to give a reason for their concourse, and when the words of a wise and known friend would send them to their homes, 'to be quiet and to do nothing rashly.' But their known friends are not wise, and their wise friends are not known. They have few recognised advisers except of their own order. Those above them in position should exert themselves to win their regard; and though splendid gifts may obtain applause, personal regard is commonly to be had from personal intercourse alone. We touched just now on the subject of religion. The true solution of the difficulties on that head is to be looked for in the same direction. When the esteem and confidence of the working man are won, he will respond to sincere efforts for his welfare, of whatever kind, in an entirely different temper from that which he manifests when they are made by those who are at best but strangers, and who belong to a class which he has been taught by designing men to regard with distrust and suspicion.

Mr. Justice Talfourd told the Grand Jury of Stafford, in that Charge which he did not live to finish, that one great cause of crime in England was the mutual estrangement of the different ranks of the community. Surely it is a noble ambition for those whom birth or success in life has placed above the pursuit of vulgar objects, to seek to heal the breach which we have too long suffered to exist and to grow wider in the fabric of our social system. It would excite a smile to put forward such institutions as those of which we have treated in this paper as a panacea for the evil. Long neglect and manifold causes have concurred to create it, and long patience and various remedies can alone remove it. But it may be fairly urged that such undertakings do at least afford that which not a few among us profess to be seeking—a natural field for that unpretending sympathy and that kindly intercourse which can alone consolidate the elements of society without abolishing social distinctions.\*

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\* Since the foregoing article was written, we have received the Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes for 1862. It states that returns obtained from many of those institutes show the average proportion of working men among their numbers to be 70 per cent. This is a higher number than we should have expected, and we cannot but feel that such averages are not easily ascertained, and

- ART. III.—1. *History of the Russian Empire*. By N. Karamzin. St. Petersburg, 1842.  
 2. *History of Russia*. By S. Solovief. Moscow, 1858.  
 3. *The Provincial Institutions of Russia in the Seventeenth Century*. By B. Chicherin. Moscow, 1856.  
 4. *The Russian People and State*. By W. Leshkof. Moscow, 1858.  
 5. *The Peasants of Russia*. By N. Beliaief. Moscow, 1860.  
 6. *The Works of Constantine Aksakof*. Moscow, 1861.  
 7. *Extracts from Russian History by Solovief*, in the 'Ruski Vestnik,' or Russian Messenger. Moscow, 1861-2.  
 8. *Articles on the Ancient Polity of Russia by Stchaporof*, in the 'Vek,' or Age. St. Petersburg, 1862.\*  
 9. *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation en Russie*. By N. de Gerebtzof. Paris, 1858.  
 10. *Cours de Littérature Slave*. By A. Mićkiewicz. Paris, 1860.  
 11. *Des Réformes en Russie*. By Prince P. Dolgorukof. Paris, 1862.  
 12. *The Russians at Home*. By Sutherland Edwards. London, 1861.

RUSSIA has so long been prominent as a despotic Power, and her earlier history has been so thoroughly concealed in her inaccessible language, that few of the inhabitants of Western Europe have ever heard of any Russian institutions more liberal and popular than those which at present exist in that empire. Indeed, the Russian people themselves have been trained up in an imperfect, if not erroneous, view of their past history, interpreted, as it has been, by imperial historians or maimed by the scissors of the censor. Some few traditions were preserved, and especially among the disaffected sectarians, of greater freedom; of ancient popular assemblies; of diets which legislated on the affairs of the nation, and even elected the Sovereign; and, more recently, of a commission in the reign of Catherine II., which was a Parliament in all but in name. It is

and are apt to be deceptive; especially as it appears that no returns were received from a large part of the bodies in union. Be this, however, as it may, it must be remembered that the institutes in question are of various kinds. Some are probably of recent growth, and of a kind really suited to working men; while others may be mechanics' institutes of the old type, but recently modified to meet their wants. Such modifications have certainly been taking place, and the present Report contains several suggestions quite in harmony with our own recommendations. If it be really the case, therefore, that there has been an increase of members of the right kind during the last few years, it may well be that the fact confirms, rather than otherwise, the views on which we have insisted.

\* The above-named works are in the Russian language.

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under these circumstances that Russian history has presented itself to the English mind as a dead level, typical of the country itself, only occasionally relieved by the deeds of Peter, the immoralities of Catherine, the murder of Paul, and the despotism of Nicholas ; and connected with stories of the knout, of the mines of Siberia, and of oppression in Poland.

The more recent rulers of Russia have laboured to conceal the rottenness of autocracy in the glitter of imperial pomp and the pride of military display. The climax of the deceptive policy of Russian absolutism was the Crimean war. The disasters which that struggle brought upon the country, the financial embarrassment, the impoverishment of the nobility, added to the reaction natural after so many despotic reigns, have combined to create a feeling of discontent and uneasiness throughout all classes, and a strong desire for political freedom. Under the influence of such sentiments, the history of the country has been carefully searched for the more remote causes of the present distress, and for the means of its alleviation. The time is, therefore, not inopportune for an inquiry into the more ancient forms of government in Russia ; for studying their development and their sudden interruption. Apart from the interest which at present attaches to such a vast country passing through the several phases of social revolution, the materials now supplied by Russian writers (a selection from whose works we have placed at the head of this article) form a valuable addition to our knowledge of history, and may be of service in determining its laws.

The distant Slave, we find, worked out his earlier civilisation very much like the Germanic races, producing a very similar classification of society, and many identical laws and institutions. The Norman Princes, invited to introduce order into the land and to govern according to ancient laws, found the Russians a pastoral and agricultural people, divided, socially, into *Slaviané* or Slavonians, *Startsi* or Older men, and *Lutshié mujt* or Best men. These formed the community, or *Mir*, possessing equal rights as to the tenure of land, and governed by communal assemblies which were all-powerful, and which proverbially could do no wrong. The acquisition of land could not have been restricted in such a thinly-peopled country ; and up to the eleventh century the peasant of Russia could occupy any portion of the soil that he had the means of cultivating: he was free to cultivate '*wherever his axe, scythe, or plough would go.*' The land was the property of all, farmed on the purest communistic principles, which have been ever since retained in the spirit of the Russian people. But when towns and agricultural settle-

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ments sprang up, the communes were composed of two classes, the Best men, and the *luidi* or people. The former became territorial proprietors, either employing the labour of the *luidi* or allowing them to settle on their lands at a fixed rental, and gradually reducing them to servile dependence.

The towns, at first mere agricultural or pastoral groupings of population, ultimately became industrial and administrative centres, and were generally surrounded by walls or ditches, as appears from the Slavonic word for town, *gorod*, derived from *goredit*, to inclose or fence in. The communal system was preserved in the towns, which, becoming powerful, established district communes, provincial communes, and, lastly, a commune of the whole land, forming a communal federal union, of which Novgorod and Pskof became the principal centres.

The authority of the commune was vested in a *Veché*, or popular assembly, resembling the councils of the ancient Germanic races, and particularly our own Witenagemote.

In the case of Novgorod—the most ancient town in Northern Russia—it is probable that certain elements of political organisation may have been derived from Northern Germanic races, with whom the Novgorodians were connected in the remotest ages. But the Slavonians had always even in their remote patriarchal days been in the habit of holding popular assemblies, and their language had no less than six or seven words to designate such gatherings. The Norman princes may have introduced greater order into these primitive assemblies; at the same time, the establishment of that order, the growth of population, of industry, and of well-being, must have promoted the formation of towns and increased the number of *Vechés* held throughout the country. The towns which formed the dominions of the House of Rurik, in the south as well as in the north of Russia, held constant *Vechés*, in which the people participated. The earliest authentic record of a *Veché* occurs in 997, when the inhabitants of Belgorod (now Kiev) assembled to consider the expediency of surrendering the town to their enemies the Pechenegians, who were engaged in reducing it by famine. Others were held at Vladimir Volynsk in 1097; at Kiev in 1147; at Polotsk in 1158; at Vladimir in 1174; at Rostof in 1289; at Nijni-Novgorod and Kostroma in 1304; at Briansk in 1340; and in Moscow in 1382. In 1261, *Vechés* were held in all the towns in Russia to devise the means of resisting the Mongol invasion.

The partition of the country into small principalities and the wars of the princes favoured the establishment and increased the power of the popular assemblies. The Prince was continually absent from his principality, and his Lieutenant was frequently a rogue bent  
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on extorting the utmost farthing from the impoverished population, partly for his own uses, partly to enable his master to prosecute his ambitious enterprises, frequently to ransom him from his enemies. The necessities of the Prince compelled him to convene the Veché, just as in our days parliaments are required to vote the public moneys. That they were frequently disorderly and turbulent assemblies, terminating sometimes in murder and rapine, no Slavist can deny. There is a record of a Veché held at Pskof, at which the citizens deliberated in their shirts. But even this incident, seized as it eagerly is by the enemies of popular institutions in Russia, may be plausibly palliated on the ground of extreme urgency; and the citizens, in neglecting their dress, may have only given the best proof of their constant readiness to defend their privileged city.

In 1219 Novgorod was the scene of turbulent Vechés held during a whole week, in consequence of the arrest of a rebel boyar or noble by the governor of the town. The Prince took the part of the boyar. The citizens stood by the governor; they put on their armour and drew their swords; the elders entreated to no purpose, and their wives and daughters shed tears in vain. 'It appeared,' says the historian, 'as if the Novgorodians had neither laws, nor prince, nor humanity.' Peace was only restored after ten citizens had lost their lives in supporting their arguments. The Prince announced to the assembly the dismissal of Tverdislaf, the governor. The Veché demanded to know his offence. 'He is without guilt,' answered the haughty Prince; but the citizens were not daunted. 'Remember,' said their envoys to the Prince, 'the conditions on which you reign; you swore not to dismiss officials without just cause. If you forget your oath, we are ready to bow you out of Novgorod; but Tverdislaf shall remain our *Possadnik* (mayor).' Prince Sviatoslaf was obliged to yield, and soon after abdicated in favour of his younger brother.

But it is time to inquire more minutely into the composition of the Vechés and the extent of their powers. This inquiry must necessarily be limited to the usages of the assemblies of Novgorod and Pskof, both on account of their greater importance, and because little is known respecting the Vechés held in the more distant parts of Russia. These two principalities, moreover, comprised almost the third part of modern Russia. Russian historians are as much divided on the subject of the composition of the Veché, as Western writers are on the formation and authority of the Witenagemote. Some imagine that every citizen had a vote in the assembly, without distinction of age or position; and that even the lower orders participated in them. This is denied by others,

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on the ground of practical impossibility. The open squares on which the Vechés were held at Novgorod—the Square of Yaroslaf, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and the Archiepiscopal Palace—could not have contained half the population of that thriving city. The Assembly of Pskof, again, sat on an elevated mound, approached by steps. Nor can we imagine the possibility of so many thousands deliberating in common with any practical result. Of whom, then, was the deliberative assembly composed? Ancient records have been searched in vain for any written enactments by which the right of vote may have been regulated in those days at Novgorod and Pskof.

The following mean deductions may, however, be made on this subject from the opinion of Russian writers:—

The Veché could properly only be convened by the *Possadnik* (or mayor elected by the citizens), or by the Prince; but the bell that summoned the Veché appears to have been at the command of every faction, and the slightest popular dissatisfaction called the assembly into existence, and frequently into open rebellion. Such irregular meetings were sometimes attended by all classes of citizens without distinction, young as well as old: these were not regular assemblies, but mostly turbulent meetings of factions. At other times there were Vechés composed exclusively of the lower orders—meetings which can only be designated as seditious risings.

2. There were regular peaceful Vechés; assemblies of wise and considerable men—of the councillors of the nation—met to discuss their internal affairs and foreign relations.

It may on the whole be assumed with considerable certainty that every citizen had a right to be present at the Veché, but that the right of vote and of speech belonged practically, in great part, to the *representatives of the town population* and to the officers of the Government. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that, prior to the convocation of the Veché, the several wards of the town used to assemble to discuss the matters announced by the public crier for deliberation in the Veché, those wards speaking afterwards in the assembly by the mouths of their representatives—an arrangement that gives to the Slavonic Veché a representative character denied to the Saxon Witenagemotes by Lord Brougham and other constitutional authorities.

The decisions of the Veché, legally constituted, were committed to writing by the clerk of the assembly, and delivered in the name of the Vladyko (archbishop), Possadnik (mayor), Ty-siatskoi (thousandth-man—a military title), Sotski (centurion), ‘the younger men,’ and ‘of all Novgorod.’ Leaden seals were appended to all treaties made by the Veché. After public promulgation,

malgation, the resolutions of the assembly were consigned to a special chest (*lar*), kept by an officer (*larnik*) appointed for the purpose.

In matters of internal polity the powers of the Veché were great. It was competent to elect a Prince (in the case of Novgorod); to elect a Possadnik and 'thousandth-man.' The superior clergy had seats, but they only exercised a judicial authority, trying Jews and monks, and generally taking cognizance of all offences against the Church. The Veché was competent to deprive a priest of his holy office. 'Mr. Sovereign Novgorod,' as the State was quaintly styled, exercised the high function of electing the archbishop, who, at his installation to the sacred office, was conducted by the tribunes of the people to the archiepiscopal palace; where, after being presented with bread and salt, he was invested with the administration of the diocese, even before the imposition of hands by the Metropolitan. The Prince, likewise, when at peace with the citizens, attended the Veché, and spoke in it. It could constitute itself into a criminal court for the trial and punishment of felons. The condemned were frequently sentenced to be thrown off the bridge into the Volkhof. At Pskof, popularly styled 'the younger brother of Novgorod,' the citizens set up a club or heavy stick on the square of the Veché to intimidate malefactors, who were generally put to death with that instrument. It is to be presumed that matters relating to internal police, finance, and generally the administration of justice, were under the control of the Veché, which had also the faculty of granting lands.

The assemblies met on the arrival or departure of the lieutenant of the Sovereign; on the arrival of embassies; on the declaration of war, the appointment of a voevode or military leader, and the despatch of troops; and lastly, on the conclusion of peace with an enemy.

Such is a general outline of the functions of the ancient popular assemblies of Russia. We have said that the custom of popular assemblage was promoted by the subdivision of Russia into petty principalities, and, for some time, by the invasion of the Mongols. The ruthless Tartars burnt the towns and villages, and the inhabitants assembled in open council to devise common measures of defence and protection. The invaders, however, when they had once established their dominion, gained over by bribes the Princes, who had always been in the habit of seeking their own personal advantage. These drove the people into still closer union by frequent attempts at despotic government. Relying on the support of his Tartar protectors and the power of his officers, Yaroslaf, Great Prince of Novgorod in 1270, neglected the terms

on which he had ascended the throne, and became deaf to the popular voice. The bell of the Veché soon struck the hour of his downfall. The citizens assembled at the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and at once resolved to depose Yaroslaf and to put his favourites to death. The chief of these was killed, the others fled to sanctuary, leaving their houses to be pillaged and razed to the ground by the angry populace. An act of accusation was brought against the Prince in the name of Novgorod. 'Why,' asked the citizens, 'didst thou take possession of the palace of Mortkinitch? Why didst thou take silver from the boyars Nikifor, Robert, and Bartholomew? Why dost thou send away the foreigners (merchants) who live peaceably among us? Why do thy duck-catchers deprive us of our river Volkhof, and thy hare-hunters of our fields? Let thy oppression now cease! Go where thou wilt; we shall find another Prince.' The Prince sent his son with offers of submission to the popular will, but the citizens answered, 'No; we do not want thee; retire, or we shall drive thee away.' Yaroslaf was obliged to bow to the decision of the Veché; but he was afterwards reinstated by the same authority, after delivering a charter granting all the demands of the Novgorodians. 'Who can resist God and the great Novgorod?' was a proverbial expression of the time, evidently founded on a consciousness of power, not to be daunted even while the Tartar invaders held possession of the country, and afforded support to princes who sought their favour.

Under such barbarous and selfish masters it came to pass at length that the bell of the Veché was silenced in every town in Russia, with the exception of Novgorod and Pskof, which were destined to fall later. The cities that grew under the dominion of the Tartars—such as Moscow and Tver—were deprived of the ancient civil privilege of popular deliberation. There is only mention of one Veché held at Moscow under extraordinary circumstances, during the latter part of the Mongol occupation.

At last, however, the tide of retribution set in. The Mongols only sought tribute and riches from the country they had conquered; they had little communication with the people, and rendered the princes responsible for the collection of the heavy taxes which they imposed. The princes, acting under the authority of a powerful conqueror, extorted from the people enough to satisfy the Tartars and to leave a considerable balance in their own favour. The oppression of the Tartars led once more to the centralization of power in the country, by enriching the Grand Prince of Moscow, the mediator, such as he was, between the conqueror and the conquered. In the fourteenth century

century the Grand Duchy of Moscow began to absorb the minor principalities east of the Dnieper. In 1380, Dmitri, its Prince, was sufficiently strong to give the Tartars their first blow on the field of Kulikova; although it was only a century later that Ivan Veliki (John III.) succeeded in freeing his country entirely of the invaders.

The petty principalities being once more united under one prince, the centralization of power could not coexist with free parliaments held in different towns. Novgorod was finally incorporated with the Grand Duchy of Moscow in 1478. So strong was the love of political freedom in that ancient republic, that John III. was obliged to remove more than eight thousand boyars and fifty families of merchants to Moscow, replacing them by Moscovites, before he could extinguish the spirit of independence which so many centuries of freedom and prosperity had fostered in the Novgorodians. The Veché bell, the last emblem of liberty, was carried to Moscow, and for ever silenced.

John III. was prevented by wars, and perhaps by age, from reducing Pskof, whose civil liberties were not compatible with the autocracy he had established. Taking advantage of some factious proceedings at the Veché, Basilii IV., his successor, perfidiously imprisoned the boyars and citizens who had been sent to do him homage, at Novgorod, and sent an envoy to the Veché demanding their instant submission, and the dissolution of their assembly. 'The envoy,' says an ancient chronicle, 'sat down on the steps of the Veché, and long waited for an answer, for the citizens could not speak by reason of their tears and sobs; at last they asked to be allowed until the morrow for reflection. It was a most dreadful day and night for Pskof. Infants at the breast were the only ones that did not cry with grief. The wailings of the inhabitants were heard in the open street and in every house: they embraced each other as if their last hour had come. So great was the love of the citizens for their ancient liberties.' Resistance they felt was useless; and the next day, the memorable 13th January, 1510, they took down the bell of the Veché, at the Church of the Holy Trinity, and, gazing at it, long 'cried over the past, and their lost freedom.'

Hlynof, the present town of Viatka, a colony founded by the Novgorodians, was a pure republic, without a prince, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It fell likewise, in 1490, under the power of John III.

We now approach the second period in Russian history, and  
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the struggles of the parliaments to participate in the government of the State. John III., Grand Duke of all Muscovy, while averse to the popular Veché, felt the want of councillors to advise him in the government of such a country, only just delivered from foreign subjection, and recently united under one sceptre. He began by assembling his principal boyars in council, admitting later the officers of his household, who, like the boyars themselves, only enjoyed a life title, conferred by the Sovereign. This council, known as the *Duma Boyarskaya* (or Council of Boyars), was merely a consultative assembly. The grandson of John III., John IV., who was the first to proclaim himself, in 1547, Tsar of All the Russias, admitted a new class of councillors into his Council, chosen from the inferior nobility, and styled 'Council Nobles.' This was evidently neither a House of Lords nor a representation of the people, but merely a council, removable at pleasure, appointed by the Sovereign to offer advice whenever he chose to seek it, and constituting probably his court.

John IV., in 1550, by the advice of two of his wisest councillors, Alexis Adashef and the priest Sylvester, a Novgorodian by birth, summoned a general meeting, or the States-General, at Moscow, for the preparation of a new code of laws. Thus only forty years after the last Veché-bell had ceased to ring out the call to the exercise of political liberty, the Tsar of All the Russias found himself obliged to have recourse to a parliament of his people. The Vechés had been abolished throughout Russia, and in their stead we have a series of assemblies which, although desultory and unfrequent, were nevertheless parliaments on the broadest basis of popular franchise, and always proved competent to exercise the high functions of legislation to which they had been called.

The States-General assembled in 1550 were composed of the Metropolitan of Moscow, the archbishops, bishops, abbots of superior convents, boyars and nobles composing the Council of the Tsar, deputies of the clergy, deputies of the nobility, deputies of the citizens. There is no record of the numbers thus assembled in parliament, nor of the mode of conducting business; but the code which was then framed continued in force until the reign of Alexis, in 1648. The wise deliberations of the States-General resulted in the re-establishment of juries in courts of law—a practice which had formerly existed in the republics of Novgorod, Pskof, and Hlynof—and in the institution in several towns and cantons of elective administrators styled aldermen (*starosti*), centurions (*sotski*), and half-hundredmen (*piatidesiatnik*).

(*piatidesiatnik*). These institutions only declined on the abolition of the States-General by the Romanof dynasty, in the seventeenth century.

In 1566, engaged in a difficult struggle with Poland, John IV. once more summoned the States-General, to ask their advice respecting the prosecution of the war, and to obtain supplies of men and money. The States-General advised the Tsar to continue the war, and not to yield to the demands of the Poles. On the death of John IV., in 1584, the States-General were again convoked, and assisted at the consecration of his son Theodor I.; but there is no trace of their having this time deliberated on any legislative measures. Theodor I. died in 1598, and with him the ancient dynasty of the Ruriks became extinct. The States-General at once proclaimed as his successor the boyar Boris Godunof, his brother-in-law, who had virtually governed Russia for fourteen years, owing to the incapacity of the Rurik monarch. By the counsel and advice of Boris Godunof, a decree was issued on the 24th November, 1597, forbidding all peasants to leave those lands on which they should be found on that day. This was the first enactment that bound the peasants firmly to the soil. Earlier traces of their attachment are, it is true, to be found as far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, during the Tartar domination, when a census was taken in 1257, in order to secure the regular collection of taxes. The inhabitants of towns and villages settled on the lands of the State were then forbidden to leave them without special permission; and the custom sprang up by degrees of restricting the migrations of the rural population to the commencement or termination of the agricultural season. This custom was legalised by John III. in 1497, and confirmed by John IV. in 1550; but the full and final attachment of the peasant to the soil was not consummated until the close of the sixteenth century. The political crime of enslaving a people brought with it a retribution traceable throughout the remaining pages of Russian history.

It is evident from this arbitrary measure, and from many other acts of the reign of Boris Godunof, that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the influence of the nobles was paramount in the Government of Russia.

The death of Prince Shuiski in 1610 was followed by an interregnum, during which the Russians treated with several of the neighbouring potentates for the disposal of the Crown. The States-General were convoked by the boyars and military chiefs in January, 1613, for the election of a new dynasty. The provincial communes—remnants of the ancient popular form of government—

government—had grown impatient of metropolitan dictation and turbulence, and manifested a desire for federal union and collective deliberation. Their desire was ‘to live in amity, council, and union,’ and to be governed in their choice of a new sovereign by an assembly composed of ‘selected, good, and sensible men.’

Baron Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer taken prisoner at the battle of Poltava, gives an interesting account of the election of Michael Romanof by the States-General in 1613.

After the claims of several other candidates to the throne had been discussed and rejected, a member of the assembly suggested that their choice should fall on the young boyar Michael Romanof, son of Philaret, the Archbishop of Rostof, as a Prince in whom all the necessary advantages were combined.

On the 21st February, 1613, Michael was accordingly proclaimed Tsar of All the Russias, but without the title of Autocrat enjoyed by the Sovereigns after John III.

The Charter imposed on the new Tsar by the ‘Council of the Whole Land,’ and sworn to by Michael, stipulated:—

1. That he would protect and preserve the orthodox religion.
2. That he would forget and forgive the wrongs done to his father, and would show no malice to any one.
3. That he would neither make new laws nor change old statutes, and that in all important matters he would not give an arbitrary decision.
4. That the law should take its free course.
5. That he would neither declare war nor make peace of his own accord.
6. That to appear disinterested and to avoid litigation he would cede his private property to his family, or incorporate it with the domains of the State.

Baron Strahlenberg is confirmed in this account of the Charter by a writer in Russia, who is allowed openly by the censors to state further that ‘the Sovereign thus chosen by the whole country was bound to watch over the interests of the people, not only with his boyars and privy-councillors, but he was also obliged to summon assemblies of the country composed of delegates from the provincial communes and from such classes of society as then existed.’ The charter obtained from the new sovereign was signed by the members of the States-General. The names appended were as follows: 3 metropolitans, 3 archbishops, 2 bishops, 18 superior abbots, 19 inferior abbots, 3 treasurers of convents, 8 priests, 17 boyars, 4 okolnitchi or household officers, 1 grand échanson, 1 échanson, 2 secretaries of state (or of the council), 34 gentlemen sewers,

19 functionaries, 11 princes, 51 Russian nobles, 4 Tartar nobles, 80 delegates from towns, among whom are both nobles and citizens; making a total of 56 clerical and 224 lay members. Many signed for those of their colleagues who were unable to write. Prince Dolgorukof imagines the entire number of members must have considerably exceeded 300. Each Order (or State) having presented a written report, the boyar Michael Romanof was declared to have been unanimously elected.

The 'Great Moscow Council,' as it is sometimes called, of 1613, retained the general administration of the country for about four months and a-half, exercising a sovereign authority from February to the middle of June. It carried on a war with the Poles, and generally exercised all the attributes of sovereignty as a parliamentary body.

These assemblies now became frequent: we shall draw attention to the proceedings of some of them. They were convoked by the Sovereign, either by his own personal Ukase or decree, or by a decree issued after consultation with the lay and clerical orders of Moscow, with the patriarchs, the inferior clergy, the boyars of every degree, the merchants, and the lower orders of Moscow, or—as the populace were then and are still called—'the black people.'

In the former case the initiative and form of the elective organisation of the Assembly of the States-General were expressed as follows (so far as it is possible to render into English the quaint language of that period) in the Acts by which they were convoked:—

'And the Sovereign Tsar and Great Prince of all Russia has ordered that an assembly take place, and that it be attended by the patriarch, the metropolitan (named), the archimandrites, abbots, and the whole sacred body, and by the boyars and okolniks (household officers) and councillors; and by the gentlemen sewers (stolniki), and functionaries, and nobles, and secretaries; and by the chiefs and centurions of the strolitzes (troops); and by the sons of nobles and the sons of boyars *from towns*; and by the principal merchants, the corporation of cloth-merchants and by the corporation of the principal merchants, and by the traders and servants of the corporation of the inferior merchants; and that all people be told for what purpose the assembly is called together:—that they elect from the several orders (states) the worthiest and wisest men from among the best, the middle-aged, and the younger men:—with whom we may confer respecting the matter of deliberation; and whoever are chosen, let the names of such persons be written down.'

Philaret, the father of the Sovereign, was released from captivity by the Poles in June, 1619, and at once assumed an authority



rity over his son which his holy office of patriarch and the dissensions of the period enabled him to preserve during the remainder of the reign of Michael. Early in July, 1619, a circular edict of the Tsar was sent to all the provinces, ordering them to send deputies to Moscow for consultation with the sovereign, with the view of reforming the existing system of taxation, and that they might listen to the resolutions of the council just held. The Tsar promised at the same time to listen to their representations, and to make any reforms that might be necessary for the settlement of his dominions, in order 'that all his people might live in peace and happiness by the grace of God and his Tsarish solicitude.' The chief result of this meeting of the States-General appears to have been a bargain between the nobility and the Government for the more secure possession of their serfs. The Patriarch Philaret had need of their support, and they soon gave him power enough to effect in a great measure their own political extinction.

In 1625 the title of Autocrat was again introduced into the legend engraved upon the Great Seal, from which it had been effaced on the election of Michael Romanof. Prince Dolgorukof states that about this time, or between 1620 and 1625, the original charter granted by Michael is supposed to have been replaced by another, in which the conditions limiting the power of the sovereign were omitted; the persons still living, signatories of that charter, were compelled to affix their names to the new one, still preserved in the archives of the Russian Foreign Office. There is evidence of the fraud in the fact of several signatures being accompanied by titles acquired many years after the charter of 1613. The history of the earlier charter is certainly wrapped in great mystery. Some Russian historians deny its existence altogether; at the same time the box in which it is supposed to be contained is still shown in the Museum of the Palace of the Kremlin; and the very secrecy which has been maintained on the subject would lead to a conviction, in the absence even of direct proof, that the charter imposed by the States-General must have contained clauses inconsistent with autocracy. The wily Patriarch was very likely to cherish, and ultimately to accomplish, the desire of annulling conditions imposed on the accession of his son at the age of sixteen, and which interfered with his own despotic projects.

The Patriarch died on the 1st October, 1633; but during the fourteen years in which he had exercised sovereign power he succeeded so well in re-establishing absolute monarchy, that for several years after his death the States-General had only a feeble tenure of life as a consultative chamber. But dangers once  
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more threatened the country, and the States-General, having met at Moscow on the 29th January, 1634, voted some new taxes and heavy subsidies to be levied on all classes, for the prosecution of the war with Poland. The inferior nobility, anxious to preserve their 'peculiar institution,' willingly voted supplies to the absolute ruler on whom their fortunes now depended.

In 1641 the Tsar had to decide whether he should annex the town of Azof, which had been seized by the Cossacks of the Don, or should restore it to Turkey. He accordingly summoned the States-General on the 3rd January, 1642, to obtain their advice. The composition of this assembly appears to have varied somewhat from that of others, in the admission of a new class of members—the mayors of towns,—and to have been particularly unruly and outspoken. The representatives of the nobles of sixteen towns told the Tsar in the boldest language: 'Thy clerks (officers) receive pay in money, property, and lands, and being always employed in thy State matters, become rich by their unrighteous venality; they have bought many estates and built many houses and stone palaces beyond our powers of description. Former sovereigns and people of high rank never had such houses, although worthier to dwell in them; order, Sovereign, that they furnish horse and foot from their estates, and pay them out of their gains.' They proceeded to recommend the Tsar to levy a similar contribution in men and money on such of their compeers who had evaded His Majesty's service, as well as on those who were in the habit of avoiding the payment of taxes by their changes of residence. The spoliation of the Church was urged in the following decided terms:—'And shouldst thou speedily require for thy treasury over and above what thou canst in this manner levy,—order, Sovereign, the treasure of the Patriarch, of the metropolitans, of the archbishops, of the bishops, and of the monasteries to be taken from them for thy royal service.'

The traders were equally unwilling to furnish a military contingent. They represented that they had no lands, and that it was the duty of those who possessed such to supply the State with soldiers. Complaint was made that taxes were being imposed in thousands where they had formerly been levied in hundreds, and all the while their trade was on the decrease. The inhabitants of towns had been impoverished and ruined by His Majesty's voevodes and lieutenants, who treated the merchants on their journeys with extreme violence and oppression; whereas in former reigns the citizens had their own courts, and the towns no voevodes (military governors). The corporation of inferior merchants represented that they had been ruined by conflagrations,

conflagrations, heavy taxes, and contributions of every kind ; and that they could therefore afford no assistance to the Tsar in the shape of troops or supplies.

Seeing so little chance of obtaining supplies, notwithstanding that the States were in favour of a war with Turkey, the Tsar ordered the Cossacks to restore Azof to the Turks ; unwilling, no doubt, to hazard his autocracy by engaging in a war which might have become disastrous and unpopular.

The Tsar Michael died on the 12th July, 1645, and was succeeded as Autocrat by his son Alexis. 'Alexis,' says Manstein, another Swedish officer, 'found himself so powerful by the support of the strelitzes, that he had little need to seek the favour of his nobles, and could encroach on their liberties at pleasure.' Other writers have likewise stated that Alexis inherited an absolute authority, which his father had not enjoyed at the commencement of his reign, and that he signed no engagements, like his father, at his accession to the throne. Alexis directed his attention to legal reforms, and his reign is most remarkable for the improvements which he introduced. The *Imiannoy Ukases*, or *Personal Decrees* of the Sovereign, had become almost the only laws of the country ; their great number and variety rendered the administration of the law most uncertain, produced endless contentions, and fostered corruption. To remedy this evil he summoned the *States-General* in July, 1648, for the compilation of a new code. The composition of this assembly again differed considerably from that of others. The Assembly was more particularly distinguished by its division into two Houses. The first, over which the Tsar presided in person, was composed of fourteen representatives of the Clergy—and of the Chamber of Boyars, containing then fifteen boyars—of ten gentlemen sewers—three council-nobles, of whom one kept the Great Seal and another was Treasurer—and three Secretaries of State. The Lower House, consisting of 301 members, was under the presidency of the Boyar Prince George Dolgorukof. This peculiar feature of the *States-General* is, however, attributable to the fact of the session having been devoted to the compilation of a code by the selection and arrangement of the edicts of former Tsars.

The custom was, to open the sittings of the *States-General* in the large Gold Hall of the *Granovitaya Palace* in the Kremlin. Sometimes the Tsar pronounced a speech, stating the object for which they had been convoked ; sometimes the Clerk of the Privy Council spoke or read a speech for the Sovereign to the same effect. A copy of this speech was distributed for information, or probably for preliminary consideration. The several orders spoke

spoke according to their social rank ; the deputies of each order having agreed amongst themselves expressed their opinions or demands, as a body, through a speaker who generally terminated his discourse with the words—‘Such is the opinion and deposition of us nobles of various towns’ (or citizens, as the case might be). Each order or class of delegates had its own clerk, who recorded their opinions, resolutions, and speeches. It sometimes happened that a member of some order or class was not satisfied with the explanation afforded by his colleagues ; it was then competent for him to make an explanatory or supplementary speech, which was accordingly recorded and taken into further consideration. The final resolutions of the Assembly were based on the collective representations made by the delegates from the several orders.

In the case of the Assembly of 1648, the collection and codification of the ancient statutes were confided to a committee of five. Only the new statutes—not more than nineteen in number—were dealt with by the Plenum of the Assembly. Early in October, about three months after the convocation, the Sovereign listened to the reading of the new code with the Patriarch, the bishops, the boyars, the gentlemen sewers, and the nobles of the council : the Lower House listened to the reading at a separate session. It was here, doubtless, that they presented their petitions, for several articles are known to have been subsequently added to the code, in consequence of the petition of the deputies. This Parliament sat from July to the 3rd of October.

There was another meeting of the States-General on the 1st of October, 1653, when they were summoned to consider the petition of the Cossacks of Little Russia, who, oppressed by the Poles, offered the suzerainty of their country to Alexis. The States-General counselled a war with Poland, and the acceptance of the suzerainty. The contact, says Prince Dolgorukof, which ensued between the Russian nobles and those of Poland and Lithuania, opened the eyes of the former to their abject position, subjected as they were to the despotic tyranny of their masters, and even to corporal punishment. Alexis observed the increasing discontent, and established near Moscow a political Inquisition, which spread great terror and consternation. On the least suspicion, persons were condemned to linger out their lives in the cells of the Inquisition, and many died under the application of torture.

Alexis, dying in 1676, was succeeded by his son Theodor III., who, although of feeble constitution, held the nobles in check by means of his Strelitz guards. In the last year of his reign he  
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felt anxious to abolish the corrupt system of *mestnichestvo* (or the system of precedence among the nobles according to the rank held at court by their fathers and grandfathers). The States-General were very willing to co-operate with the Sovereign in such a necessary reform, long desired by the majority of the lesser nobles ; but the death of Theodor in April, 1682, brought their deliberations to an untimely conclusion, and terminated the series of Parliaments convoked by the Sovereigns of Russia since 1550.

Sophia the daughter of Alexis, proclaimed Regent after a sanguinary revolt of the Strelitzes, decreed the dissolution of the States-General in May, 1682.

These assemblies, frequently powerful enough to convoke themselves, were naturally frank and democratic in their representations to the Sovereign. Allowance being made for the rudeness of the manners and phraseology of the period, the advice tendered by the deputies was invariably of a sound and practical description. The manifestations of the popular spirit afford a strange mixture of democratic independence with extreme servility of language. While they use the most abject terms in speaking of their pursuits, and constantly repeating the title of the Sovereign whose slaves they declare themselves to be, the merchants and burghers openly refuse to supply the royal exchequer at the expense of their own needs and interests ; stating, nevertheless, in general terms their readiness to serve the Tsar. They were guided by no abstract considerations ; they brought the experience of practical life to bear on the demands made upon them. The deputies were perfectly justified in demanding an equitable distribution of the taxation of the country, and a proper control of the expenditure. The Tsar, in want of men and money, was told that none of his subjects should enjoy immunity from taxation to the prejudice of the agricultural classes and the traders. The traders showed that the interference of Government in their pursuits was highly prejudicial, and therefore protested strongly against the system of administration by military governors, and against the suppression of their ancient privilege of self-government.

Altogether the attitude and results of the States-General of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be looked back upon by the Russian people with feelings of pride and with much hope for the future. Although they were occasionally debased by the Sovereign to suit his own selfish policy, and although they contributed to maintain for a couple of centuries longer the establishment of serfdom, yet they saved the country on many an emergency ; and they latterly gave evidence of a political

tical maturity not attributed to the Russian people by their rulers of the present day.

The reign of Peter I. was pre-eminently unconstitutional, to use the mildest terms. Possessed with the idea of drawing nearer to Europe, he directed all his brute will to the attainment of that object. Despotism was perhaps the only title by which he could retain the Crown in the face of an oppressed servile population, of a nobility anxious to reassert their ancient rights, and of a soldiery in a chronic state of rebellion. The circumstances under which Peter ascended the throne gave a cast to the whole of his reign—an impression perpetuated, often with increased intensity, in the subsequent policy of Russia. Moscow, the national focus, was too hot for Peter, and the founding a new city offered the advantages of a removal from the seat of discontent and a readier means of introducing a foreign civilisation under which the nation might become more reconciled to the *enlightened* rule which he had inaugurated. At St. Petersburg he could shave his notables and dress them as Germans with impunity.

The nobility gradually became less averse to the new despotism. They felt the need of an efficient central authority to retain them in the enjoyment of a system of serfage which gratified all their wants and rendered them almost indifferent to the acts of the Tsar. They had plenty of opportunity of wielding a despotic sway themselves, and they little heeded the distant thunder of Peter. Here then, again, we find the curse of slavery bearing its fruits:—the nobles bent on brutalising their serfs, the Tsar determined to reduce his nobility to utter insignificance, to deprive them entirely of their ancient constitutional privileges, and to raise a class of adherents by introducing the German system of bureaucracy—a system to which most of the present evils of Russia are attributable. No wonder, then, that under such circumstances and under such a man, Russia became the representative of despotism in Europe.

The Chamber of Boyars, or Privy Council, which had been remodelled in the reign of John IV. and invested with an authority which often encroached on the privileges of the other classes, was reformed, or rather abolished, by Peter in the early part of the 18th century. It had always been more a Court of Appeal than a State Council; but Peter required neither. The 'Executive Senate,' a mere dummy of legislative wisdom and authority, was established in its stead, and exists to this day, after many still more neutralising modifications by subsequent sovereigns.

The constitutional history of Russia now becomes a history of  
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its code, the only matter in which a few of the sovereigns after Peter admitted the participation of the people.

An attempt to limit the power of the Empress Anne in 1730 alone intervenes to prove the vitality of constitutional ideas.

No progress having been made in legal reform during the reign of Peter, but little success could be expected under Catherine I. The Senate gave orders to hasten the codification of the laws, and summoned deputies to Moscow to represent the wants of the country with reference to legal reform. But 50 copecks banco (about 6*d.*) a-day was not sufficient inducement; and when, after many threats, the deputies did arrive at Moscow, they proved unfit for the functions they were desired to perform.

During the reign of Peter II. the nobles had plotted the limitation of the power of the Tsar; but the sudden death of the youthful sovereign upset their plans. Nevertheless, the partisans of the Dolgorukis were determined to make a struggle for their principles. A kind of constitution was prepared, guaranteeing the rights of the Imperial Council. It was decided to choose a sovereign from the family of Peter, viz., Anne Duchess of Courland, on condition that she should take an oath to observe the constitution established by the Council. The principal points of this charter, as given by Mićkiewicz, are:—‘Without the advice of the Council, rendered irremovable, the Sovereign could neither declare war nor make peace; nor could he choose a successor, appoint to the higher offices of State, or impose new taxes. The Sovereign was not to punish the gentry, either corporally or by the infliction of fines, without submitting their offences to the ordinary courts of justice.’

The Duchess of Courland accepted all these conditions, and was proclaimed Empress. But unfortunately there were elements of discord in the Council itself on which the new constitution was based. It was composed partly of foreigners—the Ostermans, Loewenwolds, Bruces—all of German, Courland, or French extraction, who soon foresaw that the Government, once set in motion, would eventually rid itself of the foreign element and fall entirely into the hands of the national party, led by historical families; and that they, the favourites of the hour, might any day fall into disgrace and incur severe penalties.

The foreign party now detached themselves in secret from the Council which they had assisted in establishing. The Empress could not be averse to intrigues which aimed at restoring the absolutism she had surrendered, and she was bound by strong ties to that party. They soon succeeded in persuading the lesser boyars of Moscow that the Council had usurped all the  
authority

authority of the Crown; that the members of the Council had invested themselves with privileges which they were not disposed to extend; and lastly, the populace were taught that the Dolgorukis had imprisoned their Sovereign in her own palace, from which it was now necessary to rescue her. By exciting the jealousy of the inferior nobility and by acting on the stupid ignorance of the lower classes, a revolution was soon organised. The populace assembled in crowds at the palace, and asked to see the Empress, who was initiated in the secret. They asked her whether she was at liberty, and called to her to resume her authority. The Empress played her part well. Sending for Prince Dolgorukof, she inquired what the people wanted? and on being told, said to the Prince, 'You have been deceived. You have not known the wishes of the people. They are calling upon me to govern like my ancestors—to assume autocratic authority. What have you said in your constitution?' The Arch-Chancellor showed her the constitution with trembling hands, and taking it from him, the Empress tore it into pieces before the applauding multitude. The fate of the Dolgorukis was instantly sealed; they went through all the phases of political persecution until at last the pitiless Biron had them all broken on the wheel, while their partisans were banished to the mines of Siberia for ever.

Catherine II. came to the throne eager for fame, and anxious to put in practice the philosophic doctrines of the age. It may be said she was anxious to do as much for constitutionalism as serfage would permit her. But Catherine was most anxious to be a law-giver, and her more liberal and advanced councillors took advantage of the desire to promote the cause of representative government, such as had formerly existed. On the 14th December, 1766, it was announced by manifesto that the Empress intended to appoint a Commission during the following year at Moscow, for the preparation of the draft of a new code of laws. Deputies were ordered to be sent by the senate, synod, all the colleges (viz., Military, Foreign Affairs, Justice, &c.) and chanceries, one from each; from each district where there were nobles, one nobleman; from the inhabitants of towns, one from each town; from the freemen (or descendants of nobles who, having refused service under Peter I., had been deprived of their nobility) of each province one deputy; from the military colonies and various servants of the Crown and others forming the land-militia, one deputy from each province; from foreign races not leading a roving life, of whatever religion, Christians or not, one deputy from each people in every province. The settlement of the number of deputies from the Cossack troops was left to their  
superior



superior commanders. The deputies were not to be under twenty-five years of age : they received pay from the Government ; were freed during their lives from the penalty of death, from torture, corporal punishment, and confiscation of property. A double punishment was awarded to any one who insulted a deputy. The election of deputies was to be made by ballot, by a majority of votes. Each deputy received from his electors a power of attorney, and an instruction stating the wants and demands of the community, drawn up by five electors chosen for the purpose.

When the deputies assembled at Moscow, the Empress, being then at Kolomna, near Moscow, appointed ' various persons, of very different opinions,' to listen to the Instruction which Her Majesty had prepared for the Commission. A discussion arose at each article. The Empress gave them leave to strike out anything they pleased. They accordingly struck out half the articles which were sent up to them, and began work in a very independent spirit.

This Parliament, or ' Commission ' as it was called, for fear of rousing the people to a more vivid recollection of their ancient assemblies, was opened at Moscow on the 31st of July, 1767, and was composed of 565 deputies.

An inquiry into the instructions furnished by the constituents gives a curious insight into the requirements and state of the country at that period, but they are too numerous to be stated at length. Most of them referred to Church matters, and a law of mortmain was urged by several. Others demanded a sumptuary law ; but the most extraordinary demands were made by the Functionary class, to the effect that all women who led a wanton life should be exterminated ; that debtors be given over to their creditors to work out their debts, if not sent to hard labour ; that a law should be framed to draw the several classes of the population into closer friendship ; and that a census be taken of all benevolent citizens who were to be honoured. The suggestions of the nobility were more practical and useful, although not unselfish. The inhabitants of towns appear to have been most concerned about Church matters, but they presented some very important demands : such as the institution of oral procedure and other reforms in the administration of justice, the establishment of state banks, trade corporations, hospitals, academies, universities, and schools, and, generally, advocated a most liberal policy, with the exception perhaps of a request for a prohibitory tariff on foreign goods. The freemen sent up some very sensible instructions, most of their demands having reference to the administration of justice. The merchants, as a class, represented that ' by the will of God, Russia is governed by the  
monarchic,

monarchic, not the aristocratic, principle, and plebeian as well as noble—in fact, all sorts and conditions of men—are equally the loyal slaves of our most gracious Sovereign.’ They were most anxious to be relieved of their disabilities, and to be raised from the position of contempt to which they had been reduced. It is instructive to observe that the most absurd and illiberal proposals were made by the class of state servants introduced by Peter the Great.

On the 21st August the Assembly, feeling the healthy vigour of political life, presented an address of thanks to the Empress for having called it into existence ; but on their suddenly commencing a searching inquiry into the evil of serfage, the Empress took fright, and, fearing any further discussion, dissolved the Plenum, on the 29th of December, until further notice. The Separate Commissions were alone retained, but with fewer members. In 1774 the entire Commission was dissolved, and a Chancery merely retained for reference.

It is alleged, on the part of the Government, that the Commission assembled by Catherine only prepared a few drafts of laws relating to schools, post-offices, &c., and forty-five criminal statutes, none of which were ever finally examined or confirmed ; and that, like its predecessors, it afforded no practical results. But the following is the testimony of the Empress herself on this subject :—

‘ The Commission on assembling afforded me light and information respecting the whole empire, the persons with whom we have to deal, and those who require our solicitude. It collected the laws and arranged them, and would have done still more had it not been for the commencement of the war with Turkey. The deputies were then dismissed, and the military members rejoined the army. The Instruction to the Commission introduced a far greater unity than before into their rules and debates. Flowers began to be judged by their colours, and not as by those who are colour-blind. At all events they began to know the will of the legislator, and to act according to it.’

But even if this testimony were wanting, a perusal of the several Instructions is sufficient to show that the Empress, anxious to legislate, must have derived great benefit from the Assembly of 1766-7. In fact the glory of her reign is to be attributed to the political wisdom which she surreptitiously appropriated on the occasion. All her subsequent enactments bore the impress of the popular Council, however loth she may have been to acknowledge her obligations.

The nobles had been assuming a considerable amount of power during the feeble reigns of her latest predecessors, who were very much at the mercy of the Court. Catherine herself had favourites

of that class, and unconsciously, perhaps, she yielded back to her nobles most of the privileges of which they had been deprived by Peter. She even went further : gave them a charter guaranteeing their rights, and permitted them to hold assemblies of their own for the discussion of their affairs and necessities, the election of certain provincial officials, and the appointment of judges.

The nobility of Russia have enjoyed great nominal privileges, the most substantial being an immunity from certain taxes, and freedom from corporal punishment, besides the right, already mentioned, of electing their own judges and provincial officers. The exercise of those privileges has, however, always been restricted within the limits of the Imperial will. While serfdom existed the nobles remained in an almost dormant state, occasionally awaking to a sense of their abject dependence, but loth to avail themselves of the right of meeting in their triennial assemblies.

After the death of Nicholas the nobility became more active. A new era had commenced ; serfdom was doomed, and they had their terms to make with the Government. But the majority of the nobility had long contemplated the manumission of the serfs, and they co-operated gladly in the work of liberation. Already, in 1838, the nobility of Tula had the courage to propose the emancipation of the serfs, without offering to give them the land on which they were settled. The sympathy of the nobility in the work has been repeatedly expressed at their Assemblies, and more recently at Moscow, Tver, and St. Petersburg. They feel, no doubt, that freedom to the lower classes must be followed by greater liberties to themselves. But they eagerly seek to include all classes in the political privileges which they hope to obtain.

‘ The class privileges of the nobility,’ said the nobles of Tver in an address to the Emperor, ‘ have hitherto absolved them from the fulfilment of their most important social obligations. Sire ! we consider it a sin of the deepest dye to live and enjoy the benefit of social order at the expense of other classes of the community. It is not right that the poor man should pay a rouble and the rich man nothing. That could only be tolerated while serfage existed ; but it now places us in the position of parasites utterly useless to their country. We do not wish to enjoy such an ignominious privilege any longer, and we hold ourselves irresponsible for its further continuance.

‘ We humbly beg that your Majesty will allow us to take upon ourselves such a portion of the taxation of the empire as may be commensurate with our means.

‘ We also enjoy the exclusive right of appointing persons to govern the people. We now consider that exclusive privilege illegal, and pray that it may be extended to other classes.’

Similar

Similar views were expressed by the nobility of the Government of St. Petersburg; and the prayer has just been granted, although not perhaps on the terms or conditions which the nobles had anticipated.

The position of the present Sovereign of Russia is necessarily influenced by the reigns of his immediate predecessors. The short reign of Paul is instructive, inasmuch as it demonstrates the ease with which revolutions are accomplished. Russian sovereigns have ever been in greater danger in their own palaces, than abroad in the open street or the crowded assembly. The failure of Napoleon's expedition was the triumph of absolutism in Russia. The Emperor became deified; he had saved his religion and his country. The successes of the Russian arms, purposely magnified, impressed the people with an idea that they were henceforth invincible; that they had a great destiny before them; and that, having beaten the French, who had beaten everybody else, no nation could in future oppose them. It was under the influence of this delusion that the Russian people entered so keenly on the late war with the Allies. It was to be a religious war, and had not God already been with them in such a cause?

Nicholas, on his accession, found absolutism much in favour among the great masses of his subjects. He was certainly opposed by a handful of patriots, who had not calculated on the effects of the reign of Alexander. The country was unripe and autocracy too strong for the devoted 'Decembrists' of 1825, and they incurred the penalty of their crime. Nicholas profited by the attempt to establish still more firmly the superstitious prestige and despotic power attached to his Crown. Public feeling was suppressed by an overwhelming soldiery and an extensive system of political inquisition, followed by punishments at which humanity shudders. Disaffection was frightened into acquiescence by military despotism, or cajoled into silence by the deceptive grandeur of Imperial magnificence, ostentatiously exhibited at home and abroad. Nicholas little thought that he was preparing the way for the downfall of the absolutism which he cherished above everything. His policy favoured the system of deception and fraud under which a corrupt bureaucracy flourished. He was deceived as to the state of his finances, or rather as to the principles on which his financial system was based. He was misled as to the effectiveness of the army he had so carefully trained; and, had he lived to witness the Peace of 1856, he would have found how greatly he had been mistaken as to the efficacy of the entire system he had been pursuing.

It is no wonder that Alexander II. found the State rotten.

There was a sudden rebound of intelligence and honesty in the country on the death of Nicholas. Things were placed in their true light before his son, and he saw that peace was vitally necessary. The credit of the Russian arms had been sufficiently impaired, the finances of the country had been deeply enough involved, and a reaction against his father's policy was sure to set in with uncontrollable force. Circumstances would have made Alexander II. a philanthropist, had he even not been gifted with a humane heart and with all the qualities of a benefactor to his country. He perceived at once that 'reforms should come from above, in order that they might not come from below;' and he began reforming in good earnest. The first blow was struck at corruption, and general after general was disgraced and punished for malversation during the Crimean war. Bureaucracy was placed on its guard, and told that venality would be no more tolerated. The Minister of Public Works under the Emperor Nicholas was the first to fall: he has been followed by nearly every minister of the late Sovereign. The army was reduced to the lowest limits compatible with the dignity and safety of the country, and the term of military service was shortened. All the novelties, however, were not improvements. Anxious to restore their finances and the commercial prosperity of the country, the Government injudiciously, although with the best intentions, promoted commercial speculation and industrial enterprise of every kind, both by subsidies and by lowering the rate of interest at the State bank. Over-trading added its disastrous effects to financial embarrassment, and assisted in depreciating the currency of the country. New loans had to be made; and to make them attractive in the foreign market the budget of the empire had to be published, though not before the same budget had found its way to the Russian free press in London.

But the grandest reform of all was the emancipation of 23,000,000 of human beings.

On the 19th February (3rd March), 1861, an Ukase proclaimed that the serf was to be liberated, on certain conditions. This decree was founded on the labours of the provincial committees of the nobility, who had been invited by the Emperor to prepare a project of emancipation. It was revised by a central committee at St. Petersburg, composed for the most part of functionaries; and it was finally approved by the Council of State. There was great difficulty in reconciling the two theories as to the rights of the peasant in the land. The proprietors and political economists would have preferred the mere personal emancipation of the serf; but the latter has always held that he belonged to the lord, while the land belonged to himself.

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The fear of producing a servile insurrection, and an ill-founded argument that personal freedom without land would reduce the peasantry to pauperism, decided the advisers of the Emperor in favour of giving to the serfs the *perpetual usufruct* of their cottages and gardens, and of certain portions of land, regulated by a maximum and minimum scale, based on the fertility of the soil. The peasants were allowed the option of acquiring such lands in perpetuity, or of holding them under a lease; in either case on terms arranged by the Government, if not previously agreed upon between the proprietor and the peasant. A period of two years, which will elapse in March, 1863, was assigned for the settlement of terms, both with regard to quantity of land to be ceded and the rent, labour, or purchase-money to be paid for it. In March, 1863, the peasants, both husbandmen and domestics, become entirely free as regards their persons. Magistrates were appointed to assist in drawing up the charters or title-deeds of the peasantry; but not much progress has been made in amicable adjustment, the peasants generally hanging back in the hope of obtaining their patches of land without redemption in 1863. It is needless to add that the approach of the month of March is regarded by all classes with no little anxiety.

The great landowner, and the country generally, cannot fail to feel for a considerable period the effects of such a social revolution. The former will suffer from the loss of his serfs, and the compulsory sale of his land at what he considers an inadequate price, as well as from the scarcity and dearness of free labour; the country will suffer from cultivation being confided almost entirely to small proprietors without capital, and as yet with little enterprise. It is to be hoped, however, that in time the labour-market will have become re-adjusted to a level that will allow those possessed of extensive estates to pursue agriculture with profit, and to raise a surplus produce at a remunerative rate for exportation. The mind naturally recurs to the earlier period of Russian history, when the richer and more industrious *Slaviané* became 'Best men,' and the rest of the population mere tenants or labourers. The name of Alexander II. will be immortally associated with the abolition of serfdom. Yet without detracting from the credit due and rendered to the present Emperor, it is but just to reflect a portion of it on those by whom the measure was facilitated, if not initiated. There had always been an emancipation party in the country. The delegates in Catherine II.'s Parliament suggested it, and were even partly on that account dismissed; Alexander I. and several of his counsellors ardently desired the abolition of serfage; in 1838 Nicholas was asked (as we have already mentioned) by a  
section

section of the nobility to abolish it, and Nicholas himself had always contemplated some kind of mitigation of serfage. During his reign and that of Alexander I. no less than eight secret committees were appointed for the purpose of reviewing and ameliorating the position of the peasants. In 1852 Nicholas caused to be prepared by General Bibikoff, then Minister of the Interior, a plan of gradual emancipation. It was to have been put into execution in the spring of 1854, but was afterwards postponed to 1855, when the Emperor and his partial project died. No personal prejudice of the Sovereign, had it existed, could long have withheld freedom from the peasant, although to Alexander II. belongs the high glory of being the willing instrument in the hands of the Divine Regulator for conferring so great a blessing upon Russia.

Other reforms have followed, though sometimes slowly and in instalments. Occasionally the reformers appear to waver, frightened at the apparition of the ghost of despotism. The indecision that marks the course of improvement is evidently attributable to the difficulty of reconciling absolute government with extended popular privileges, better laws and justice, and generally with the natural development of a nation relieved from the incubus of serfdom.

There is no concealing the fact that the reforms now made are generally imperfect in their details, however sound they may be in principle. Let us consider, for instance, the most recent reform—that of the administration of justice. An ukase of the Sovereign appoints commissions, and charges the competent departments of the Senate to elaborate an entirely new system of judicial procedure. A new law is summarily prepared, discussed within the Imperial council-chamber, and suddenly appears with the confirmation of His Imperial Majesty. It yields to the people more than is granted to them in limited monarchies. All classes are to combine to elect their own magistrates. On the other hand, it takes away from the nobility a privilege solemnly conferred and most jealously guarded—the election of judges. The Crown assumes the responsibility of administering justice on a system founded almost entirely on our own. This gigantic reform includes a Habeas Corpus Act, for no person can in future be arrested without a writ, and every prisoner must be examined before a magistrate within twenty-four hours from his arrest; the accused is tried by a jury of twelve, duly challenged, and sworn to give their conscientious verdict in the name of the majority, an equality of votes among the jurymen constituting the benefit of a doubt in favour of the accused. The defendant is represented, if he wishes, by qualified counsel at a charge fixed by law; wit-  
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nesses are examined orally; no stamped paper is to be employed in the Courts of Law, which are henceforth open to the public, except in certain specified cases, when the Court may be cleared. The judicial power is for ever separated from the executive, administrative, and legislative. No reform could be more radical, and apparently more complete.

‘But,’ says M. Platonoff in a memoir read at an Assembly of the nobles of St. Petersburg, ‘with whatever wisdom men skilled in theory may prepare drafts of laws, those laws should previously to their final confirmation or promulgation be carefully examined in all their details and fully discussed, especially with reference to their applicability to the wants and requirements of the nation; otherwise they may entail great calamities on the empire.

‘The dignitaries who now constitute the Council of the Empire and who are associated in the legislative power, may be competent to examine new drafts of laws in their relation towards the interests of the State; but it is impossible that they should ascertain or foresee the effect which the new law may exercise over 70,000,000 of inhabitants, so varied in their origin, their customs, and habits, as well as in their degree of civilisation, and spread over the immense surface of the largest empire in Europe. In order to ascertain and foresee that effect, it is indispensable to have an assembly of persons especially adapted for legislation, and thoroughly acquainted with local wants and interests, such as used to meet in the ancient Duma Zemskaya (States-General).’

M. Platonoff would no doubt have added, had he dared, that there was another important element wanting in such arbitrary legislation, viz., stability. The reign of the enlightened monarch might be followed by that of a despot; one class might grow powerful at the expense of the other; the enlightened monarch might himself become weary of reform, and be unwilling to admit that gradual pruning and trimming of institutions which alone keeps them in health and vigour. In order, therefore, to frame laws carefully adapted to such varied local requirements, to secure their proper execution, and to place their existence beyond the power of chance, the Emperor will be compelled to call in the co-operation of representatives of the people.

Another reason in favour of constitutional government in Russia is plausibly adduced by the Russian free press in citing the state of Poland and Finland, to which countries they consider that Diets must inevitably be conceded; and they argue that, in these days of railroad and steam communication, a popular assembly cannot sit next door to the capital of an absolute sovereign without undermining that absolutism.

But although the nobility desired the emancipation of the serfs, yet they are generally very much exasperated against the Imperial



Imperial Government on account of the manner in which that measure has been effected; and they chafe at the delay in the reforms which they have repeatedly asked for. The nobility may be divided into two sections:—

1. The highly conservative and more aged members of the class, who uphold absolutism and orthodoxy, regret the days of the Emperor Nicholas, and generally bewail the present state of the country. They would wish to revert to the past, and they have dismal anticipations of the future. This section is naturally very small.

2. The Progress party, anxious to obtain a constitution and representative government, the freedom of the press, trial by jury (now partially introduced), and other reforms. These again may be subdivided as follows:—

a. Moderate reformers, who would be content with a gradual development of constitutional rights, urging, however, the instant abolition of class privileges. The views of this section are represented by a very able and influential Review, at Moscow, called the *'Russian Messenger.'*

A. Radicals intent on breaking up the entire administrative machine, and forming the wildest possible schemes for its re-adjustment. This subdivision comprises all shades of ultra politicians, communists, socialists, republicans, and generally those who, having the least stake in the country, expect to profit by any change in the form of government. Numerically this party is the strongest. It is composed mostly of youths up to twenty-five years of age, and particularly of half-educated students in the military schools and the universities.

Now should we overlook in this class the spirit of Pan Slavism, which, although doing evil, has nevertheless been of good service to the country, by revivifying in the public mind the history of ancient popular franchises, and by importing a spirit of energy into the analysis of all political questions. The Pan Slavists recommended the abolition of the nobility as a caste, and their union with other classes. Self-government, on the ancient evolutionary principle—a purely Slavonic one—is always warmly advocated by them, the lower classes being held up as the only true core of the original and genuine Russian. Thus above the national dress and primitive manners of their ancestors, and desirous to purge their legislation of everything foreign. The breeding aim of the Pan Slavist party is, however, the union of the Slavonian races in a confederation, which should embrace Austria and Turkey, and be bounded by Germany and the Atlantic, and under the protection of Russia. They may be divided into the Monarchical and the Federalist Pan Slavists; but the

the predominant idea is nevertheless the supremacy of Russian civilisation in a general Slavonic federation.

The position of the nobility at present is one of great difficulty. They are almost powerless in the face of a defiant peasantry, taught to look upon their former masters as thoroughly dissatisfied with the Act of Emancipation. During the puerile University riots at Moscow, the lower orders firmly believed that the 'boyars'—a title evidently not yet forgotten—were rebelling against the Emperor for depriving them of their serfs. The nobility suspect the Government of wishing to alienate the peasants from them; and they feel that in most cases it will be no difficult task. Attempts are made to counteract the Imperial policy in that respect; and these attempts may perhaps be successful as soon as the Emancipation measure shall have been finally carried out, and the peasants convinced that they have nothing more to expect from the Government.

The next class in importance is the mercantile community, to whom, in any other country, we should look for a middle class. The superior and foreign merchants at the capitals and at the seaports are so few in number that they are scarcely to be taken into consideration, although as intelligent as the merchants of any other country. The inland traders are a wealthy and numerous class, but, after standing so long just a step above serfdom and to some extent belonging to the serf-population, they have little independence of spirit, or conception of constitutional liberty. With the exception of the Sectarians, few of the native community know anything of Russian history except its fabulous legends; or of the history of foreign countries, beyond a garbled account of the Crimean war. There is no desire whatever on their part for an improved form of government. They have no special privileges to assert, beyond their rights of buying and selling; no political rights to maintain, beyond the limits of the municipal institutions granted to them by Catherine II., and recently reformed. As a body they instinctively feel their inferiority to the *noble* class or those who have any education, and they consequently distrust the nobility, who have on their part always treated the merchant with contempt, and made his calling a term of opprobrium. Serfdom and absolutism, kept up by political darkness, have done their work on the descendants of the merchants of Novgorod and Pskof; but it is probable that education and representative government would in time bring them to the necessary maturity, and constitute them, together with the gentry, into the middle class so much required for the proper balance of the state.

The attitude of twenty millions of emancipated serfs must necessarily

cessarily form an important item in the calculation of Russian statesmen. Absolutism and its attendant evils date from the establishment of serfdom ; and the peasantry of Russia are now in a state of almost brutal ignorance as regards everything except their own immediate wants. Their feeling is generally one of distrust and suspicion towards the nobles, whom they accuse of seeking to be revenged on the Emperor for the act of emancipation. Many risings were produced by a rumour that the Tsar had been deposed and imprisoned in the fortress of Kief. Money was collected for His Majesty's ransom by a fanatic, called Anton Petrof, subsequently shot. One of the stories of this kind circulated among the peasantry by artful agitators was to the effect that the nobles had presented the Emperor with a throne of state, which was to have bristled with knives whenever His Majesty took his seat upon it. A peasant is said to have disclosed the treasonable intentions of the nobles, and a 'courtier' was accordingly placed in the chair by way of experiment!

But, notwithstanding the idolatry with which the Emperor is regarded, there is very little confidence in the emancipation measure. The peasant is not yet satisfied that his gains are to be entirely his own. Improvidence is still a characteristic feature, and there is a general expectation of a 'new liberty,' or of more favourable terms with regard to the tenure of land than they have as yet obtained ; although the Emperor has repeatedly told the peasantry that no better terms will be granted. It is, however, evident, from the speech recently made by His Majesty at Moscow, that such expectation is still rife.

Such are the classes to whom the Emperor is asked to grant constitutional privileges. Although we have endeavoured to trace out some sort of demarcation, as dividing society in Russia on questions of internal reform, it is important to note that many causes have combined to produce an extraordinary and most powerful unanimity among all intelligent minds. The reaction, so often mentioned, after a long period of oppression and political torpor—the calamities produced by the Crimean war—the sudden, despotic emancipation of the serfs—and the alleged incapacity of the Imperial counsellors—have united all thinking Russians into one great opposition party against the small governing section of the community. The only prominent parties to be found at present in the country are the noble or educated class ; the plebeian or ignorant masses ; and a government bent on preserving its own balance, and the balance between the two parties, and certainly very far from having time or inclination to intervene in the affairs of America or other distant countries.

The political agitation that exists at Moscow, even to a greater degree

degree than at St. Petersburg, is therefore not that of party against party, or that of class against class, but of the intelligent reforming community against the present form and proceedings of Government. The public mind is not quieted by its belief in the patriarchal, benevolent intentions of the Tsar, who has the will but not the power, unassisted, to rescue the country from its present position. The intellect of the country is united on the broad principles of the reforms so earnestly desired, and would-be political agitators seek in vain for a watchword that would divide the opposition. At the same time the opportunities of exchanging ideas are few, and either local or circumscribed. Freedom of thought, speech, and political action, have not yet been acquired to a sufficient extent. Public meetings for political discussion are unknown, and the art of debate has to be learned in the private *salons* of the two capitals before it is practised by the privileged at the desultory assemblies of the nobility. This absence of opportunity and exercise acts powerfully against the organisation of clearly-defined political parties, and is the cause of the great haziness of the Russian political atmosphere. Political aspirations seldom assume a definite shape even at Moscow and St. Petersburg. Absolutism is still in power, and the press answerable to it. There is only a dull, almost suppressed, sound or buzzing throughout society, that the true remedy is the introduction of a system of popular representation, which, while removing the barriers that now exist between the noble and the plebeian classes, will assemble the best intellect of the country in open debate on the interests of all.

Although the present Emperor has inaugurated many reforms, it must yet be confessed that, like the rulers of old France, the Russian Government have arrayed all the intellect of the country against them. As in France, *everything has been for the governors and nothing for the governed*. There is neither free press, nor free Parliament, nor free debates. There have been no public meetings, no popular suffrage. At the last hour there has been conceded a kind of Habeas Corpus Act and trial by jury. As in France, the Government have yielded many points of real importance, called in new counsellors, repealed some obnoxious laws; in fact, kept the ship of State well before the storm of popular discontent. The people will now insist on having a part in the preparation of the laws by which they are to be governed, and the first administrative miscarriage of any importance may be the signal for outbreak. Such outbreaks have frequently occurred before, and we do not see why the same causes should not produce similar effects, or why public opinion in Russia should be less powerful now than in darker ages. As far back

as 1636, Olearius, Secretary to the Duke of Holstein's Embassy to Muscovy, stated, in reviewing the past history of Russia, that '*the Muscovites, how submissive and slavish soever they may be, will endeavour the recovery of their freedom, when the Government becomes insupportable to them and casts them into despair.*'

Crowds of Russians have, like the earliest promoters of the French Revolution, come over and admired our liberty and institutions. Our Blue-Books on education, finance, and reforms of every kind, are well known. We have seen that the greatest reform after the Emancipation is a bodily reproduction of our own legal procedure. There is scarcely a serious book of our language that has not been translated into Russian; and even Buckle's '*History of Civilisation*' is read with the greatest avidity by hundreds of Russians in their own language. Indeed, the great linguistic training of the Russian educated classes enables them to be acted upon by the teachings of every European philosopher, past and present. The intellectual force of the country strongly demands, as in France, the assembly of the States-General. In France this concession came 'too late'; but in Russia, we have every reason to believe, it will be yielded in time. May the parallel of France end here; and the new Assembly be guided by the same practical good sense which their ancestors habitually evinced when consulted by the Crown!

This brings us to the last consideration:—the form of representative government best adapted to the country and the age.

Prince Dolgorukof is the only malcontent who, from his secure position abroad, is able to sketch the draft of a future constitution for Russia. The Assemblies of the Nobility were forced to ask for the reform in ambiguous terms. They could not openly state their wishes to limit the power of the Sovereign; they could only give the public a dim outline of a Chamber, reinforced by the admission of all landed proprietors without distinction of birth. M. Platonoff, whom we have already cited, asked, as Marshal of the Nobility of the district of Tsarskoe Selo, near St. Petersburg, for the convocation of the States-General and the retention of the Assemblies of the Nobility in districts and provinces. The nobles of Tver, 'convinced that all the present reforms are unsuccessful because they have been undertaken without the advice or knowledge of the people,' tell His Majesty that 'the assembling of deputies elected by the whole of Russia affords the only means of solving satisfactorily the questions raised, but not settled, by the Emancipation Act.'

The tendency of the press in Russia is in favour of the re-establishment of the ancient Assemblies on the broadest basis of popular suffrage, with a considerable bias in favour of

'fancy

'fancy franchises.' But the more conservative section are little inclined to bestow electoral rights on a peasantry uneducated and degraded by serfdom. They fear the contact of brute force with intellect, and the extinction of the latter. Unfortunately, Socialism has taken deep root in the country, and, taking its stand on historical precedent, demands the gift of universal suffrage.

The House of Commons suggested by Prince Dolgorukof is to be composed of members elected by district assemblies in the proportion of one deputy to 110,000 or 120,000 inhabitants. Each province is moreover to have its own Diet, elected by the district assemblies, and invested with the power of preparing drafts of laws for the consideration of the House of Commons.

The Prince finds no difficulty in copying our House of Commons, but the House of Lords or Chamber of Boyars which he considers necessary is not so easily constituted on the model of our own. In the absence of a law of primogeniture and of an hereditary peerage, in a country where princes and nobles are increasing at a most rapid rate, and where every Government clerk enjoys the privileges of nobility, it is evident that the creation of a permanent House of Lords is surrounded with considerable difficulties.

In creating a hereditary peerage the Government would have to draw from two classes of nobles—both, says the Prince, equally contemptible—the bearers of historical names, who have passed their lives in doing the work of valets, or the members of the *valetocracy* itself, whom the Prince considers 'incapable, *bornés*, ignorant, and presumptuous.' An antechamber, the Prince says, cannot be converted into a Chamber of Peers. While acknowledging the difficulties that must attend the creation of an English House of Lords, not to be successfully imitated even in countries possessing institutions more nearly analogous, we must beware of adopting the prejudices of the embittered Prince. The courtiers of St. Petersburg form but a small section of the landed nobility and gentry of the Russian empire. The Assemblies of the nobility of Tver, Tula, Moscow, and even St. Petersburg, have on several occasions produced men fearless enough to attack autocracy. The nobility of Russia have been, as a class, abject and servile, because everything in the country depended on servility. Serfdom has been abolished below, and servility must disappear in the ranks above. Honour and honesty must prevail when society is placed on a more moral basis. The brutal condition of the serf exercised a most powerful influence on society: it blunted

blunted the feelings of those who came in contact with it, and these, again, spread the contagion of barbarity and immorality.

But the landed nobility and gentry are not the only classes in which patrician attributes can be found. The Prince takes no notice of the great intellectual party in Russia, comprising persons of every condition; and who, through the medium of a masked press, are driving the Government from one reform to another. Surely these are not all valets, although they may differ with the Prince, and especially with the revolutionary press in London, as to the form of government and institutions best adapted to Russia.

The more moderate reformers of Russia only ask for a Chamber of representatives of the people. The Assemblies of the nobility now represent the noble classes or all those above the station of merchants and burghers. Several of these Assemblies have pointed out the necessity of admitting into their body all holders of landed property, or their representatives, ennobled or not. Might not these views be made to coincide with the general demand of all classes for a Parliament of Deputies? The Provincial Assemblies of the Nobility might be annulled by the institution of a central Parliament. The subordinate District Assemblies of the Nobility might be retained and enlarged by the admission of all qualified landholders both in town and country. The abolition of serfage has made the general introduction of a property-qualification very easy. The merchant and the burgher will have every facility for qualifying themselves for a vote in the District Assemblies which would meet to discuss local requirements, and to elect deputies to a Parliament held either at St. Petersburg or Moscow. A 'Zemski Sobor' (States General) thus constituted would afford a judicious combination of the aristocratic and popular elements, giving the preponderance to the former until the latter became sufficiently strong, experienced, and enlightened, to bear separation. In the mean while a remodelled Senate would exercise the functions of a high legislative and judicial Chamber.

The simplicity of this reform would appear to commend it to the attention of the Russian Government. It disturbs but little the present privileges of the nobility; it gives all classes a fair share in the election of deputies and in local administration; it simplifies the government of the country under a limited monarch and a cabinet of responsible ministers; and it prevents the growth of the principle most dangerous to Russian unity—the Panslavist and Republican spirit of Federation.

But whatever is the ultimate choice of a constitution for Russia,

Russia, we have seen that page after page in Russian history shows how closely serfdom has been interwoven with the fate of political franchises: and as freedom was brought within the grasp of despotism by the introduction and development of serfdom, so, now that the chain which bound the people of Russia in political slavery has been broken, a return to constitutional government is as logical, just, and necessary, as it seems urgent for the preservation of the Romanof dynasty and the unity of Russia.

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- ART. IV.—1. *The New Testament in the Original Greek; with Notes and Introductions.* By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. New Edition, revised and enlarged. 1861.
2. *The Greek Testament; with Critical Revised Text.* By Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury. 4th Edition. 1859.
3. *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles; with a Revised Translation.* By C. J. Ellicott, B.D. 2nd Edition. 1861.
4. *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Ephesians, and Galatians.* By C. J. Ellicott, B.D.

WE have placed at the head of this article three most valuable contributions of English scholarship to the study of the New Testament at this day. We have done so in the hope of suggesting, to others besides the clergy, a practice which has always been contemplated by our English course of education as an essential duty and privilege of an English gentleman—the careful perusal and study of at least the New Testament in the original language. Whatever other reasons exist (and they are many and grave) for insisting on some knowledge of Greek as a necessary part of education in our public schools and universities, this one predominates over all, that every English gentleman should be able to read that portion of his Bible in the language especially selected by Providence for the communication of His last Revelation to man. We do believe that the daily reading of some portion of the Scripture in private is infinitely more common than is ordinarily supposed. And we would now urge upon those who thus employ themselves, not to remain content with our Authorised Version of the New Testament, admirable, wonderful as it is, and invaluable as an aid; but to transfer their regular perusal of it to the original Greek. Scripture itself attaches peculiar power to the very words of Inspiration. Translations must be clouded with many shades of human imperfection. But we are thinking of the study of the Greek chiefly with reference

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to the uneasiness, the suspicions, the unsettlement of mind, which recent avowals of religious scepticism have so widely spread. Few remedies can be found for this more efficacious than recurring at once to the fountain-head of truth. The Biblical Criticism of the day (if criticism *that* can be called which too often sins against the first principles of judicial and equitable inquiry) cannot be stifled or suspended. It must open questions, and provoke doubts, which, to minds hitherto content with accepting our Authorised Version almost as a work of inspiration, will at first cause surprise and alarm. And nothing will so soon dispel this uneasiness as familiarity with the Greek text, accompanied with such an insight into the real nature and extent of the doubts and difficulties which hang over it, as is offered by the honest, judicious, and really learned commentaries to which they have now access.

It is perfectly true that our English Version, admirable and generally correct as it is, is not infallible. We have just risen from marking every place in which it falls short of the original, *as any translation must do*, in perfect distinctness and precision, and they are to be counted by thousands. 1237 in the single Gospel of St. Matthew, 1089 in that of St. Mark (and the proportion is the same throughout), will give some idea of the increased light which is thrown upon the interpretation of the New Testament by referring to the original Greek. But this reference will only bring out more clearly and prominently the great truths and doctrines which at present are expressed perhaps less clearly in the Authorised Version. It will disturb no existing belief, conjure up no fresh difficulties, only tend to deepen lines already engraved, to remove doubts, and to strengthen confidence.

And it is perfectly true that Providence has not been pleased to give to us an infallible original text. As in every other analogous instance, the knowledge which He communicates to us is open to *dubiousness*. It is doubtful, but not from vagueness; it is uncertain, but not obscure. The distinction is vital. An illegible MS. is a very different medium for information from two legible MSS. with two different readings. An unintelligible jargon is not the same with a grammatical sentence capable by the laws of grammar of two meanings. The blank ignorance with which we regard the Sinaitic Inscriptions is not to be confounded with the balance of doubt between two possible interpretations of a Greek tense. It is the will of Providence, for purposes into which we need not enter, to place us constantly under the necessity of choosing between two alternatives—deliberating, and weighing, and deciding amidst conflicting probabilities. It is not His practice to

blot, and blur, and cloud over with a fog and mist the knowledge which He purposes to reveal to us.

*Dubiousness is one thing, indistinctness another*; and the great result of Biblical criticism is, indeed, to increase the dubiousness of Scripture in many unimportant points, but also to multiply our views of possible meanings, and above all, to increase our responsibility, test our honesty, stimulate our industry, exercise our discrimination, and try our hearts, by opening to us a wider field of comparison between readings, interpretations, and authorities, and requiring of us a more frequent selection and decision between contending arguments. But it does not end in indistinctness. Rather it enriches our knowledge by multiplying points of view. The first effect of this dubiousness upon inferior minds at once reveals their defects. A weak man, incapable of bearing the uneasiness of suspense, and the labour of deliberation, will surrender himself blindly to a Church which discourages the study of Scripture; or choose some guide arbitrarily for himself; or abandon the Scriptures altogether; or relieve all doubt by erecting a despotism in his own opinion; or find an excuse for giving up all religion, because the pursuit of it is not without its difficulties. But an honest, simple, earnest, and intelligent student will adopt a very different course. He will feel the necessity of arming himself with all those qualities of mind required in a judge—of adhering to all those canons of criticism and interpretation, which are as clearly laid down for the discovery of truth in Biblical inquiries, as in a court of justice. Some assistance and information he must obtain, and he will take care that it shall be such as will give him honestly an insight into the whole truth.

This information he will find in the three publications which are now before us.\* They are the work of three minds of different classes, viewing questions independently, and from different points of view, coming at times in collision with each other, but for that very reason more convincing and authoritative when they coincide. And they will enable the moderate Greek scholar to read his Greek Testament not only with the profit always to be derived from the study of Scripture, but with safety and satisfaction in regard to the numerous questions now opened by Biblical criti-

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\* We have confined ourselves to these, as being the latest, and bearing most fully on our own immediate object. A Greek Testament by Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson has also been issued recently, which appears to be judiciously and satisfactorily annotated, and which we would by no means disparage by failing to notice it. But the plan of it—useful as it will prove to the general reader—excludes in a great degree the feature which gives the chief value to the editions before us for the purpose which we have peculiarly in view, viz. a full and minute reference to the opinions of other critics.

cism. In Dr. Wordsworth the Patristic spirit of interpretation predominates; in Bishop Ellicott (whom we are happy to salute by that high title), the sound old English theology of the seventeenth century; in Dean Alford, the German element. But none of them excludes the others. All of them have entered into that haunted chamber of German theology, which only requires to be unlocked and thrown open to the light, to lose its fascinations and its terrors. All of them face that formidable phantom of textual criticism, with its 120,000 various readings in the New Testament alone, and will enable us to march up to it, and discover that it is empty air; that still we may say with the boldest and acutest of English critics—Bentley—‘choose’ (out of the whole MSS.) ‘as awkwardly as you will—choose the worst by design out of the whole lump of readings, and not one article of faith or moral precept is either perverted or lost in them. Put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and even with the most sinister and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, or so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will be still the same.’

We confess that, rising as we do from the use of these commentaries all together, we can scarcely bring ourselves to sit down and criticise, instead of simply acknowledging our gratitude that three such works have been provided for the Church of England in these days of difficulty.

Dr. Wordsworth will lead us back into those old paths, to which the great Bishop Pearson, speaking with the voice of ages, so earnestly calls the student of Scripture.

‘O ye who are devoting yourselves to the Divine science of theology, and whose cheeks are growing pale over the study of Holy Scripture; above all, ye who either fill the venerable office of the priesthood, or intend it, and are hereafter to undertake the awful cure of souls, rid yourselves of that itch of the present age—the love of novelty. Make it your business to inquire for that which was from the beginning; resort for counsel to the fountain-head; have recourse to antiquity; look back to the Primitive Church. In the words of the Prophet, “ask for the old paths.”’\*

His notes take the widest range. At times they will startle and perplex readers accustomed only to the shallow, superficial tone of modern commentaries; bringing as they do a microscope to scrutinise those words, of which we know that not ‘one jot or one tittle shall pass away;’ tracing out minute lines of

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\* ‘Pearson’s Minor Works,’ vol. ii, p. 10; as quoted in ‘Inspiration and Interpretation,’ by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, one of the boldest, most faithful, and most crushing replies to a late sceptical publication, to which we have no wish any further to allude.

organisation, where the common eye sees little but shapelessness and vagueness; calling forth on the colourless surface of human history the great and awful forms of mysteries and prophecies; and bringing home to our own days and our own bosoms, with unflinching faithfulness and sternness, the everlasting lessons and warnings of voices which were meant to pierce through all generations. But such is the true and rightful spirit of Scriptural interpretation; not, indeed, secure from occasional excess, or to be followed blindly and servilely, but transmitted to us from the earliest ages, and the most revered authorities, and especially sanctioned and enforced to Englishmen by the great lights of our own communion.

Bishop Ellicott has devoted himself in his comments chiefly to that which constitutes to logical minds the great difficulty of the *New Testament*—the sequence of thought as illustrated by accurate grammatical criticism. Separately the sentences of Scripture are of easy application. They are like proverbs for the child; but to link them together, and follow out their construction as a whole, is often an enigma. What law or object regulated the selection and the order of the narratives of the Gospels? What circumstances or features of character in the hearers, or undercurrent of thought, or insight into the human mind, supplies the golden thread which holds together the seemingly unconnected jewels of our Lord's discourses? Where is the artistic unity (for such unity there must be in every work of reason, and how much more of Inspiration!) in the seeming congeries of fragments thrown together in the Acts of the Apostles? What were the circumstances of the churches and of the individuals to whom the Apostolic Epistles were immediately addressed; and what the prospects of those future ages also for which alike they were designed, which circumstances and which prospects supply the clue to their labyrinth of thought? If these secrets could now be laid open, what a flood of light would burst in upon the chief problems of the Scriptures—upon those difficulties which the audacity of so-called modern criticism presumes at once to ride over and trample down, as obscurities, inconsequences, illogical arguments, confusion of thought, carelessness of language—carelessness of language in the Revelation of Divine Truth! Against this last presumption Bishop Ellicott's solemn and repeated protest is invaluable. Minds not familiar with the technicalities of modern Greek scholarship (and it is for these that we are writing) may be repelled at first by their recurrence in his notes; but let them read on. More good, as more harm, is done in every book by the spirit of the writer than by the facts which he communicates. To feel that we are threading the

the secret paths of Holy Writ, with a guide on whom we can depend, who sets himself an example of the patience, the modesty, the reverence, the honesty, the Christian charity to those who differ from him, and the scrupulous conscientiousness of inquiry, which he would encourage in ourselves, is no slight privilege—no little help to the right understanding of the Word of Truth.

But with these two commentaries, the elaborate, learned, and most valuable one of Dean Alford should also be joined, if only as constructed upon a different plan, and in some respects in an opposite spirit, and therefore enabling the student to view questions in additional points of view.

Dean Alford has been bold in his reconstruction of the text—far bolder than we should dare to be ourselves. But, in the present powerless state of the English Church to exercise authoritatively its office as a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, the grave and vital question must be discussed most temperately, which is the best and safest method of placing before the students the real facts, which textual criticism lays open, in regard to the variety of readings. There must be no concealment, no suppression, and no alarm. It is part of the providential economy of revelation that the Written Word should come to us through human hands, subject to human errors in transmission, up to a certain extent—an extent sufficient to test our own hearts, *but not sufficient to cloud any important truth whatever.* But whether it is better that one generally-received text should be circulated undisturbed, and only annotated fully and openly with its various readings, and with their probable comparative value in the eyes of successive editors, or that each editor should construct his own text, and build his exegesis upon it, and circulate both together, may admit of much discussion.

Is the Church of England at this day sufficiently alive to its duty of guarding the original text of Scripture? What mode, if any, was employed in guarding it by the Church of old? How much was left to individuals, as to Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and others in their critical labours? How do our circumstances at present differ from theirs (and they do differ materially), to justify, perhaps, a difference of conduct? How far would it be wise and right in the Church to assume the function of criticism? For instance, would it be wise in Convocation to appoint committees to determine and to publish a new text—say the last text of Tischendorf, or an older text accompanied with the various readings? Is it better to allow individuals at present free and full scope for their inquiries and suggestions, leaving it to time, and experience, and the general assent of some generations

tions of scholars to stereotype the corrected readings? In that case, would it not be desirable to separate, *as much as possible*, textual criticism from the doctrinal and ethical study of the New Testament? These are very grave questions. How are they to be answered?

Once more—supposing that a new *Textus Receptus* is required to embrace the results of recent inquiries, is the time yet arrived when we can venture to undertake the work? Have sufficient materials been accumulated? Bring to textual criticism the same logical principles which we apply to physical science. Have we not learnt the peril of setting forth theories of geology, while geology is in its infancy? Is not comparative criticism still in its infancy?—its labourers few—divided—not always to be trusted in the accuracy of their observations, avowedly partial in their theories, some of them suspected in their tendencies, none of them capable of commanding, even if it were desirable that they should command, unhesitating acquiescence in their authority? There are three sources from which the Greek text of the New Testament must be derived—manuscripts, versions, and quotations in ecclesiastical writers. *Has any one of these been adequately examined?* Is the authority of uncial texts a settled question? Is the rejection of cursive texts finally decided on? Is the real credit due to any particular Codex, fixed, or capable of being fixed? Does not the whole field of inquiry present, except in a very few instances, only a conflict of probabilities and hypotheses? Such appears to be the opinion of the soundest and most judicious inquirers, notwithstanding all the invaluable labour which has been bestowed upon the subject within the present century by Matthæi, Alter, Birch, Adler, Griesbach, Scholz, Hug, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Davison, and Scrivener. The nucleus of Divine truth is firm and solid; its verge is still surrounded with a halo. We have not ventured to enter more minutely into this question, because it would withdraw us from our present object. But undoubtedly in many minds on perusing Dean Alford's Greek Testament, an uneasiness will rise up in regard to his treatment of the text—to the boldness of his decisions, where hesitation would still seem wise.

And a similar uneasiness will be suggested to many minds by his prevailing and trustful, though not blind or indiscriminating reference to German commentators, and the preference which he exhibits for internal subjective reasoning. But it is this very fact which gives his work additional value, if employed in combination with Dr. Wordsworth's and Bishop Ellicott's. Access must be given to that haunted chamber  
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of German Rationalism, and given by one who will not be suspected of prejudice against it.

There are those who instinctively shrink from it. They believe that for the profitable study of the inspired word there are certain essential conditions and laws. *None but the Spirit, which dictated, can understand or interpret the words dictated.\** Where the machinery is deranged, or the channels intercepted, by which that Spirit is conveyed to man, there they think it comparatively useless, if not dangerous, to look for it, to the neglect of more perfect sources.

Still less do we select our interpreters of the prophetic word in a literature, of which the one predominating and characteristic principle is the repudiation of the fundamental laws, which Scripture itself prescribes for its own study. '*The spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets.*'† That is, no individual has a right to interpret Scripture without constant submission to the great body of authorised teachers in the Church. '*No prophecy is of private solution;*'‡ that is, no individual must assert the sovereignty of his own private opinion, and build upon it, and trust to it. '*Every interpretation must be consistent with the analogy of the faith.*'§ That is, every student of Scripture must bring to its interpretation that fixed definite body of Christian truth, to which, as a Christian, he was pledged when he was made a Christian, and must suffer no mere theory of commentators to trench upon it, or contradict it.

'*Strive to preserve unity both of the Christian body, and of the Christian faith.*'|| This is the one grand test of Christian obedience, and Christian love, and therefore of possessing that Spirit without which all study of the Scriptures is hopeless. '*Adhere to the great truths taught to us from the beginning.*'¶ The prohibition of any intrusive novelty—the very hatred of novelty in regard to them—is another canon of Scripture interpretation, stamped on every page of the Apostolical Epistles. Is it unreasonable, if an English mind, brought up in these sacred principles and maxims of Scripture itself, shrinks with a degree of loathing from a literature almost based on the repudiation of them, pervaded with an atmosphere of contempt for them?—if even the good and the true which is found amidst such associations becomes suspected, and a commentary upon Holy Writ drawn principally, almost exclusively, from German sources, fills them with disquietude?

Dean Alford will not be surprised if this peculiar feature in

\* 1 Cor. ii. 12.

§ Romans, xii. 6.

† 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 32.

|| Eph. iv. 3.

‡ 2 Peter, i. 20.

¶ 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

his edition provokes this feeling in many minds—minds not to be lightly classed as blind, prejudiced adherents to existing errors in defiance of modern ingenuity.

Against this his admirers may well bring forward his earnest and repeated protests against the extravagancies of the German school, and the worthlessness of its second-hand imitators in England, his solemn assertion of sound doctrine, his hatred of all dishonesty, though it induces him rather to suppose the possibility of error in an inspired writer, than risk the danger of tampering with supposed truth—his abandonment of all attempts to harmonise, rather than indulge in suspicious plausibilities—his patient and conscientious labour—even an occasional irritation in denouncing views which he regards as erroneous and extravagant—an irritation which all seems to vanish as he approaches the conclusion of his labours. Even those who will not adopt him as their guide to Scripture will rejoice that he has lived to accomplish so great a work, and pray that he may be enabled to carry it still farther to perfection, in the spirit of his own beautiful words :

‘I have now to commend to my gracious God and Father this feeble attempt to explain the most mysterious and glorious portions of His revealed Scripture, and with it this my labour of now eighteen years herewith completed. I do it with humble thankfulness, but with a sense of utter weakness, before the power of His word, and inability to sound the depths even of its simplest sentence. May He spare the hand which has been put forward to touch His ark ; may He, for Christ’s sake, forgive all rashness, all perverseness, all uncharitableness which may be found in this book, and sanctify it to the use of His Church ; its truth, if any, for teaching ; its manifold defects for warning. My prayer is, and shall be, that in the stir and labour of men over His word, to which these volumes have been one humble contribution, others may arise and teach, whose labours shall be so far better than mine, that this book and its writer may ere long be utterly forgotten.’\*

One voice, indeed, of solemn warning will be heard with more or less enforcement from all three commentators alike ; and we give it in the touching words of Bishop Ellicott :

‘I fear indeed that these remarks are but little in unison with popular views and popular aspirations. I fear that the patient labour necessary to perform faithfully the duty of an interpreter is unwelcome to many of the forward spirits of our own times. . . . To be referred to Greek Fathers, when suasive annotations of a supposed freer spirit and a more flexible theology claim from us a hearing,—to be bidden to toil on amidst ancient versions, when a rough-and-ready scholarship is vaunting its own independence and sufficiency,—to weigh in the

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\* ‘Prolegom. to Revelation,’ vol. iv. ch. ix.



balance, to mark and to record the verging scale, while religious prejudice is ever struggling to kick the beam,—all seems savourless, unnecessary, and impracticable. I fear such is the prevailing spirit of our own times; yet amid all I seem to myself to descry a spirit of graver research winning its way among us, a more determined allegiance to the truth, a greater tendency to snap the chains of sectarian bondage. . . .’\*

Once more—in words which cannot be too deeply impressed on us :

‘The strongly-developed tendencies of our own times towards humanitarian conceptions of the nature and work of our Divine Master, tendencies often associated with great depth of feeling, and tenderness of sympathy, seem now to demand the serious attention of every thoughtful man. The signs of the times are very noticeable. The divinity of the Eternal Son is not now so much assailed by avowed heretical teaching, as diluted by more plausible, perhaps even more excusable, but certainly no less destructive and pernicious developments of human error. The turmoil of Arian and semi-Arian strife has comparatively ceased, to be succeeded, however, by a more delusive calm, and a more dangerous and enervating repose. In the popular theology of the present day, the Eternal Son is presented to us under aspects by no means calculated to rouse any active hostility or provoke any earnest antagonism. All is suasive and seductive : our Lord is claimed as united to us by human affinities of touching yet precarious application. He is the prince of sufferers, the champion of dependance and depression, the representative of contested principles of social union. His crucifixion becomes the apotheosis of self-denial, the atonement the masterwork of a pure and sublimated sympathy—all principles and aspects the more dangerous from involving admixtures of partial truth, the more harmful from their seeming harmlessness. It is against this more specious and subtle form of error that we have now to contend. It is this plausible and versatile theosophy that seeks to ensnare us by its appeal to our better feelings and warmer sympathies, that seems to edify while it perverts, that attracts while it ruins, that it is now the duty of every true servant of Jesus Christ to seek to expose and to countervail. And this can be done in no way more charitably, yet more effectually, than by simply setting forth with all sincerity, faithfulness, and truth, those portions of the word of life which declare the true nature of the Eternal Son in language that no exegetical artifice can successfully explain away, and against which Arian, semi-Arian, Deist, and Pantheist, have beaten out their strength in vain.’

Let us add, with gratitude, Dean Alford’s words to a similar effect. He is referring to a recent commentary on St. Paul’s Epistles, coming from the same source as another unhappy and

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\* Preface to First Edition of ‘*Epistle to the Philippians*,’ &c., p. xi.

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notorious publication bearing on the same question, but which we have no wish to drag farther into notice :—

‘ In referring to it I must enter my protest against the views of the author on points which lie at the very root of the Christian life, views as unwarranted by any data furnished in the Scriptures of which he treats as his reckless and crude statement of them is pregnant with mischief to minds unaccustomed to Biblical research. Among the various phenomena of our awakened state of apprehension of the characteristics and the difficulties of the New Testament, there is none more suggestive of saddened thought and dark foreboding than the appearance of such a book. Our most serious fears for the Christian future of England point, it seems to me, just in this direction; to persons who allow fine æsthetical and psychological appreciation, and the results of minute examination of spiritual feeling and mental progress in the Epistles, to keep out of view that other line of testimony to the fixity and consistency of great doctrines, which is equally discoverable in them.’ \*

Yes, it is too true! What we have to dread in these days is not the open assault with axes and hammers upon the dykes which guard our pastures from the flood, but a quiet, gentle, insensible process, by which they are to be gradually undermined. Let all moral restrictions upon passions and acts remain for a time undisturbed. It would startle and frighten society to attack them first. Begin with loosening the restrictions imposed (imposed by God himself) upon man’s theology. Thus you may enlist on your side intellectual men of moral conduct. These restrictions are found in our Creeds. To these we were pledged in our baptism. Represent these, not as conditions and limitations of thought revealed and established by a Divine hand, but as metaphysical speculations of men, ingeniously excogitated, and arbitrarily imposed. Then proceed to some nearer outwork. Do not openly attack, but explain it away. Come at last to the Scriptures. Do not repudiate; do not condemn, but ‘hint a doubt, and hesitate dislike’ on the nature of their inspiration. Pick a hole here, undermine a foundation there; throw a mist of conjecture over the whole field of interpretation; keep carefully within due bounds of outward respect; and even profess to admire, lest alarm be given. And then, as one most essential bulwark of definite objective truth, sap away the definiteness of the language. For many years past, the chief efforts of scepticism have been directed against the fixity and definiteness of language as a vehicle for truth; and the language of the Greek Testament has been especially an object for attack. Represent it as careless, unclassical, ungrammatical, destitute of precision, illogical, the

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\* ‘*Prolegomena to the 1st Thessalonians*,’ vol. iii. ch. v.

clumsy human enunciation of uneducated men, not masters of their thoughts, or of their feelings; and the Bible will be thrown aside. What becomes of Inspiration, or Revelation, if the symbols employed to reveal are a mass of confusion?

But above all (for the purpose of our present remarks), what is the use of advising moderate scholars—the generally educated classes who read their Bible—to read it in the original Greek, as their English education contemplated that they would do, if the original Greek in itself is no more distinct than the English version; and if the most wonderfully precise of all languages, wrought out by a marvellous Providence by the seeming accidents of history, for the purpose of being employed as the instrument of His Revelation to man, loses, when employed, all its precision, and melts away into a cloud?

Now, if there is one principle, on which Dean Alford, Bishop Ellicott, and Dr. Wordsworth—speaking in harmony with the profoundest of German scholars—fundamentally agree, it is this: that in the Inspired Word, just as in the physical works of the Creator, nothing can be slurred over as vague and unmeaning. Not a tense is to be confounded; not a case overlooked; not a preposition misconstrued; not an article omitted; not a particle despised. One effect, we are convinced, of the faithful study of it will be that which attends on every honest student of nature; the same interest, the same charm, the same satisfying conviction of an objective reality, and truth, and law; and the same awful, overpowering sense of a presence and a power more than human in the creation which he is examining.

Well may Bishop Ellicott give us this warning:—

‘I am well aware that the current of popular opinion is now steadily setting against grammatical details and investigation. It is thought, I believe, that a freer admixture of history, broader generalisation, and more suggestive reflections may enable the student to catch the spirit of his author, and be borne serenely along without the need and toil of ordinary travel. Upon the soundness of such theories, in a general point of view, I will not venture to pronounce an opinion. I am not an Athanasius, and cannot confront a world. But in the particular sphere of Holy Scripture I may perhaps be permitted to say, that if we would train our younger students to be reverential thinkers, earnest Christians, and sound divines, we must habituate them to a patient and thoughtful study of the words and language of Scripture, before we allow them to indulge in an exegesis for which they are immature and incompetent. If the Scriptures are divinely inspired, then surely it is a young man’s noblest occupation, patiently and lovingly to note every change of expression, every turn of language, every variety of inflexion, to analyse and to investigate, to contrast and to compare, until he has obtained some accurate knowledge  
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of those outward elements, which are permeated by the inward influence and power of the Holy Spirit of God. As he wearisomely traces out the subtle distinctions that underlie some illative particle or characterise some doubtful preposition, let him cheer himself with the reflection, that every effort of thought he is then enabled to make, is, with God's blessing, a step towards the inner shrine, a nearer approach to a recognition of the thoughts of an Apostle, yea, a less dim perception of the mind of Christ. No one who feels deeply upon the subject of inspiration will allow himself to be beguiled into an indifference to the mysterious interest that attaches itself to the very grammar of the New Testament.\*

And well also may he give us this encouragement:—

'No one who is really in earnest, and to whom God has given a fair measure of ability, can for a moment justly plead that an accurate knowledge of the Greek Testament is beyond his grasp, and a power of analysing the connexion of its weighty sentences not abundantly ministered to him. I studiously limit myself to saying the Greek of the *New Testament*: individual industry, however steadily exercised, may sometimes fail in making a student a good general Greek scholar; he may have no natural power of appreciating those felicities of expression, no ready ability for discriminating between those subtle uses of particles, which mark the best age of Attic Greek; but the language of the New Testament, *its plain, hearty, truly simple, but truly Greek diction*, is, I am confident, above the reach of no one, who will soundly study the general rules of thought and language, as they are now put before us by the grammarians of our own times.'†

Most wise! and most true! And if we now add anything of our own, it will be with the hope of contributing, if only a mite, to this great work. We are writing for general readers; for the young man who has no access to libraries; for the layman who has no time for deeper theological inquiries; for the officer in his camp (let us not suppose that they also do not read their Bibles, like the clergyman in his parish); for ladies (there are many such who possess, and still more who could easily acquire, an adequate knowledge of Greek); for travellers; for readers incapable of entering into German, or profounder English, philology; for boys and young men in the University schools, who read their Bibles by themselves. Let them read their Greek Testament, if they can, with the help of the three combined commentators of whom we have been speaking. If they cannot procure these, let them read still by themselves, with only their common grammar; but read accurately, attentively, patiently, and regularly, and the fruit will soon develop itself. One other accompanying book only must be insisted on, but a book which

\* Preface to the First Edition of the 'Epistle to the Galatians,' p. xiii.

† Preface to the Second Edition of the 'Epistle to the Ephesians,' p. vi.

will be always within reach—the Prayer Book. Three parts of it especially will prove the best and clearest clue to any mysteries of the text—the Creeds, Catechism, and Articles; the Baptismal Service; and the Communion Service. Add to these the information as to ancient practice on the three last subjects supplied by a very common and accessible book, Bingham's 'Ecclesiastical Antiquities;' and we are convinced that a very ordinary scholar will approach the study even of the most mysterious Epistles with infinitely greater advantages than he would derive from all the cloud of German commentators, who attempt to interpret them without any fixed ideas, or with a resolute abnegation of positive doctrine on these subjects. And the reason is obvious, because these Epistles were written to and by persons, in whose minds these subjects occupied the most prominent position; because they are filled with references to them; because the language employed bears a technical relation to these subjects; because the controversies then prevalent chiefly, if not entirely, related to them.

And now let us turn to the grammatical interpretation of the text. Winer's Grammar will in this offer great assistance but his most valuable suggestions will be found in the notes to the volumes before us; and we cannot say that his work is in any degree perfect.

The first phenomenon, for which the classical scholar must prepare himself, trained as he has been in our public schools and universities, is an essential difference between the construction of sentences in large portions of the New Testament, and in the classical style which he has been taught to regard as exclusively correct. Let him not on this ground, as is too common, disparage the dictation of Inspiration, or be tempted to charge it with vagueness, and therefore become careless in his interpretation. The history of this difference seems to be the following; and it is a most important preface to the grammatical study of the New Testament. Aristotle himself, in his 'Rhetoric,' distinguishes two Greek styles. In the first the words are strung together—*εἰρομένη λέξις*—in a consecutive series, calling up the ideas as it is desired to arrange them, in a chain, in the mind of the reader. This is the natural simple construction of sentences in all languages. It is the style used in conversation, in speaking, in simple writings addressed to a simple age, to children, or to uneducated classes. The other style, peculiarly Greek, peculiarly addressed to idiosyncrasy of the Greek taste, broke up this continuous string into separate portions, of various lengths, and then twisted and coiled up these lengths, each, as it were, into a curiously arranged knot—*συνεστραμμένη λέξις*—with one nominative case and one verb to  
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give unity to the whole, and with all the other portions thrown into subordinate clauses, concatenated by conjunctions and participles, practically arranged as a puzzle, the key to which was reserved for the final word. In this way the two passions of the Greek mind—the one for unity, and the other for intellectual enigmas—were fully gratified. The Greek inflexions made the style feasible. From Greece it was transferred to Rome. Perhaps it is most fully developed in the long, complicated periods of Livy. From Rome it passed into our English literature, as in the style of Milton and Hooker; and to this the attention of the classical student is now exclusively addressed in our schools and universities.

Now, had the style of the New Testament been constructed on this model, how could it have admitted accurate translation into every language, adaptation to popular usage, and access to simple minds incapable of following the riddle of long and involved periods? How could it have expressed or inspired feeling, which bursts away at once from the restrictions of such artificial intricacies? We believe that half the coldness and ineffectiveness of our English sermons is caused by the prevailing adherence to this kind of diction. But by a merciful arrangement of Providence the writers of the Greek Testament were not exclusively Greek. Their native tongue retained much influence over their habits of thought and speaking. Some portions were orally delivered; much of it dictated. Full of feeling, and earnestness, and intensity, and absorbed in thought, to the exclusion of mere style, their diction broke away from the cold and chilling elaborateness of Greek art; and thus, while it still retains all the regular precision and accuracy of the Greek inflexions, it became a language for all nations; just as the poetry of the Hebrews was made capable of transfusion into all tongues without losing its grace of poetry, because its harmonies, its metres, its stanzas, its parallelisms, and its rhythm, were formed by similarities, equilibria, and cadences of thoughts and words, and not of sounds.

We must not overload these pages with Greek passages or references; but Winer has accumulated instances under various heads. One sentence will explain what we mean (1 John ii. 24): *ὑμεῖς οὖν ὃ ἡκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐν ὑμῖν μέντω*. Such a sentence in a school-exercise would be marked as ungrammatical. There are two nominative cases; one of them, *ὑμεῖς*, without a principal verb. The sentence has no grammatical unity; but the meaning is as clear as the day; the expression far more emphatic, more natural, more touching, for its very escape from the fetters of an artistic syntax. In the *artistic* Greek structure the mind both of writer and reader is constantly fixed upon the one nominative case and one verb, and  
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upon the grammatical dependence of each word upon the other. All the words are at drill ; all ‘attention’ ; all of them ‘eyes right.’ The *artistic* beauty of the period depends upon this. But in natural language the mind of the speaker is engrossed with each idea as it is called up in the sequence, and as he wishes it to be impressed upon the hearer ; and thus he breaks the chain of strict grammar, suffers himself to be carried away from any fixed plan ; begins a sentence upon one model, and finishes it on another, or rather, perhaps, employs no model at all ; and is satisfied if the ideas are clearly evoked and accurately defined, without any care for mere construction.

Another consideration is of infinite importance in preparing the classical Greek student for these seeming confusions, and seeming inaccuracies. *The New Testament was avowedly written for persons already fully instructed in a fixed and definite body of Divine truth.* The writers of it never dreamed that their rearrangement, enforcements, applications, and developments of that truth would ever be misapplied, as too often they now are misapplied, to be the primary and exclusive sources from which Divine truth was to be originally extracted by each individual for himself. They are, therefore, full of allusions to ideas and knowledge not formally expressed. They presuppose associations which are lost to us. The second part of a sentence is connected, not with the actual words employed in the first part, but with the terms, and ideas, and feelings, which these first words were intended to call up.

(Revel. v. 11) : ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀγγέλων . . . καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν . . . μυριάδες μυριάδων . . . λέγοντες. The λέγοντες refers to ‘innumerable angels,’ suggested by the whole clause. (Revel. viii. 9) : ἀπέθανεν τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων . . . τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς—κτίσματα being implied in the first part. So in the much disputed passage (1 Tim. iii. 16), τὸ τῆς ἐνσεβείας μυστήριον, ὃς ἐφανερώθη (for little doubt can be entertained of the external evidence to this reading, not Θεός). What was the τὸ μυστήριον ; It was the same as the τὸ κήρυγμα, ἡ διδασκαλία, ἡ ομολογία, τὸ μαρτύριον, ὁ λόγος, ἡ ἀληθεία, ἡ πίστις, ἡ παραθήκη, which formed the substance of the catechetical instruction of Christians previous to their admission into the Church by baptism ; the precise maintenance of which, as essential to the profession of Christianity, is urged in every page of the Epistles ; and the summary of which we possess and employ for the same purpose in our Creeds. And what was this doctrine ? One word summed it all : ‘Christ come in the flesh and crucified.’ Christ, became synonymous with it, is used repeatedly as a synonym for it. Repeatedly we find the two ideas blended—almost confused—as identical. Thus, Hebrews xiii. 7, is it not connected with πίστις : ‘Of whom imitate the

the faith, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for the æons, for ever'? 'He was the faith,' the *ἡ πίστις*. Apparently in 1 Thessal. ii. 13, there is the same connexion with *λόγος*. Again, Coloss. i. 27, *τὸ μυστήριον, ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*, where the masculine *ὃς* seems to be by no means a mere attraction. Again, we suspect, Ephes. i. 9, *ἐν αὐτῷ*, not *αὐτῷ*, referring to Christ in the preceding *τὸ μυστήριον*. Again, 1 Tim. ii. 6, 'He who gave himself as a ransom for all'—*τὸ μαρτύριον*—the Testimony in his own appointed seasons, where the reader need not be reminded that the same name, 'the Testimony,' was applied in the Old Testament both to the tables of the Law and the ark itself; both of them symbols of Christ. Again, Ephes. vi. 20, *τὸ μυστήριον* occurs again, followed by two pronouns, *ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω . . . ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ παρρησιάσωμαι*, which may be either masculine or neuter; but with the masculine will be cleared up a difficult passage. So (Heb. iv. 12) there is the same, not confusion, but intimate blending of the two ideas, 'the Word of God' as revealed in the language, and as revealed in the person of Christ. 'The Word of God is quick, living, and powerful,' &c.; and then follow qualities which might be predicated of *it*. But immediately after, other predicates are alleged, which evidently refer to *Him*. However this may be (and in no passage are the grammatical interpretation and the mysterious truth of doctrine more wonderfully interwoven), the connexion of the masculine *ὃς* with *μυστήριον*—that is, with its secondary meaning, not its primary—is perfectly in accordance with the philosophy of Greek syntax.

For thus, in the most classical Greek, neuter plurals are combined with a singular verb, because they are regarded as an unit; whereas things endowed with independent life can scarcely be so massed together. And a singular noun of multitude has a plural verb, and a dual nominative has the same; and a feminine subject is coupled with a neuter predicate, or, as in Revel. xi. 4, with a masculine—*αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι* is found with *ἐστῶτες*. Even at that rejected and seemingly monstrous form, *εἰ τις σπλάγχνα* (Philip. ii. 1), *we* should not be startled; and found as it is in all the known uncial MSS., we should be prepared to receive it. The word is plural, but the idea conveyed is singular; and the pronoun is harmonised with this secondary sense. So the participle 'writing' is equivalent with 'who writes,' and the sentence is repeatedly continued, as if it had been so expressed.

One more peculiarity of the New Testament style must be remembered, to warn us against hasty disparagement of it as inaccurate. Almost all other written works are designed, and compelled



compelled by the very imperfection of written language unsupported by oral explanation, to express themselves with the greatest distinctness, leaving little to be supplied by the hearer. But the Bible is part of a vast mechanism contrived for the exercise and development of the Christian intellect. Its purpose is not to communicate merely simple truths to simple minds. This is supposed to be given in that simple catechetical teaching of the Church, which was always to precede and accompany the perusal of the written Word. That written Word is formed especially to stimulate thought, to provoke inquiry. It refuses to teach, unless there be thoughtfulness and industry in the reader. There is no book which trusts so much to the reader to supply, with the guidance of the Creeds, the teaching of living men, and the Spiritual assistance vouchsafed. Hence the abbreviated phrases, the elliptical reasonings, the seemingly undeveloped and imperfect trains of thought, which give to the Epistle especially an appearance of indistinctness, and at times seem to affect even their grammatical precision.

Once more, many of the seeming irregularities of the New Testament diction are in reality perfectly in harmony with the philosophical laws of language. They conform to a higher grammar than any which has been conventionally established in subjection to the often arbitrary usages of a written literature. For instance, the absence of the verb substantive in the sentence is a frequent phenomenon. But analyse the verb in Greek in any form, and you reduce it to an attribute and a pronoun. 'He good,' 'he bad,' is as much the language of Demosthenes as of the child, though Demosthenes apparently employs a verb, which, after all, when thoroughly analysed, is only the pronoun combined with a predicate.

Nor will phrases derived from Hebraistic associations justify suspicions of vagueness and indistinctness; nor Latin words Anglicised; nor others derived from the Septuagint; nor others invested with a new technical signification to express a new system of thought—nor many which do not occur in the parts which remain which have reached us of classical Greek, but which probably formed part of the popular language of the day. All these peculiarities throw at first a haze over the style; but the indistinctness is caused, not by the vagueness of the writer, but by the ignorance of the reader.

Lastly, unusual forms of inflexion, whether archaic or late (such as the Alexandrian), do not affect precision of expression. 'Housen,' in old English, is as definitely the plural of 'house' as 'houses.' Spenser's or Chaucer's spelling or use of Saxon forms does not militate against their own clearness of thought or language—

guage—*ἐγνώκαν* equivalent to *ἐγνώκασι*, *κατελίποσαν* to *κατέλιπον*, *εἶδαμεν* to *εἶδομεν*, *ἔφυγαν* to *ἔφυγον*, *ἀφέωνται* a regular Preterperfect Passive from an old form, do not affect the sense; and they are in perfect accordance with the real grammar of the language, though not with our Eton Grammars, which ought to have told us that there were two forms of the first aorist, in *ον* as well as in *α*, and two forms of the second aorist, in *α* as well as in *ον*; and that *ν* by itself was often the symbol of the plural number as well as *σαν*. The apparent nonconformity with law is caused by the reader's ignorance of the variety of laws, not by the writer's neglect of them. Even the difficult forms of (1 Corinth. iv. 7) *ἵνα μὴ φυσιοῦσθε* (Gal. iv. 7), *ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε*—possibly (1 Corinth. x. 22) *ἡ παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον*—probably *ἵνα σωφρονίζουσι* (Timothy ii. 4), we suspect also (Coloss. iv. 17) *ἵνα αὐτὴν πληροῖς*, perhaps *ἵνα μὴ λυπεῖσθε* (1 Thess. iv. 13), supposing them to be all subjunctives, are strictly conformable to analogy. The subjunctive and optative were both formed by lengthening the vowel of the indicative; where that lengthening had already taken place, as in each of the preceding instances, by contraction, the Greeks remained content with it, (just as *τιμᾶσθε* stands both for the indicative and subjunctive,) and employed the one inflexion for the double purpose. The law is common. Thus the inflexion *ον* of the neuter was made to give the double signification of the neuter gender and accusative case. And the same *ον* which marked past time in the imperfect and second aorist was retained for the third person plural also. The principle may be traced also in the use of letters. A letter of the root when the same letter was wanted to mark the inflexion, instead of being repeated, was used for both purposes.

Of peculiarities of spelling, which constitute a vast proportion in the variety of readings, it is unnecessary to speak.

And now we approach the main question of Scriptural Philology. We do it with an entire sympathy and gratitude to those who, like Winer, in his Grammar, and the excellent translator of it, Mr. Masson, and not less Dean Alford, Dr. Wordsworth, and Bishop Ellicott, have raised their protest against 'the unbridled licence, with which the diction of the New Testament,' up to 1822, 'was handled in commentaries and exegetical dissertations.' 'Had scholars deliberately inquired\* whether or not those grammatical anomalies, which were supposed to pervade the entire texture of Holy Writ, were compatible with the essential principles of any human language, intended for the ordinary purposes of life, expositors would not have been

\* See Winer's Preface.

so ready to view the sacred writers as utterly regardless both of logic and of grammar, and would not have delighted to point out in every verse of Scripture an alleged *substitution of the wrong form for the right*. . . . According to the commentators still held in repute, some of whom flourished in the eighteenth and some in the nineteenth century, the main characteristic of the New Testament idiom is a total disregard to grammatical propriety and precision. These authorities profess to specify anomalies and solecisms everywhere—here a wrong tense, there a wrong case—here a comparative for a positive, *ὁ* for *τις*, *but for thee* and so on.’

But let us, in the words of one of the greatest of Greek scholars (‘Hermann ad Viger.’ p. 786), implore ‘students to beware of supposing that writers inspired by the Holy Spirit despised the ordinary rules of human language; and let them rather remember that such a thought, assumed as it is assumed by some theologians as a law of interpretation, is nothing short of blasphemy.’

It is absurdity as regards scholarship. It is dishonesty if employed as a cover for extracting from the pages of Scripture any doctrine we may choose. It is most perilous—or rather most destructive—to positive truth, as giving a licence to every form of error. And it is destructive to the Scripture itself. How much of our present infidelity may be traced to this blotting, and blurring, and fog-creating spirit of mischief let loose upon the grammar of the Scriptures!

The assertion, then (we thank God), of a new and better school both of German and of English criticism is, that the Greek language in the hands of the inspired writers retains (with the exception of the artificial structure of its periods, which would have unfitted it for translation and for general Christian use) all its exquisite precision, its nice discriminations, its profound analogies, its wonderful philosophical correctness—that not a tense is to be changed, not an article omitted, not a case confounded, not a preposition overlooked, not a particle despised—that the more we apply to it the microscope of scholarship, the more overpowered we shall be with the conviction of its accuracy, and the more clearly will come forth upon its surface the truths, which we know to be truths from distinct and historical authority.

Begin with the Greek article. Begin with the sound belief in Winer’s words, that ‘it is utterly impossible that the article should be omitted where it is decidedly necessary, or employed where it is quite superfluous or preposterous.’ We are writing for those who have neither Middleton nor Winer with them, but who can easily understand the meaning of the article. That meaning is the same—the very word is the same—as our ‘he,’  
‘she,’

'she,' 'it,' 'him,' 'them.' Have you seen *him*?—has *he* done *it*? Who? What? Surely the person or object prominently present in the mind either of the speaker or the hearer, or both; from which mind it is to be supplied. Have you seen *the* book? Have you met *the* carriage? The one, of which I, or you, or both of us are thinking.

Now though the Greek article, having inflexions of number, case, and gender, can be employed in combinations impracticable for the English 'the,' still the same meaning is conveyed by it. It denotes something occupying a prominent place (from whatever cause) in the mind of the speaker or of the hearer, or of both; and which the hearer can at once refer to, and supply. Its employment with the word Θεός has been, but not with sufficient examination, often discussed. That word occurs in the New Testament 1250 times, sometimes with the article, sometimes without it. The first impression will be that of vagueness and indistinctness, as if it were used or dropped indiscriminately. But examine these 1250 instances carefully, and the hazy nebula will resolve itself, we are convinced, into clusters of stars. We offer a few suggestions as the result of our own independent examination—as questions rather than assumptions, and as hints only, which may give interest to the scrutiny of the ordinary reader. Θεός, then, seems to occur without the article—1, where the Deity is spoken of as contrasted with human nature, the human will, human flesh, human knowledge, or with the universe as distinct from its Creator; 2, when contrasted with the nature or acts of evil spirits; 3, when the essential attributes of the Deity are spoken of—as Power, Wisdom, Holiness, Truth; 4, when operations are said to proceed from God, which operations, according to the accurate doctrine of the Holy Trinity, are appropriated respectively to one of the three Divine Persons; 5, when the Deity is spoken of as Heathens would speak, or a Jew who refused to recognise the 'Three Persons in one God' of the Gospel. On the other hand, the article seems used—1, when the Deity is spoken of in the Christian point of view as the One True God, opposed to the gods of Heathenism; 2, when the First Person of the Blessed Trinity is specially designated. But again may we not venture to say that the article is omitted when epithets are employed, such as πατήρ, which sufficiently express the last distinction without the article?

So also in the use of the article with υἱός. Son of God, and the Son of God, are not the same things. Compare the phrase as employed in the earlier and later stages of our Lord's ministration upon earth, by the Jews according to their Messianic views,

by the Evil Spirits, by the Apostles at various times, by Lord Himself; and will not a law be discovered limiting article to the expression of the full and perfect doctrine of Sonship of Christ?

Again, as to the word Πνεῦμα. Our own observations tend to confirm the asserted distinction between Πνεῦμα and Πνεῦμα—that the latter denotes the Holy Spirit as distinct from the nature of man, the former as inspiring that nature, and blended with it. Of course, we are speaking throughout of phrases which the use of the article is not necessitated by some adventitious circumstance, as that of a genitive case following.

So also with the word Κύριος. When our Lord is spoken of under attributes or relations which are peculiar to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, the article is found. When the attributes or relations are those of the one Godhead, is not the article omitted?

So there are very distinct appearances of strict law in use of the article with Χριστός. It occurs about 586 times. And even a superficial observation will be struck with regular recurrence of certain combinations, the key to which seems to lie in the gradual transition of the attribute 'anointed,' anointed One, into a personal appellative: as, 'The baths' became Bath; the strong man becomes Strong; the white man White. When our Blessed Lord is spoken of in His more divine and imperial relations, the article is employed; when in His humbler personal relations to man, it is omitted. It occurs rarely without the article in the Gospels, rarely with it in the Epistles; and there are instances in which both forms are found in close juxtaposition, but evidently with a distinction of meaning. Here, however, we can only suggest an inquiry into these laws.

Again, let us never overlook the article, though neglected in our Authorised Version. Bishop Middleton has done much to impress this law upon us. But much still remains to be added and corrected in his work. Sometimes the article gives a graphic life to the narrative. Sometimes it realises the familiarity of the writer with the scenes which he is describing. Sometimes it reminds us that the readers of the Gospels were already familiar with its facts, as St. Luke informs us they were. And few things can be more important to explain the true nature of the Gospels—that they were narrative-written forms of the catechetical instruction given as preparatory to baptism, and given in the shape of question and answer. Sometimes it brings out minor undesigned coincidences. 'He went up into the mountain.' Was it some one specific mountain to which our Lord was accustomed, the habit of retiring, and with which the readers of the Gos-

were familiar? 'He entered into *the boat*'—the one which in another Gospel is mentioned as devoted to His use. And *the one mountain* and *the one boat* to those familiar with the profounder symbolism of Holy Writ will not be overlooked, any more than '*the one house*,' where also the article occurs. 'When ye see *the cloud rising from the west*'—the cloud no bigger than a man's hand—known in that climate as the precursor of storm and rain. Τὸν καύσωνα, '*the burning wind*,' so well known in that climate. Τὸ Ἀμήν, '*the Amen*,' familiar to the reader as used in the service of the Church even in the days of the Apostles. '*The pinnacle of the Temple*:' was it not that striking angle of the building which rose up from the valley beneath in a sheer wall and frightful precipice; and from this the Tempter urged our Lord to throw himself down?

'*The lamp* doth not come that it may be put under *the bushel* or under *the bed*, but that it may be placed upon *the lamp-stand*.' What strange suggestions to our modern habits; but what a picture of the poor Jewish house!—the one lamp; the one measure for wheat or meal; the bed or divan in the same room, and the lamp-stand kept in that room, while the lamp—lychnus—was lighted without. *The prayer, the weeping, the gnashing of the teeth* familiar to the mind of the Jews in their ideas of future torment. Τῇ προσευχῇ—to which especial attention might be directed. Was it not the Lord's Prayer? What a field of thought is opened by it, all lost in the general word—prayer! 'Whatsoever ye ask in *the prayer*, believing, ye shall receive.' Does not this give the needed limitation to the promise—a limitation apparently not understood by the two sons of Zebedee and their mother, when they presented their petition to sit one at the right and the other at the left of their Lord, in His kingdom? Our prayer must be cast into the one mould of *the Lord's Prayer*. 'After this manner pray ye.' So the first thing we hear of the disciples after the Ascension is, that they, with an effort, and struggle, and laborious perseverance, as Chrysostom remarks, were forcing all their thoughts and feelings into the model of the prayer (Acts i. 14)—προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ προσευχῇ. And lest we should confound it with general prayer, it is added καὶ τῇ δέήσει, the expression of occasional and particular wants. And again (Acts iii. 1) Peter and John go up 'for the hour of *the prayer*—the ninth hour.' Was it then a practice with the Apostolic Church to join in *practising* the Lord's Prayer at certain periods of the day, of which practice there are other traces in the New Testament? We only suggest the question. And again (Acts vi. 4), 'We will give ourselves to

to the prayer.' The phrase occurs again significantly, Rom. xii. 12, 1 Cor. vii. 5, Philip. iv. 6, Coloss. iv. 2.

We pass over the *ὁ λόγος, ἡ διδασκαλία, ἡ διδαχή, ἡ πίστις, τὸ μυστήριον, ἡ εὐσεβεία, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ κήρυγμα, ἡ ἀληθεία, ἡ ἐντολή, ἡ ὁμολογία*. Is the article, so constantly attached to these words, compatible with the dream, that in the New Testament, there is no trace of one fixed, positive, definite body of doctrinal truth, committed to the keeping of the Church, to be adhered to without the slightest deviation, to the maintenance of which every Christian was pledged, and the summary of which we possess and maintain at this day in our Creeds, as confirmed by Scripture?

Ἐποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων, ὧν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας (2 Tim. i. 13). 'Have, keep by you, an outline pattern (from which to strike off copies), to be filled up separately in detail—(it is not ὑποτυπώμα)—copies of healthy information derived from Apostolical authority.' What an insight may not these words, strictly and scrupulously examined, give into the whole obscure, but most important, history of the formation of the Gospels and our Creeds! There was, then, a body of 'healthy information' (contrasted with other but morbid and injudicious records of our Lord's life) which the Apostles had determined on as the materials for the instruction of the Christian Church, and especially of the candidates for baptism. In this they were orally and catechetically instructed. Dean Alford has rightly developed this. This *λόγος* or *λόγοι* was not all stereotyped in one exact form; nor, we imagine, was it in the form of a *narrative* but like our own catechisms; large portions indeed being necessarily written, and committed to memory; and the profession of belief in it being summed up at baptism in the several articles of a creed, precisely as in our own Baptismal Service, in question and answer. And the reference to this preparation for baptism seems mainly to have directed the Apostles in their choice of the portions of our Lord's life, on which they exclusively dwell a view which would explain the partial, and, as it is too often called 'the fragmentary' character, and yet the general identity of the materials, especially of the Synoptic Gospels. These facts, thus conveyed in catechetical instruction, were reduced by many into the form of regular narrative in writing—ἀναμνηστικὰ ἐκφημεῖν (Luke i. 1). To supply an authorised, written, permanent narrative for the wants of the Church was the object of the Evangelists. But it was only a narrative form of the catechetical instruction already given in the Christian schools. And as that catechetical instruction, though everywhere substantially the same, and derived from

from the same mass of Apostolical information, would yet be slightly varied in detail according to the circumstances of particular Churches, so the Providence of God supplied four authoritative narratives varying in the same manner—St. John's being especially adapted to the doctrinal exigencies of his own Church, and the whole four forming one perfect and complete Gospel. And in the same manner as the Creeds were the summaries of this catechetical teaching, whether supplied or fixed by the Apostles, or, more probably, drawn up by the Churches from the materials supplied by the Apostles, and upon fixed principles laid down by the Apostles, we may expect to find those Creeds, as we do find them, not stereotyped in one form, but exhibiting the closest substantial identity, with slight variation in detail. What, therefore, St. Paul seems to urge upon Timothy is, that, as being charged with the establishment and instruction of Churches, he should keep by him a written digest or record of that mass of 'sound information,' which he had received from the Apostle, and which was to be the substance of the catechetical teaching to be established in all the infant Churches; and to consider this as a general die, as it were, from which to strike off bodies of 'sound information,' to be filled up variously in detail as needed for each Church. Does not this grammatically accurate interpretation harmonise all the acknowledged facts in the perplexing theories which have been raised upon this important question? And would not the insertion of the article be at variance with historical phenomena? St. Paul gave the 'mass of information,' but left Timothy, the bishop of his Churches, to frame from them *an ὑποτίπνωσις*, and to strike off from it various copies—not one fixed and uniform pattern of *ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων*. Hence differently detailed Gospels, differently expressed Creeds—all resting upon Apostolical authority, but not couched in one Apostolical form.

One instance occurs to us, in which attention to the article, in the 'so called Granville Sharpe's rule,' is the key to a whole chapter (Acts xiii. 16) otherwise most perplexing. An instance (we are not writing for professed scholars) will best illustrate the rule, which must not, however, be stated too strictly. A man dies in possession of six black horses, six white horses, and six piebald. He leaves to his son the black and white, or the black and the white. By the first reading, the judge would assign to the legatee the six piebald; by the second, the six black and the six white also. The absence of the article in the second adjective implies that the two adjectives represent not two different classes, but one class containing two qualities. So St. Paul



Paul addresses the synagogue at Antioch, in Pisidia, Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν. There were, then, two distinct classes: the Israelites, and then the Gentiles who recognised the God of the Jews, and who yet had become only proselytes of the gate. To this latter class the speech which follows is specially addressed, and without remembering this, the whole narrative and reasoning will be almost unintelligible.

But let us pass on to the pronoun. Winer will give valuable hints. Two we will venture to add: the first, because it is almost the only instance in which the accurate distinctness of the Greek language is lost in the New Testament; the other, because it well illustrates the importance of minute attention to seeming trifles in its grammar. All Greek scholars are familiar with the beautiful precision of the three demonstrative pronouns, *ὁδε*, *οὗτος*, *ἐκεῖνος*, *hic*, *iste*, *ille*—‘this man by me,’ ‘this man by you,’ ‘this man out there.’ Of these, ‘the man by me’ is considered the nearest: ‘the man by you’ was farther off. But *ὁδε*, in classical Greek, acquired from this another signification. It meant that which followed, while *οὗτος* was that which went before: *εἶπε τὰδε* ‘he said as follows;’ *εἶπε ταῦτα*, ‘he said what has just been stated.’ The origin of this second meaning of the words was the known propensity of the Greeks to anticipate, to look forward, to regard everything future (it is the remark of Thucydides) as already within their grasp. The characteristic itself was lost in mind of another temper and national origin; and the use of the pronouns *ὁδε* and *οὗτος*—a most important one for accurate discrimination—vanishes in the New Testament. “*Ὅδε* occurs only thirteen times, accurately employed seven times in the Apocalypse, twice in the Acts. “*Ὅδε*, *οὗτος*, and *ἐκεῖνος* are used with the same vagueness as the English ‘here,’ ‘this’ and ‘that.’ I is a real loss. But it is not so much a symptom of a ‘*fatiscen Gracitas*’ as of a different national temperament.

On the other hand, there is great precision in the employment of the pronoun, which really forms the personal inflexions of the verb. We have met repeatedly with fair ordinary scholars, even from our public schools, to whom it is a novelty to hear that those personal inflexions were formed by the simple addition of the pronoun to the root, as, ‘Write-I,’ ‘write-thou,’ ‘write-he,’ ‘write ye,’ ‘write-they.’ The pronoun, therefore, always exists in the Greek verb—it is never understood (Oh that the word *subauditum* could be extirpated from our grammars!)—and the pronoun of the third person is our ‘he,’ ‘she,’ ‘it,’ ‘they,’ and refers always like the article, to the person already especially prominent in the mind of the speaker or hearer, to the last possible person left and dwelling

dwelling upon his thoughts. Is it not important to remember this? Read Acts vi. 5, 'And the multitude chose the seven deacons, whom *they* set before the apostles: and when *they* had prayed, *they* laid their hands upon them' (*προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας*). An English judge, with nothing but the English idiom to guide his interpretation, would undoubtedly be bound to decide that it was the same multitude who chose the deacons, and set them before the Apostles, and prayed, and laid their hands upon them. The English Version might be quoted in defence of ordination by the congregation. But by the strict and uniform rule of Greek grammar, the *they* included in *ἐπέθηκαν* not only may, but properly should be referred to the Apostles. The Apostles were the last persons left by the preceding sentence prominent in the minds of the readers. Upon the same principle *μανθανέτωσαν* (1 Timothy, v. 4) must be referred not to the widows supporting their family, but the family supporting the widows. On the same principle follows a most important nicety which removes two great difficulties, by his comments on the first of which Dean Alford, we believe, has not a little alarmed his readers. The French and the English besieged Sebastopol, and *they* stormed the Redan. In English, the word *they* would include both the French and English; it would be a falsity. In Greek, unless there was something in the context obviously excluding this idea, it would be strictly limited to the English; the latter of two distinct classes, and the last left dwelling on the mind by the preceding sentence. Now, apply this to the difficulty in St. Stephen's speech, Acts vii. 15, 'And Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he, and our fathers.' Our English Version proceeds, 'and were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre at Sychem.' That is, both Jacob and our fathers; though we are told in Genesis that Jacob was buried in Machpelah. But the English Version has omitted the pronoun, *they*, contained in *μετετέθησαν*. And this '*they*,' by the laws of the Greek language, strictly refers only to the latter of the two parties — 'our fathers' — not to both them and Jacob; and the statement is thus accurately consistent with truth. The other supposed discrepancy in this same passage vanishes, when we observe that the purchase by Abraham of a *sepulchre* at Sychem from the *sons* of Emmor, the son of Sychem, must be a different transaction from the purchase by Jacob of a *parcel of a field*, where he had spread his tent (Gen. xxxiii. 18), from the children of Hamor, the *father* of Shechem, where he erected an altar. Nothing more natural than that Abraham should have bought a sepulchre, and Jacob the plot of ground adjoining. In the purchase at Machpelah

pelah there is the same distinction of the sepulchre and the field.

So, perhaps, may be removed one of the great difficulties in harmonising the accounts of the Resurrection. And entirely as we agree with Dean Alford in repudiating every dishonest attempt to *force* such harmony, right as he is in insisting that it is enough for us to know that all the accounts must be true, though we do not possess the key to them, still the attempt to reconcile them is perhaps one of the problems purposely suggested by the contexture of Holy Writ to thoughtful minds. Nothing more can be pretended by any harmony than to show (which is all that is required) the possibility of reconciliation. In the present case, the difficulty is caused by the women having visited the tomb in different parties. Divide (Mark xvi. 2) the party indicated by St. Mark as having purchased spices, into two—Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James, on the one hand, and Salome, accompanied as she must have been with attendants to bear the spices, on the other. Let the following verb *ἐρχονται* be applied exclusively to the second party or Salome and her attendants—as the party mentioned in St. Luke evidently constitute a third—and we believe nearly all the difficulties will be found to vanish. Thus Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, not without concert with Salome in purchasing the spices, but separately to observe the state of the sepulchre, come *while it was still dark*, and see the angel of the Lord descend and roll away the stone, with the earthquake, and the whole narrative of St. Matthew. Salome, with her attendants bringing the spices arrive *after the sun was risen*, enter into the tomb, and see what is described in St. Mark. The other party, designated, by the learned Greswell, as the party of Joanna, come later, and see what is described in St. Luke. The visit of the two Apostles is a fourth visit; and if it might reverently be supposed that ‘the angel of the Lord’ was our Lord himself—and there are circumstances in the narrative which seem to point to it, especially as aorist verb, ‘Lo, I told you,’ not ‘I have told you’—then would be removed the difficulty of St. Mark, xvi. 9. He appeared first (*ἐφάνη*, not *ἐφανερώθη*) to Mary Magdalen, and she saw Him a second time distinctly (*ἑώρακε*), when He was mistaken by her for the keeper of the garden. The whole narrative thus becomes strictly and to a letter consistent. But we suggest the idea with great diffidence.

And now turn to the great problem of Greek—the cases. Has the real depth of their significance been yet penetrated? Is it possible that local relation, the where, whence, whither, can

be their primary meaning? Their uses have been generally observed and classified empirically. But is the mystery clearly solved? And can any seeming anomaly in the Greek Testament employment of them be pronounced such, till it is solved? The conviction forced upon our own mind from a careful daily study of many, many years, is that no such anomaly exists. We cannot recall a single instance of irregularity or failure in precision, if the following view of their meaning be adopted, which we suggest as a brief and simple account of them for the use of the ordinary scholar, who has not access to books.

1. The Genitive, Dative, and Accusative—all of them, as distinguished from the Nominative, denote *the second* of two nouns placed in some relation to each other, as ‘The house on the hill;’ ‘He struck the table;’ ‘He wrote to his father.’

2. The Genitive denotes *relationship in general*, every kind of it. Construe it ‘in relation to,’ ‘in regard to,’ ‘in reference to,’ ‘concerning,’ ‘in connexion with,’ and its precise meaning will always be recognised, even in such frequent but unclassical forms as the following: *ὡς πεποηκόσι τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν* (Acts iii. 12), ‘As if they had done anything with reference to the fact that the man was walking;’ *ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον*, ‘It came to pass, with regard to Peter’s entrance’ (Acts x. 25); *ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . τοῦ πολέμῃσαι* (Rev. xii. 7), ‘There arose war in the heaven,’ with regard to completing the war; *τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλώνης*, the transportation in regard to Babylon, standing in a relation to Babylon.

3. The Dative also expresses the second term of a relation (that is, of two nouns standing in relation to each other), but with the additional notion always of an interval lying between the two objects. Hence it is rendered by the English prepositions—to, with, in, for, at with an interval, or near; and sometimes from, where something is taken from a person. In each of these instances there must be an interval supposed to exist between the objects. Is there a single instance even of apparent irregularity under this head?

4. The Accusative is employed to express length in *duration of time*, as ‘all night long,’ *νύκτα*; and *extension of space*, as ‘he walked along the river,’ *πόταμον*; *the subject of the action*, as ‘he killed the man,’ *ἄνδρα*; *the thing made or done*, as *ποιήσωμεν σκηνάς*, ‘let us make tents;’ *the place to which direct motion is addressed*, as *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς κώμην*, ‘he entered into a village;’ *the object contemplated*, as *ὀμνύειν τινα*, to swear, looking at a person; *κόπτεσθαι τινα*, to cut yourself in sorrow, contemplating a person as dead; and the passive cause, as *φοβείσθαι τινα*, to be alarmed

at

at a person doing nothing, whereas, if he were actively terrifying us, it would be *τινος*.

In all these uses of the Accusative one common notion is contained—that the object regarded is not only the second term of the relation, but is supposed *to rest and dwell upon the mind* for a certain time—is exhibited, as it were, in length, *extension*, or at least continuous repetition and duration.

Now, this brief view of the Greek cases, in which there is nothing at variance with the ordinary hypotheses of Greek scholarship, will not only reconcile every seeming anomaly in their employment in the New Testament, but a careful application of them will bring out many interesting niceties in their use. Chrysostom observes, that our Lord's appearance to His disciples after His ascension is asserted to have taken place (Acts i. 3) *δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα*, not *ἡμέρας*. It was not a continuous unbroken stay with them. In the account of the conversion of St. Paul in our English Version, Acts ix. 7, and Acts xxii. 3, there is a direct contradiction. His companions 'heard the voice and 'heard not the voice.' In the Greek it is *ἀκούοντες τῆ φωνῆς*, 'hearing something of the voice;' *τὴν δὲ φωνὴν*, 'but all the voice, fully and distinctly they did not hear.' The crime of Ananias and Sapphira (so often misunderstood as mere falsehood or covetousness, and therefore startling us by the severity of the punishment) is specially described by the accusative case Acts v. 3, 'Wherefore did Satan fill thine heart,' *ψεύσασθαι αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, to lie not merely to, but *at, against, in defiance of* the Holy Ghost. The crime was not merely a lie, but involved blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. We pass over a multitude of instances, but we repeat in one word, the minute philosophy of the Greek Cases is as much to be observed in the New Testament as in the most classical Greek writer.

And now we come to the next grand problem of the Greek language, the Tenses and the Moods of the Verb. All the best school of critics will declare to us, with Winer, that in the Greek Testament, as in classic writers, 'no tense is ever put for another. If there is one point in which a rigid, most scrupulous precision may be expected and observed, it is here. In this point our own Authorised Version has been most (of such a glorious work we dare not say negligent, but) unobservant, and, we believe, with most unfortunate results, especially upon the history of one doctrine relating to baptism, on which the Church of England has been so long divided within itself. Read the Greek tenses accurately, or correct the English text to it, and two consequences must follow. Honest minds must acknowledge that the Prayer Book

Book is in strictest harmony with the Bible; and those who still would follow their own imaginations must be compelled to reject not only the Prayer-Book, but the Bible. Our first entreaty to the student is, however impossible it may be to preserve the distinction in a readable translation, never to confound the meaning of a Greek aorist with a preterperfect: 'I wrote' with 'I have written.'

And yet it is by no means certain that philology has yet fathomed the precise meaning of the wonderful machinery of the Greek tenses. Here also we will try to offer a brief and simple account of them. *They do not, then, primarily imply time.* They are not primarily distinguished as past, present, or future. The proof is found in two facts, that there are aorist and preterperfect imperatives, which could not be, if aorists and preterperfects essentially implied past time. We cannot order a thing to be done yesterday, in past time; neither could the infinitives and participles be applied alike to present and past times. Their real meaning (to which we have nothing similar in our English verbs) relates to four stages of progress in the action: the 1st, preparatory to the commencement, commonly called the future, *γράφειν*, 'to be about to write'; 2, the being engaged in writing, while the act is going on, *γράφειν*; 3, the completion of the act, *γράψαι*; 4, the completion of it, with the additional notion of subsequent continuance, *γεγραπέναι*, to have written a letter, and still retain it in possession. There are thus four primary Greek tenses, founded on a most simple and accurate classification of the stages of an act. The infinitive is the substantive of the verb, *i. e.* 'to write' is the same as 'the act of writing.' The four participles supply the four adjectives of the verb, *γράφων, γράφων, γράψας, γεγραπώς*. In the imperative, one tense only is wanting—that of the first, or future; because the impatience of the Greek mind never contemplated commanding a person to be merely about to do a thing. Then give to each of the four classes a subdivision to express *present* and *past* time, 'I am about to write, and was about;' 'I am writing, and was writing;' 'I wrote (here there can be no present in the indicative, because completion here necessarily involves past time), I have written, and I had written.' Then remember that the first and second forms of the aorists and of the future (and there are many more than two, though not specified in the Eton Grammar) do not differ respectively in meaning. Then throw the so-called subjunctive and optative mood together, as in Latin, into one mood: the subjunctive supplying the present tenses, and the optative the past. Let the indicative mood express *certainty*, and the other mood *uncertainty*, and we believe that little more

is required to follow with the utmost precision the minute discriminations of the Greek verb in the New Testament as in all other Greek.

Three peculiarities of Greek idiom must be remembered, which cause at first sight a seeming vagueness in the use of the tenses in the New Testament.

First, the well-known difficulty of the *Oratio Obliqua*. In English a speech of Lord Palmerston might be reported in two ways: 1. Lord Palmerston rose and said: 'I think'—'I have done'—'I will write'—'I am sorry;' the very words of the speaker and the original tenses being used. 2. Lord Palmerston rose and said: 'He thought'—'he had done'—'he would write'—'he was sorry;' the third person being used, and all the tenses turned into the past. Now, the Greeks, when they report either direct speeches or thoughts passing through the mind, in this second form, retain the tenses in their original time. Their report would run thus:—Lord Palmerston rose and said: 'That he thinks'—'he has done'—'he will write'—'he is sorry.' Attend to this well-known fact, which we are almost ashamed to repeat (but we know too well that those for whom we are writing really need it), and to another fact, that thoughts passing through the mind were reported in the same form as words issuing from the mouth, and nine-tenths of the seeming anomalies in the Greek Testament tenses will disappear.

The second peculiarity most common in classical Greek is less common in the New Testament. In English we should say, 'As when a traveller in a forest suddenly spies a dragon, he starts back, and stands aloof, and shudders, and stealthily withdraws.' But the Greek would describe it as a narrative in the past, 'and as he spied'—'he started back'—'he stood aloof'—'he shuddered'—'he withdrew.' He would use the aorist, not from confounding the tenses, but from the Greek mode of thought. His expression would be, 'Wisdom was justified,' *ἐδικαιώθη*, not 'is justified of her children' (Matt. xi. 19).

And thirdly, the primary idea of completion occasions the aorist to be used, where in English the present would be employed—the secondary idea of past time only accidentally involved in it being nearly lost.

These are the peculiarities which perplex ordinary students, and which give rise to the fatal notion that the employment of the Greek verb in the New Testament is inaccurate. On the contrary, it is most wonderfully precise. The best proof is to be found where sudden changes of tense occur, at moments least expected, in order to correspond with minute changes in ideas. Even in the Apocalypse, where the structure of the periods is so  
anomalous,

anomalous, there are signs of great precision in the use of the tenses (iii. 3). Compare 1 John v. 18 with 1 John iii. 9. Observe the distinction between *γεννηθείς* a man, in whom the seed of the Living Spirit was once implanted at baptism, without any assertion of its continued possession, and *γεγεννημένος* born again, and still retaining the new life. Every baptised person is *γεννηθείς*; but only he who is still acting up to his Christian privileges is *γεγεννημένος*. What a difference in the possibility of their committing sin! And what an answer to the doubts, which the English Version, neglecting the distinction, may be brought to justify against the language of the Prayer-Book!

Acts ii. 3: 'And there appeared unto them tongues as of fire' (not cloven, as in A.V.), but 'cleaving themselves,' 'splitting themselves each, perhaps, into two' *διαμεριζόμεναι*. Compare with this the modern theory of the multiplication of the seeds of physical life *by fission*. The Greek word exactly represents it. Remember also to whom the whole gift and dispensation of all life is attributed by the Christian doctrine—life, whether physical or spiritual. And may not the analogy open questions full of interest, though we might not dare to suggest that it might seem to symbolise and prophesy this physiological discovery of modern science?

Especially will no careful reader neglect the graphic use of the so-called Imperfect. It should be called 'the past Imperfect.' 'He was doing'—'he was writing'—'they were asking'—too often lost sight of in the A.V. What a picture do they present at our Lord's Ascension! Acts i. 9: 'And having said these things, while *they were looking on Him*, He was lifted up, and a cloud came under and took Him from their sight. And as *they were standing*, straining their eyes into the heaven, as *He was proceeding on His way*, behold, two men *had taken their stand beside them, and were still standing there.*'

Follow carefully the tenses in Hebrews xi. It is the famous narrative of the deeds of faith. By faith Abel offered; Enoch was translated; Noah prepared an ark; Abraham obeyed; Sarah received power. All aorists throughout a long chapter; but there are two or three exceptions. Before the translation of Enoch, 'it has been witnessed' (*μεμαρτύρηται*), not 'was witnessed.' The witness was given in Holy Scripture, and continues to this day (v. 5). Abraham (v. 17), being tempted, has offered up Isaac (*προσένηνοχεν*). Why not merely 'offered'? Was it because in that sacrifice was represented the sacrifice of Christ, which has endured for ever down to the present time? And even in the next verse it is not the aorist 'he offered,' but 'he was offering:' the sacrifice was not completed. And again, after a  
multitude



multitude of aorists, 'By faith (v. 28) Moses hath instituted a celebrated (πεποιήκε) the Passover;' because, like the sacrifice Isaac, the reality of which it was a symbol continues and endures for ever.

Construe accurately the tense in that ill-understood declaration of Agrippa to St. Paul, ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις. Nothing can farther from the meaning than the oft-repeated translation, 'almost thou persuadest.' This would be ὀλίγου με ἔπεισας. is literally, 'in a short compass,' 'in a brief statement of one single occurrence,' *art thou trying* to persuade—the Present Imperfect is perfect. 'I come to the professor's lecture-room, so commonly those days attached to palaces—τὸ ἀκροατήριον—expecting to hear an elaborate philosophical explanation of this new system: You confine yourself to a simple narrative of facts.' But was it this the especial commission of the Apostles, to deliver the Gospel as witnesses—witnesses of outward facts, of things which they had heard and seen? Is not it the plan of that perplexing and seemingly promiscuous memorandum book of the Acts, to exhibit the mode in which the Gospel was preached to every class of hearers, first Jews, then Samaritans and proselytes, then Gentiles, not with enticing words of mere wisdom, but simply by a witness to facts, according to the command given by our Lord—Acts i. 3? Is not the class represented by Agrippa the philosophical rhetorical school of that day, to whom St. Paul humours at the commencement by adopting their rhetorical action ('having stretched forth his hand') and slightly rhetorical exordium, but closes with that solemn warning to all popular preachers, of the only true mode of winning such minds? 'I would *pray*'—(it is not reasoning, not rhetoric, not philosophy; it is only a higher Power addressed by prayer that can reach such hearts)—'I would *pray*, both in short compass and in long, that you would become as I am.'

Then attend to the present imperfect—σῶζομένους—Acts ii. 4 and—γίνου—used so repeatedly in admonitions for the formation of the Christian character. It is a long-continued process occupying time, not wrought out in a moment. It is the present imperfect imperative—'be thou becoming—be thou forming thyself to this and that habit of mind.' But, above all, never overlook the aorist in the multiplied passages which have the same reference as 1 Cor. vi. 11, 'And these things some of you were'—*erant*, not *fuert*. 'But ye had yourselves cleansed of the law by washing;' 'but ye were hallowed;' 'but ye were justified ἀπελούσασθε, ἡγιασθήτε, ἐδικαιώθητε; so Eph. i. 5, συνεζαποίησε, συνέγειρε, συνεκάθισεν; so ἐγενήθητε, Eph. ii. 13, κτισθέντες; so Coloss. iii. 9, ἀπεκδυσάμενοι, ἐνδυσάμενοι, followi

by the change of tense, ἀνακαινούμενον, where the process of renovation is long and continuous, not wrought once for all. So Titus iii. : ἐπεφάνη, ἔσωσεν, δικαιωθέντες. Must not these aorists refer to some effect wrought and completed in past time by some one act? What was that act? Can it be anything but that to which they are ascribed by the Prayer-Book?

One word we must give to the Greek moods, the most difficult of all grammatical problems, the most overlaid with false metaphysics, arbitrary canons, and interminable imaginary distinctions. The indicative mood expresses *certainity*; the subjunctive and optative, forming one mood between them of present and past tenses, expresses *uncertainty*.

All those perplexing disputations on the combinations of ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅπως, κ.τ.λ., with indicatives, subjunctives, and optatives, are thus simply disposed of. When the result is regarded as certain, the verb is in the indicative; when as uncertain, in the subjunctive. When as doubly uncertain, depending on some contingency not likely to happen, the optative is used, because the Greeks, like the English, having only two tenses expressive of time, the present and the past, were obliged to throw into the past all that was not considered as actually existing. 'Will you come,' 'can you come,' 'could you come,' implying three degrees of expectation and likelihood, find their exact parallels in Greek. Act so that you *will* recover, *may* recover, or *might* recover, where the recovery is more improbable, depending on some contingency not anticipated to exist—present no difficulty in English. Why should they in Greek? 'Oh, if it were so, or simply were it so, suppose it were so, how happy I should be!' is the exact counterpart of the εἴη—the past subjunctive, expressive of a wish; the second clause, 'how happy I should be,' being universally omitted in Greek. Would that we could rid our Greek grammars of all their unreal metaphysics, and all their misleading terminology on this point, and simply acknowledge two moods—the certain and the uncertain, or the positive and the doubtful!

And now with respect to the Greek prepositions, in the use of which such frightful laxity (looking to the truths involved in their right use, we cannot employ a lighter word) has been indulged and recommended even by professors of the language. If the most minute, most wonderful precision is found anywhere in that wonderfully precise language, it is in the prepositions. If anywhere that precision is observed in the New Testament, it is in these. They represent primarily the local relation of one object to another. They represent this, not as local relation is indicated, for instance, in the address of a letter, by naming

special subdivisions, the country, or the town, or the street, or the house, or the floor of the house, or the room in the floor where a person or object is to be found, but by suggesting the last possible subdivisions, that is the geometrical parts of an object, considered in a geometrical point of view, as a line, a superficies, or a solid. The definition, therefore, of a Greek preposition is that it expresses 'local geometrical relation.' Analyse the geometrical parts of these three ideas,—the line, the superficies, and the solid—and they supply an exact mathematical analysis and enumeration of the Greek prepositions. A solid has six geometrical parts—the upper plane *ὑπέρ*, the under *ὑπό*, the front *ἀντί*, the side *παρά*, both sides *ἀμφί*; the rear, out of sight, must be expressed by *ὀπισθεν*. The plane of the superficies is *ἐπί*, the boundary line around it *περί*, the inside of that line *έν*, the outside *ἐκ*; the surface, divided into two by an intersecting line, *διά*. Lines are either vertical or horizontal. Of the former, the top is *ἀνά*, the bottom *κατά*; of the latter, the front *πρό*; the hinder extremity, as in the case of the solid, has no special name, but is indicated either by *ἐπί* or *ὑπό*. A line being composed of three parts, two extremities and the middle, the middle is of three kinds: may we not venture to suggest that when it is of the same substance with the extremities, as the middle of a beam, it is *μετά*; when a different substance, as a rope connecting two trees, it is *σύν*? When it is an empty space, as in drawing a line from one star to another, the relation between them is indicated by *ἀπό*. Add the particle of motion *σε* to *πρό*, it becomes *πρός*, towards, to the front of an object; add it to *έντ* or *έν*, it becomes *εἰς*, into. Here are all the prepositions. Is there any language in which the precision of geometry can be so brought to elucidate the intricacies of grammar? What must have been the metaphysical acuteness of the Greek mind, thus by instinct to have stumbled, as it were, on such completeness of enumeration, such accuracy of discrimination! Can we suppose that this language, when selected by Inspiration to be the vehicle of Divine Truth, is abandoned again to confusion? Even so the secondary meanings of the prepositions are all evolved by regular laws from the primary. As in the case of *ἀντί*—in front of—in opposition to—equivalent to—exchangeable for—instead of—in return for—in aid of—when something is lifted by two persons standing in front of each other, as in moving a table; or firmly, tenaciously, as when two antagonists facing each other grasp an object, to wrest it from each other's hands, and therefore hold it *firmly*. And yet of these wonderful words Winer (p. 37), though he is still far from the full truth, justly says that 'the way in which, till within the last thirty or forty years, philologists, in lexicons and commentaries,

commentaries, pretended to explain them is truly astounding.' 'There is no meaning,' says Titmann, 'however contradictory, which is not attributed to any preposition in the New Testament.' 'The seemingly Hellenic application of several prepositions, e.g. *ἐν*, is connected not with the influence of the Hebrew Aramæan element, but is connected with doctrinal phraseology, and belongs to the Apostolic Christian ingredient in New Testament diction.' Again, 'an arbitrary exchange of prepositions, a fiction of which the earlier New Testament Commentators are full, is an absurdity.' (Winer, p. 380.) 'The system recently revived, of explaining an alleged interchange of cases in the New Testament by a reference to the want of cases in Hebrew, is preposterous. With the exception of a very small number of doubtful instances, the New Testament writers construe prepositions with strict propriety.' (Winer, p. 381.)

We doubt, far more than Winer, if there is a single exception. We have never found a single one (not even in the instances where Winer hesitates) in which strict adherence to the precise meaning does not bring forth more vividly acknowledged truths. One instance, indeed, the use of *ἐν* with an instrument—*πατάσσει ἐν μάχῃ*—is probably derived from the same metaphorical idea which is found in the common expression, 'the mouth of the sword,' the mouth of war, the devouring sword. The sword was likened to the mouth of the wild beast in which the victim was seized. *Ἐν* is the most important preposition. Never must we forget its real import, and the Scriptural relation of every Christian to the body of his Lord, as a part and member *in* it; *εἰς* is perhaps the next, never to be slurred over—*πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστόν*, *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*, is, to be brought by belief, and its necessary concomitant, baptism, *into* the body of Christ; to be made a member of His body, which body is also described as His name; all that bears His name. *Πιστεύω* occurs 230 times in various combinations; but there is no confusion. The spirit which He gave, *εἰς ἡμᾶς*, not merely *ἡμῖν*, is the spirit infused *into* us. *εἰς* is never put for *ἐν*. It was heard that He is *εἰς οἶκον* (Mark ii. 1) means that He is in the house, having previously gone into it. It is what is called a 'phrasis prægnans.' Of the 620 times that *διὰ* occurs, not one is vague. The difference of the cases has nothing to do with the meaning of the preposition. Prepositions do not govern cases, that is, determine them. That which determines the case, is the idea which it is wanted to express, according to the view we have given of them. The preposition only adds a more precise geometrical view of the relation in which the two objects stand to each other. Neither is there the

slightest symptom of redundancy or vagueness in the words compounded of prepositions. There still lingers, even in Winer, a doubt of this in some instances; but it will vanish on a careful scrutiny. Not a preposition in a compound verb—we venture to think—is introduced without retaining its precise and distinctive force.

In particular, attention should be given to the word *ἐπίγνωσις*, as distinct from *γνώσις*. It is the additional advanced instruction given subsequent to the rudimental catechetical teaching—What a history does this simple word describe (Rom. i. 28) of the origin of heathen idolatry! what a clue to the corruptions of Christianity! what a warning to ourselves!—*καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν τὸν Θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει*. ‘And in proportion as they did not determine, after trial and testing of the truth (which truth they had already received by primæval revelation, and might have confirmed by the works of God in nature), to retain and keep God in their mind as He was revealed to them, and to do this, *ἐν ἐπιγνώσει*, while at the same time they expanded and developed that fundamental knowledge by farther study, God gave them over to a reprobate mind.’ To apply all legitimate means of proof to the doctrines first taught us by the witness of the Church, to confirm our hereditary creeds, to retain those creeds firmly and immutably while we study both Scripture and nature, and the philosophy of man, to apply and legitimately develop them without permitting any corruption of them, this is the process laid down for us; and by departing from this, and indulging, instead, our own imaginations and speculations, Christianity like Heathenism has been corrupted, whether on one side or the other of primitive truth; and the consequence of that corruption must be a thorough demoralization of practical life.

*Διαμαρτύρεσθαι* is another word whose precise meaning is most important, especially in the Acts. The question is, whether the Apostles, preparatory to baptism, required of the converts a profession of belief equivalent in extent to that which the Church requires now, and required, as far as we can learn in the scanty remains of primitive Christian records, in the earliest period; or were they content with some vague, general profession of internal, subjective belief, a mere feeling, and not an obedient submissive recognition, of positive external doctrinal truth, *ὑπακοή πίστewς*? A careful examination of the addresses preserved in the Acts, an attentive consideration of the circumstances narrated, and especially an accurate rendering of *διαμαρτύρεσθαι*, ‘to deliver their testimony thoroughly and completely,’ will, we are convinced, decide the question in favour of the latter view; the im-  
portance

portance of which cannot be exaggerated in the maintenance of a definite, distinct body of doctrine, as the foundation of the whole Christian system.

The term *ἐξανάστασις* (Phil. iii. 10) is not to be overlooked. May it not refer to the first of the two resurrections, so distinctly asserted in the Apocalypse? In Mark xiv. 72, whatever meaning is given to the word *ἐπιβαλὼν*—Peter, after his denial, *ἐπιβαλὼν ἑκλαίε*; whether, as we prefer, ‘having cast his cloak over his face,’ or perhaps ‘having dashed his head against a wall,’ no interpretation can omit the *ἐπί*. Observe the use of *μετά* in the sense of ‘joined with, so as to participate in the nature of the second object,’ contrasted with *σύν*, ‘merely coupled with, Christ, *μέθ’ ἡμῶν*, intimately associated, made a part of us,—how infinitely stronger than the heathen expression, *ξύν Θεῷ*! So *πρός*, towards, to the front of, as distinct from *εἰς*, into; *ἐκ*, out of, where one object had been previously included in the other, as distinct from *ἀπό*, where there is merely separation from the exterior; *κατά*, down to, and *ἀνά*, up to, are accurately distinguished. ‘The love and faith which thou hast,’ *πρὸς* the Lord, and *εἰς* the saints, Philem. v. 5: We do not like to say it; but Winer here falls far away from his own high position. The Lord was the object of the feelings towards which they were directed, and requires *πρός*; but the operation of them brought into immediate contact, and acts of benevolence among the saints, is *εἰς*. (1 Thess. ii. 6): ‘For neither at any time were we implicated in words of flattery, as ye know;’ nor in any pretence for the purpose of obtaining money; neither seeking high estimation (*ἐξ*) out of man (because this was the result of internal feeling, nor anything = money or temporal benefit), from you (*ἀφ’ ὑμῶν*), because this was external assistance. (John ii. 2): ‘The truth which abideth in us’ (*ἐν*)—this may be the subjective doctrinal truth, and will be ‘with you’ (*μετά*)—this is the personal truth, Christ himself, who aids you, as sharing our nature. Where *ἐν* and *εἰς* seem confounded, it will be found that the verb involves the notion of previous motion to, and subsequent action in, as *δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ*, ‘he has given into his hand, so as to be in it;’ *ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, ‘to go into Jerusalem, and there celebrate the feast;’ *εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε*, ‘ye shall be brought into the synagogues, and there scourged.’

But we must pass on to another important class of words, the conjunctions and particles, on which Bishop Ellicott has bestowed much and deserved attention:—

‘It is truly amazing (we quote again from Winer, p. 470) how expositors, till within the last thirty or forty years, used to lecture the Apostles, telling them incessantly what conjunction they ought  
to

to have employed, instead of that in the text. Were a list of these criticisms to be drawn up, it would assuredly be found that in the whole compass of St. Paul's Epistles there are not more than six or eight passages, in which the Apostle has not selected the wrong particle, and required the aid of an expositor to find the right. The amount of mischief produced by this arbitrary interpretation of the New Testament is incalculable. Surely St. Paul and St. Luke understood Greek as well as any of the expositors who have given them so many lessons in Greek grammar. No one who has not a most erroneous idea of Hebrew could appeal to that language in support of such a mode of handling New Testament diction. Such unlimited liberty of using one thing for another—any one word or form for any other whatever—is inconsistent with the principles of every human language. Besides, the absurdity of this arbitrary system of interpretation is more clearly demonstrated by the fact, that in the same passage different expositors attribute to one and the same conjunction a sense entirely different.'

Now, we will not say that we think Winer's account of the particles the most satisfactory part of his book; but every lover of the truth will thank him for his bold and determined stand against the fundamental mistake of such commentators. The following points seem to deserve attention:—

1. The difficulty in regard to particles arises chiefly from the frequency of their use, the loss of their original meaning, the obliteration or absence of the external marks of organisation, which in other vocables enables us at once to reduce them to their original elements. They are like fragments of fossil bones, ground down to pebbles in the bed of a torrent. But in Greek much of their original form is still discernible; and the first thing to be remembered is, that while a very artificial written literature, only partially preserved to us, gradually would restrict the use of such phrases to certain conventional combinations, the language of conversation and of general popular usage, which the Apostles employ, preserves old usages perfectly compatible with the real philosophy of language, and founded on the primitive meanings of the word. Nearly all the seeming vulgarisms and provincialisms in English, which we attribute to corruptions and fallings-off from a pure and correct style, are old original forms, perfectly correct, and retaining the primary meaning of words and phrases. When a Welshman says of a man, 'her did so,' he is not guilty of an ignorant mistake of gender and case, but uses an old nominative masculine. It seems incorrect as contrasted with a polished written English style; but it is perfectly correct according to the original use of the word in the popular language of the district.

2. A vast proportion of the Greek particles are pronouns: *το*, dative

dative of *τος* ; *τε* = *ε* ; *ὅτε*, *ὅτι*, *ὥς*, *ἐάν*, perhaps = *ἐ-αν*, *εἰ*, dative of *ἐ* = in case = if ; *ὥστε*, *ὅπως*, *ἐπεὶ*, *ἐπειδὴ*, *ἔπειτα*, *ὥσπερ*, *καθώς*, *οὕτως*, *ὥδε*, *ὅταν*, *διὸ*, *καθότι*, *πότε*, *ἐκεῖ*, are only a few instances of these pronominal conjunctions. Construe them literally as such, giving at once the exact force of the pronoun, and the exact force of the case-suffix, and you cannot err.

3. It is by our hereditary perpetuation of false translations that we are so misled when we come to the Greek Testament : *μέν* is not 'indeed,' nor *δέ* 'but.' They are simply 'one,' 'two.' They are used when the writer wishes to distinguish the things, of which he is speaking, as first or second ; but this distinction may be of various degrees, from merely priority of order to absolute opposition. What is intended in each case cannot be decided by the particles themselves, which are incapable of discriminating beyond 'one,' 'two.' It must be determined by the context.

*Οὐ* and *μή* are not accurately distinguished in common translations : *οὐ* simply implies non-existence ; but *μή* implies non-existence, when existence was possible or probable ; *οὐ* is negative, *μή* privative. Render it by 'except,' 'without,' 'omitting,' 'abstaining from,' 'avoiding'—in every instance including the idea that, what is said not to exist, might have existed. *Τοὺς μὴ πιστεύσαντας ἀπώλεσεν* means 'he destroyed' not merely 'those who did not believe,' who might have had no opportunity, but those who, having the opportunity, refused to believe.

The use of *εἰ* seems anomalous in the New Testament, compared with its employment in classical writers. But if it is the dative of the pronoun *ἐ*—identical with the Latin *ei*, from *is*—construe it literally, and the meaning is always intelligible, always precise. Luke xx. 49, 'Lord, *εἰ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν*, if Thou art restoring the kingdom at this time, tell us'—the apodosis, according to the common Greek usage, being omitted. *Εἰ πατάξομεν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ*, 'if we shall strike with the sword, will it please you?' as in English, 'Tell us if we shall strike ;' though if and *εἰ* have, in reality, no connexion. For this is the great mischief and the great difficulty in regard to the Greek particles, that we have attached to them certain English particles as their meaning ; whereas those English particles are, in reality, something wholly different.

Of what are called the illative particles, we may say that they are never primarily to be construed beyond their primary signification, as, *δῆ*, now ; *οὖν*, then ; *γάρ*, for ; *ἄρα*, implying some degree of close connexion ; *γε*, at least. And the secondary cogency of the argument must be inferred from the context. While it must be always remembered that, the Scriptures being written



written for the purpose of promoting thought in thoughtful readers, the reasoning is constantly to be found, not on the surface, but in an under current, which would escape the observation and baffle the guesses of a careless or prejudiced reader.

We would willingly illustrate the value of another accuracy—attention to the position of words in the sentence—a feature which it is often impossible to transfer into a translation, did our space permit the attempt. Nor is it unimportant to observe how much clearness, how much often of important truth, depends on the existence of inflexions in Greek, which are lost in English. One we have mentioned already, 2 Tim. i. 13, ‘Hold fast the form of sound words, λόγων, *which* thou hast heard of me.’ Was it the form, or the sound words, which Titus had received from the Apostle? A question of no little interest in deciding, whether the Creeds were the work of the Church, or of the Apostles. It is ὧν, the words, not the form. Perhaps in 2 Peter, iii. 6, there is a still more important pronoun, ‘*whereby*,’ lost in the translation. ‘For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of water, and between water,’—ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι’ ὕδατος—‘*whereby*’—δι’ ὧν—[plural number] ‘through the instrumentality of which waters’ ‘the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished.’ St. Peter, then, in this very precise statement of the creation of the earth and of the cause of the deluge, seems to have had before him, like Moses, the concurrent action of two masses of water, one above, and one below—the firmament—the fountains of the great deep, and those which poured down, when the windows of heaven were opened. *He* did not find any difficulty even in that seemingly most paradoxical portion of the Mosaic account of the creation.

And now we would fain say one word on another, even more important feature in the strict accuracy of New Testament diction. The separate words—are they used with careful precision? Are they to be construed vaguely? Or will a minute analysis bring forth in them deep veins of truth, which are lost in a careless surver? We are not pleading, remember, for any theory of literal inspiration. The mere fact that no one fixed original has been stereotyped for the use of the Christian Church, is a sufficient bar to any peremptory assertion of the kind. But are the words of Scripture carefully to be weighed by grains and scruples, or to be thrown roughly into the balance, as having no fixed definite value? Sure we are that such a careful examination of them would yield the most satisfactory results. But we must, for want of space, reluctantly forego the task.

Suppose

Suppose that it was a regular practice to break bread, *i.e.*, celebrate the Holy Communion, at the principal meal of the day; that this was accompanied by a formal act of prayer, and especially of public thanksgiving, and intercession, in which persons and things, in which the Church was particularly interested, were always specially named. Observe the traces of this still remaining in our own Prayer for the Church Militant. Then carefully examine the uses of the words *εὐχαριστεῖν*, *εὐχαριστία*, as distinct from *χάριν ἔχειν*. St. Paul uses the second for his own personal private expression of gratitude, the former always for events which might legitimately be subjects for public thanksgiving; and the phrase is constantly repeated in relation to partaking of food, and with the phrase *μνησθῆναι*, not *μνημονεύειν*, which seems again restricted to private reminiscences. The thought is only suggested. But anything which brings out in detail the common daily life of the Apostolical Church, which is supposed to be wrapt in such a mist of obscurity, is worth examination.

Suppose, again, that there was a regular course of scholastic instruction, forming an essential part of the ecclesiastical system for adults as well as for children; that it was carried on in private houses; that there were regular officers, a regular system, a regular body of doctrine in which the catechumens and baptized Christians were instructed; that on the other side teachers set up their own schools, and advanced their own views, and thus parties were formed, and heresies developed: what light would such a fact throw upon such phrases as *ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, *τῇ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλίᾳ*, *τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου* (1 Tim. iv. 13)!—*τῇ ἀναγνώσει*, the public reading of Scripture; *τῇ παρακλήσει*, the hortatory preaching, like our sermons, as distinct from that which immediately follows, *τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ*; a system which, alas! no longer exists with ourselves, and might so wisely be re-established; that is, places and times for studying the Scriptures with adults, as well as exhortations from the pulpit. Then we should understand the expression 'the younger widows, not attending to their work' (*μυθάνουσι περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας*), gad about to the different houses where instruction is going on, and join the classes as students: hence the technical use of the word. 'Let a woman (1 Tim. ii. 11) in quietness learn'—be a learner in the school. But we must close. These hints have already exceeded the limits intended. They will be familiar to those who have studied the New Testament in the original with the best light of commentaries. But they are offered to those who have still this duty to commence.

Our

Our summary would be simply this, in which we are rejoiced to feel assured that Bishop Ellicott, Dean Alford, and Dr. Wordsworth will all most heartily concur:—

That, beautiful and admirable as our Authorised Version is, it does not, and could not, approach to the accuracy and precision of the original; that the original must be studied by all who would really appreciate and profit to the fullest extent by the written Word of Revelation; that this study must be carried on in faith in the distinctness, the correctness, the definiteness of the language of Scripture; that as yet we are not ripe for any new authorised translation, nor for any new authorised text; that every student of Scripture may add something by careful observation to the materials for hereafter attempting such a solemn work, under authority of ‘the constituted Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ;’ that the more faithfully, and honestly, and impartially we examine the Written Word as the work of a Divine Creator, the more marvellously will the scrutiny bring forth treasures which escape careless and superficial eyes, and will confirm the plain and simple truth, which has been preserved to us as the inheritance of Christians; and the more that truth is thus developed and traced out in Scriptures, the more our unhappy divisions will melt away; and all earnest, honest, humble, and thoughtful minds will cling to one standard of belief—one definite and positive body of Divine truth, in defiance of all the audacities of that presumptuous and most miserable scepticism, whose beginning is conceit, its course ignorance, its fruit misery, its end death.

- ART. V.—1. *Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons on the Discipline and Management of Pentonville, Millbank, and Parkhurst Prisons, and of Portland, Portsmouth, Dartmoor, Chatham, and Brixton Prisons, with Fulham Refuge and the Invalid Prison at Lewes, for the Years 1854-1861.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1855-1862.
2. *Annual Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland for the Years ended 1854-1861.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1855-1862.
3. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Costs of Prosecutions, the Expenses of Coroners’ Inquests, &c.; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament. London, 1859.
4. *Report from the Select Committee on Prosecution Expenses; together*

- together with the *Proceedings of the Committee*, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th July, 1862. London, 1862.
5. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the Provisions and Operation of the Act 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 99, and to Report thereon to the House; together with the Minutes*, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th July, 1856.
  6. *First, Second, and Third Reports from the Select Committee on Transportation; together with Minutes*, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London, 1856.
  7. *Report of a Visit to the Convict Establishments in Ireland.* By the Stipendiary Manager appointed under the Prisons' (Scotland) Administration Act (J. Hill Burton, Esq.). Edinburgh, 1862.
  8. *Observations on the Treatment of Convicts in Ireland; with some Remarks on the same in England.* By Four Visiting Justices of the West Riding Prison at Wakefield. London, 1862.
  9. *The Prison Chaplain: a Memoir of the Rev. John Clay, B.D., late Chaplain of the Preston Gaol; with Selections from his Reports.* By his Son, the Rev. Walter Lowe Clay, M.A. Cambridge and London, 1861.
  10. *Our Convict Systems.* By the Rev. W. L. Clay, M.A., Author of 'The Prison Chaplain.' Cambridge and London, 1862.
  11. *Female Life in Prison.* By a Prison Matron. Second Edition, Revised. 2 Vols. London, 1862.
  12. *The Immunity of Habitual Criminals; with a Proposition for Reducing their Number by means of Longer Sentences of Penal Servitude, Intermediate Convict Prisons, Conditional Liberation, and Police Supervision.* By Captain Walter Crofton, C.B., Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. 2nd Edition. London, 1861.

IT is high time that the public should look the question of crime in the face, with a full determination that it shall be dealt with cautiously, but thoroughly. There are criminals enough at large in the country to form an army; for 16,610 known thieves and 44,900 suspicious characters were proceeded against summarily in England and Wales in 1861. Dangerous offences against the person are rapidly increasing, both in number and in audacity, to such an extent that the streets of the metropolis are not safe even in the daytime. The cost of the prosecution  
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and punishment of offenders is between two and three millions annually, while the amount of mischief which their depredations inflict upon the community has been estimated at eleven millions per year.

We fear that the audacious crimes perpetrated nightly in our streets must give foreigners but a low opinion of the civilisation of England; and if the evil were to be attributed to any deep-seated cause—such as hostility to justice and sympathy with wrong-doing on the part of the people, or a callous disregard of public interests on the part of the Government—such a judgment could not be gainsaid.

A perusal of the books enumerated at the head of this Article will satisfy any unprejudiced mind that the phenomenon is to be accounted for by neither of these causes, but is mainly attributable to the mistaken management of one of the Government departments.

All these works contain much valuable information, but one of them is particularly worthy of perusal—we mean the little brochure by the Four Yorkshire Justices. Owing to the fact that for many years past the West Riding Gaol has had a twofold character—containing, as it does, not only the County prisoners, but also several hundred Government convicts,—the Visiting Justices have had peculiar opportunities of studying the system of convict management in England—opportunities of which their keen northern intellects have made the best use. Feeling strong dissatisfaction with the results obtained, and hearing rumours of a better state of things beyond St. George's Channel, these magistrates, in the autumn of last year, deputed four of their number, accompanied by Mr. Sheppard, the able governor of their prison, to proceed to Ireland and inquire into the matter. The result of this visit is the little book before us, which is certainly a model of its kind. For acute and intelligent investigation, clear and vivid statement of facts, able reasoning, and for—what one rarely finds in works of this nature—terse vigorous English, with occasionally a dash of sarcastic humour not unworthy of our best writers, we never saw its equal in a publication *de circonstance*.

Before proceeding to discuss the convict system as it is, it will be well to consider briefly how it was brought into its present state.

Formerly the criminal code of England was perhaps the severest that was to be found in any civilised nation; one hundred and sixty offences being punishable by death; and although it was only in a minority of cases that the extreme penalty was actually carried

carried into effect, still the number of executions was very great. Transportation was likewise used very freely, and many thousands of the worst class of criminals were thus removed from the country every year. Since the growing humanity of the age has, practically, confined death-punishment to the worst cases of murder, sentences have been constantly becoming more and more lenient, and now they are frequently almost ludicrous in their extreme mildness. Thus offences, such as violent street robberies, &c., which within memory of many persons now living were not only legally capital, but often actually visited with death, are dealt with summarily, and punished by a few months' imprisonment; and even where offenders are sent to the assizes, they frequently escape with trifling penalties.

Ten years ago, the refusal of the penal settlements to receive any more convicts placed a great difficulty in the way of effectual secondary punishments. It is true that one colony—Western Australia—took a different course. But that province contains only 15,000 inhabitants, and cannot therefore absorb more than a very small proportion of our criminals; and, considering how far inferior it is in natural resources to the other Australian settlements, there is little likelihood that it can ever take more than it does at present; and even this colony now demands that it shall not receive the worst of our convicts, but, on the contrary, that the selection shall be of the most hopeful class.

In consequence of the accustomed outfall of our moral sewerage being thus closed up, we are compelled to discharge our criminals, when they have completed the term of their imprisonment, into our population at home. Now, a prisoner never stands still in gaol: if he does not improve while in confinement, he must become worse. But to turn an unreformed criminal loose on the community is as absurd as to set at large a wolf from the trap. It cannot be denied that our Executive Government was placed in a difficult position. Still, in company with the nation, it is open to this charge—that it did not heed the signs of strong discontent which the colonies had from time to time put forth, and that it made no preparation to meet the coming evil. This was the more inexcusable, as the practicability of dealing effectively with the mischief had been demonstrated. Howard, Elizabeth Fry, and one less known, yet inferior to neither of these admirable persons in zeal and self-sacrifice—Sarah Martin, the poor sempstress of Yarmouth—had laboured in the cause of reformation with a success which ought to have proved that this object was no philanthropic will-of-the-wisp.

the-wisp. The present Archbishop of Dublin, in a publication which appeared so long ago as the year 1829, gave utterance to a profound and most important truth, namely, that prisoners ought not to be consigned to confinement for times certain, but should be sentenced to the performance of so much labour. Thus would they feel that they could never gratify their yearnings after liberty before the completion of their task, however long, whether by obstinacy or by indolence, they suffer the hour of release to be delayed.

‘The great advantage,’ he said, ‘would be that criminals whose habits probably had previously been idle would thus be habituated, not only to labour, but to form some agreeable association with the idea of labour. Every step a man took on the treadwheel, he would be walking out of prison. Every stroke of the spade would be cutting a passage for restoration to society.’

Captain Maconochie saw that, to the minds of convicts, even the prospect of liberation, while very distant, was insufficient as a stimulus; some power of obtaining immediate gratification and some fear of immediate loss must be added, which, while increasing the force of the inducement to do well, would train the prisoner to habits of self-government. He therefore proposed to charge against the convict the expense of his maintenance, allowing him out of his gains to increase his comforts, but keeping a strict account against him, and showing him from time to time how self-denial would accelerate his restoration to freedom. Again, out of the fund supplied by his gains, the prisoner would pay his fines for misconduct in prison. Although the views of Archbishop Whately and Captain Maconochie were never adopted in their entirety even by way of experiment, yet they had no slight influence on the public mind.

For a very long time previous to 1853, when the colonies closed their doors, it had been the practice of England and Scotland (in Ireland a different course was taken) to send out of the country those only who were sentenced to be transported for ten years and upwards. This left the larger portion of the convicts at home, to be detained in the hulks and other convict prisons, and liberated here when they had undergone imprisonment for half the periods for which they had been respectively sentenced to be transported. The reason for this early liberation was, that confinement in a convict establishment at home was, time for time, a severer punishment than transportation. Still, for several years past about three thousand convicts annually had been actually sent to the colonies; and as Western Australia could only receive  
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about five hundred per year, the question arose,—how were the remainder to be disposed of?

The most generally popular opinion was that transportation should be continued, either by sending the convicts to existing colonies willing to receive them, or by establishing new penal settlements for their reception; and at first sight this seemed a feasible and desirable plan. The practice of removing our most dangerous characters to such a distance that very few of them ever returned, certainly had the effect of ridding this country of a great pest; and indeed to this it was mainly owing that, notwithstanding the great faults of our criminal management, a tolerable degree of security had prevailed here. But when the matter came to be seriously examined, the apparent feasibility of the scheme vanished. With regard to existing settlements, none could be found willing to receive convicts. And as to purely penal colonies, the experience of those which had existed—as Port Arthur, Norfolk Island, and indeed New South Wales itself in its early days before free emigrants had begun to settle there—was not of a character to encourage a repetition of the experiment. It may be answered that, if properly governed, these places might have been as free from tyranny and vice as any penitentiary at home; that it is not fair to argue from the abuse, against the use of an institution. But, as an eminent philosopher has remarked, the abuse of a thing is as much a consequence of it as the use, and must be equally taken into account in estimating the desirableness of the thing. Now the fact that purely penal settlements are necessarily at a distance from all persons except the prisoners and the officers that guard them, must ever prevent these establishments from coming under the influence of that healthy public opinion which all experience proves to be essential to the permanent success of any institution. Thus, at Norfolk Island, under the humane (though not perhaps invariably judicious) management of Captain Maconochie, the administration was for a time greatly ameliorated; but on the removal of that gentleman from the governorship, the old barbarity was restored in all its hideousness, and continued unmitigated until the abolition of the settlement. Indeed, at the best, a purely penal colony can be but a huge and very costly prison, and must ever lack the element which alone makes transportation valuable as a permanent means of disposing of criminals, viz., the opportunity for their absorption into the ranks of honest and industrious citizens. In a colony containing a numerous free population and yet having a brisk demand for labour, convicts who are disposed to amend their lives have a very fair chance. There is nothing to prevent their



their becoming useful and prosperous citizens; and this actually occurred with a large proportion of those formerly sent to Australia. Had the transported criminals been subjected to a well considered reformatory discipline in this country before the voyage and a judicious supervision after landing in the settlements, and had only those been sent out of whose amendment there was some hope, the colonies might have long continued willing to receive our malefactors. But the manner in which prisoners were for years poured into Van Diemen's Land without these precautions, and, what was worse, after they had passed a preliminary stage among the abominations of Norfolk Island, has produced so strong a feeling in the colonial mind against transportation in any form, that there is little hope that the public opinion of the provinces will ever permit the system to be restored, even if the changed circumstances of the Australian settlements, consequent on the discovery of the gold mines, had not made these countries in the eyes of the classes from which convicts are chiefly drawn an elysium rather than a purgatory.

We think, therefore, that the Government could not be blamed when it determined (except on a small scale to Western Australia) to discontinue transportation.\* Seeing that the sentence had become a farce, since it could be so seldom carried into effect, and rightly considering that it was desirable to remove the anomaly, the Ministry, in 1853, brought a Bill into Parliament to substitute sentences of penal servitude for those of transportation, except where the transportation was for periods of fourteen years and upwards; and as it had been long the practice for the reason already stated, to release the convicts who were left at home at the expiration of half their periods, the Bill proposed a similar reduction in the terms of penal servitude. The offences hitherto punishable by transportation for seven or ten years were to be visited with penal servitude for four or six years and so on. But the Administration did not seem to appreciate the necessity of establishing a new system of treatment for prisoners, such as might diminish the evils which were likely to ensue when criminals of all classes were to be discharged at home. Lord Campbell, Earl Grey, and other speakers (including even Lord Cranworth, who had charge of the Bill), strongly expressed their regret at the necessity for abolishing transportation, and their fears for the consequences of the measure to public security here. But, no important suggestion for the

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\* Prisoners, it is true, were still sent to Bermuda and Gibraltar; but as the men are all brought back and discharged in the United Kingdom, for our present purpose they may be looked upon as among those detained in this country.

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improvement of the measure was made until Earl Grey proposed the introduction into this country of the system of conditional discharge—popularly called ‘the ticket-of-leave system’—as administered in the penal settlements; to which his attention had been drawn when Colonial Secretary. He said that it had been found of the greatest advantage that convicts should not be discharged at once from a state of punishment to unrestricted liberty, and that consequently they had been placed in a modified state of freedom by means of what were called ‘tickets of leave.’ For bad conduct those documents could be at once withdrawn.

The Ministry adopted this suggestion, and altered the Bill so as to carry it into effect; but they refused to sanction the very essential correlative alteration proposed by Earl Grey, and supported by Lord Brougham, that—as the reason for shortening the sentences was thus removed—the sentences of penal servitude should be made equal in duration to those for which they were substituted. And thus, as the Bill became law, offenders were to be condemned to penal servitude for terms not much longer than those during which the convicts retained at home had been therefore actually kept in confinement; and these periods the Crown was empowered to diminish still further by means of conditional release. Prisoners already sentenced to transportation were also to be eligible for licences to be at large.

It is quite clear, however, from the speeches delivered in Parliament while this Bill was in progress, that all parties contemplated that the ticket of leave would be a *reality*—that it would be confined to those prisoners who had shown signs of amendment,—and certainly that it would not be granted indiscriminately to all convicts so soon as each should have undergone the minimum period of confinement required by the regulations of the Home Office,—and that the convict, when discharged, would be placed under such conditions, and subjected to such supervision, as would render it almost impossible for him to resume his old courses without the fact coming to the knowledge of the authorities, when the licence to be at large would be revoked, and the offender remitted to confinement, there to remain for the rest of his sentence, or at any rate until it was considered that he might be safely liberated.

To meet the obvious danger that newly-released prisoners might be forced into crime by destitution, it was contemplated that employment in the harbours of refuge and other public works should be offered to all who desired it.

Sir John Pakington, it should be mentioned, warned the Government to ‘be cautious in seeing that there would be no want of accommodation, and that sentences were not abridged

Vol. 113.—No. 225. L merely

merely to get rid of prisoners; for by that means the ends of justice would in a great measure be defeated.' Experience has shown that this caution was not unneeded.

The old system being at an end, the time was come when a new one ought to have been devised, suitable to the requirements of the age. The object of all criminal jurisprudence is the repression of crime; and the means whereby this object can be attained may be ranged under two heads, namely—Deterring and Incapacitating the offender from again offending. Nearly all penalties combine more or less these two principles.

The example of the punishment of an individual has a certain effect—greater or less, according to the idiosyncrasy of those influenced—in deterring others from committing the crime for which they see the penalty inflicted; while on the other hand, there are few inflictions which have not the effect of incapacitating the sufferer from further offence for some time at least. The punishment of death makes it impossible for the offender to sin again, and therefore is a most perfect incapacitation; but experience proves that it is impracticable to inflict it with any certainty except for the gravest crimes, which causes its deterrent effect to be weak.

The experience of all systems of punishment where deterring alone is aimed at shows that a very large proportion of those punished relapse into crime,—indeed, that the effect of this principle of punishment, so far as regards the class of habitual criminals (*i.e.*, persons who gain the whole or the main portion of their livelihood by crime), is generally small; so that, to repress crime, we must rely mainly upon incapacitation. Still the other principle must not for a moment be lost sight of, since it acts with great vigour upon some—and very large—classes of persons.

Now, except death, the only modes of incapacitating a prisoner from again offending are, first, keeping him in custody which is *physical* incapacitation: and secondly, so reforming him that the desire to commit crime has left him; this may be termed *moral* incapacitation. A system of incapacitative discipline would be perfect, if it applied these two modes to every prisoner so far as either is necessary to produce the desired effect. For this object it would be requisite that every offender should be condemned to be kept in confinement until really reformed, however long a period that process might require.

This would be a theoretically perfect system, but—as is the case with most other theoretic perfections—there are great insurmountable obstacles to its complete adoption in the present state of society. The judges of the land deservedly

high in public estimation ; yet few Englishmen, we think, would consent to entrust them with the power of consigning a man to what might be life-long incarceration for a minor offence. And, however well our prison authorities—in whose hands the power of detention must be practically placed—might be selected, the objection to giving them this unlimited control over the liberty of their fellow-creatures would be even stronger, as they could not, like the judges, exercise it in open court.

Fortunately, however, most of the practical benefits of the system might be obtained by a modification of it to which no reasonable objection can be made, since it merely requires that judges should sentence offenders to periods of penal servitude not longer than the terms of transportation which were constantly being awarded within the last twenty or thirty years, and during which periods the Crown (*i. e.* the colonial authorities) might keep the convicts in confinement. Certainly, officers of convict prisons in this country, acting under the eye of public opinion, may be safely entrusted with a power which was freely given to governors and officials of penal settlements at the Antipodes.

Were offenders consigned to long terms of penal servitude, but with a power, as Captain Maconochie proposed, of working their way out of prison by dint of industry and good conduct at an earlier period—after which they should be still subject to supervision, and, in case of relapse into crime, to a return to prison,—the object we have indicated might be effected. It would merely require a tolerable management of the convicts in and out of prison to ensure that during the periods of the sentences they could not be again offending ; while the experience of Ireland, to which we shall hereafter advert, has proved that the great majority, even of the hardened habitual depredators, may be really reformed. Doubtlessly, there would be always a residue who would resist the ameliorative process, and who would consequently be refused conditional discharge ; or if, by means of apparent reformation, any of them obtained it (which would rarely happen under a really well-considered and well-managed system), the supervision would enable them, on relapse, to be easily brought back before they had had the opportunity of doing much mischief. Thus, during the long periods for which they would be sentenced, even these hopeless criminals would be incapacitated from further offending, and when discharged on the termination of their sentences, being so few in number, they might be easily watched, and, on the commission of new offences, reapprehended and prosecuted to conviction, when, of course, they would receive sentences of a length which would keep them

in confinement or under the supervision consequent on conditional discharge during the remainder of their lives.

We consider, therefore, that the Act of 1853 was defective in the shortness of the sentences of penal servitude which it authorised; but otherwise it conferred upon the Secretary of State all powers necessary to introduce a really effective system of convict management.

Let us now see what use was made of these powers.

When the Act passed there were in the convict prisons a large number of men sentenced to transportation, to whom, under its provisions, conditional discharges might be granted. The Secretary of State, therefore, published a scale of the time which must be passed in confinement before the convicts should be eligible for liberation on tickets of leave. In the case of those who received the short sentences sanctioned by the Act, the Government refused to grant any conditional discharge; and this refusal caused so serious a rebellion in Portland Prison that the mutineers had to be charged with the bayonet by the military. To compensate the men for the loss of the expected privilege, beer and other additions to their already generous diet were made, and they were thus encouraged in tastes not likely to aid in keeping them from relapse when at liberty. Eventually the privilege was conceded, even to those who were at first denied it.

Conditional discharge had received the sanction of Parliament expressly as a reward for good behaviour and a stimulant to industry and good conduct in the convict prisons and on the public works. One would therefore have expected the adoption of some species of discipline which would have the effect of enabling the prisoner to win his way out of confinement, not by merely passing his time in such a manner as not to incur serious censure—avoiding the graver class of prison offences, and doing just as much work ('government stroke,' as the men call it) as would save him from being punished for idleness—but by hearty and energetic labour, and earnest attention to his school instruction, combined with really good behaviour. Conduct of this sort is far more to be relied on as a proof of real amendment of character than mere passive good behaviour, such as can be obtained from nearly all prisoners by means of the separate cell, and which many of the worst characters are cunning enough to assume throughout their prison career. The safety of the community (and, indeed, the real interest of the man himself) demands further safeguards against relapse. Supervision was always considered indispensable even among the sparse population of Australia, and it ought certainly not to have been neglected when the convict

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was to be discharged in the country which contains his old haunts and vicious connexions, and whose vast and wealthy cities afford him the means of concealment, and abound with temptations of all kinds.

It has since been discovered—indeed stated in Parliament by the Secretary of State, Sir George Grey himself—that none of these precautions were taken. As soon as each convict had been in prison for the minimum time required by the regulations, he received his ticket of leave—unless, indeed, he had grossly misconducted himself in prison, and even then he was deprived of it but for a short time. Thus, it appears that, of the notorious Chatham mutineers, a large portion were deprived of their licences to be at large, for a month only beyond the earliest time at which they could have been granted, although many of the men were almost ripe for ticket of leave when the outbreak occurred! To suppose that men could possibly be fit to be at liberty within so short a time after having been concerned in the violent and disgraceful scenes of that mutiny, is out of the question. We can only, therefore, conclude that the Directors of Convict Prisons did not attempt to obtain the objects anticipated by Parliament, but simply (as Sir John Pakington had feared they would do) used the conditional discharge as a means of relieving their overcrowded prisons—a most short-sighted policy even for that end, since, when a criminal is let loose unreformed and without supervision, he soon returns, bringing with him several others whom he has trained and led into crime; for it is well known to the police that the trainers and captains of gangs of thieves are usually discharged convicts.

Sir George Grey informed the House in 1856 that ‘there is an erroneous impression that a ticket of leave is a certificate of good character and that those men only obtain it who can prove that they are reformed. *There was never a more fallacious idea. It is very desirable that the illusion should be dispelled* that the holder of a ticket of leave is ascertained to be less likely to relapse into crime than any other discharged criminal.’

On another occasion Sir George went into particulars: he said—

‘It is a mistake to suppose that licences or tickets of leave (as they are usually termed) are awarded upon proof of reformation. Such an opinion is often entertained, but is *wholly without foundation*. They are withheld in cases of *very bad conduct*, but the grant of them must not be taken as a necessary indication that the recipients are reclaimed. In the great majority of cases, convicts, unless they have transgressed the prison regulations, and acted in such a manner as to incur an unfavourable report from the prison authorities, are, after a stated period

period of imprisonment, entitled as a matter of course to a ticket of leave. The reason is obvious. As long as a man is confined in a prison, where he is denied the opportunity of getting drunk and associating with those who might lead him into temptation, he is evidently so circumstanced that it is impossible for him to afford the means of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to whether his reformation is genuine or not.'

The possibility of placing a man during the latter part of his confinement in a state in which he should not be entirely free from temptation, so as to test his good resolutions, had evidently not occurred to Sir George. We find, indeed, that the following conditions were endorsed on every ticket of leave:—

'The power of revoking or altering the licence of a convict will *most certainly be exercised* in case of his misconduct. If, therefore, he wishes to retain the privilege which by his good behaviour under penal discipline he has obtained, he must prove by his subsequent conduct that he is really worthy of Her Majesty's clemency. To produce a forfeiture of the licence, it is *by no means necessary that the holder should be convicted of any new offence*. If he associates with notoriously bad characters, leads an idle and dissolute life, or has no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, &c., it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be at once apprehended, and recommitted to prison under his original sentence.'

—conditions which, if duly enforced, would have prevented any serious relapse during the remainder of the sentence. But, incredible as it would appear were not the fact well known, these conditions were treated on all hands as a dead letter, scarcely any tickets of leave being revoked until the holders had committed new offences. Indeed, the most flagrant instances of the evil lives of licence-holders were vainly pressed upon the notice of the Secretary of State. Thus, one case was mentioned in the House of Commons, where a ticket-of-leave man had been tried for a serious offence, and merely escaped through a flaw in the indictment; the Judge who tried him thought it his duty to inform the Home Office of the case, mentioning that there was no moral doubt of the man's guilt; yet he was still left at large. In 1856 Mr. Newdegate mentioned in Parliament the case of a man who, having been many times convicted of serious offences, was conditionally discharged, and, although again leading a life of crime, was still at large. In the same year Lord Dungannon informed the House of Lords that he had received a return from the head constable of Liverpool, which showed that during the preceding sixteen months, out of sixty-eight persons who had obtained tickets of leave, and who were known to the police of that town, no fewer than sixty-six had again been committed for trial.

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The case of the Birmingham ticket-of-leave man, Wotton, whose name had been actually sent in to the Secretary of State a few days before he committed a desperate burglary in the house of the Rev. Mr. Nodder, will be in the memory of many of our readers.

Indeed, so far from the ticket of leave placing its holder under any supervision, it at one time had a contrary effect ; since, as Sir Richard Mayne told the Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, when the first tickets of leave were granted, the police, receiving no instructions relative to the holders of these documents, naturally enough supposed that they were reformed characters, and did not watch them as they did other men whom they knew to have been thieves. This 'delusion,' however, was soon 'dispelled.'

Sir George Grey told the House of Commons that it would be unjust to arrest men, upon mere police information, who had not been convicted of any offence by evidence on oath ; and that, even when convicted of minor offences, the return to the convict-prison for the remainder of the sentence (assuming that it must necessarily be for the *whole* of the remainder) would be *too severe a punishment*. As Sir Matthew Hale once said, when asked to have mercy upon a criminal, 'there is a mercy due to the country.' '*Summum jus, summa injuria.*' In his extreme scrupulousness about infringing the liberties of a Wotton, Sir George seems to have forgotten that the lives, limbs, and property of the Noddors are entitled to some consideration. But, in truth, to talk of 'injustice,' 'too severe punishment,' &c., is simply to ignore the real character of conditional discharge and the promises which were made to Parliament when the Penal Servitude Act was passed. To object to arrest a ticket-of-leave man because no specific offence had been proved against him, is tantamount to saying that the ticket is a nullity, since, even if he were unconditionally discharged, he would be liable to be apprehended for a specific offence, and, being an old offender, to be sent to penal servitude again for a long period. But, as Sir George Grey admitted, the letter of licence is not always revoked even when it comes to the knowledge of the convict directors that its holder has committed a new transgression. Sir George says that it is only trifling offences that are looked over ; but no fault which brings him within the meshes of the law ought to be considered 'trifling' in a ticket-of-leave man whose sentence is still unexpired, and who is out of prison, merely because he has received an experimental release upon the implied promise of good behaviour.

But the proceedings of the courts prove that even when ticket-of-leave



of-leave men are convicted of serious crimes their licences frequently remain unrevoked. Indeed, a man is sometimes under several distinct sentences of penal servitude at the same time. Thus we learn that a prisoner was tried at a recent sessions, who, at the age of thirty-six, had already been directed to be transported and kept in penal servitude for divers periods, amounting in the aggregate to forty years!

The Four Visiting Justices state that it is the practice of the governor of Wakefield Gaol to report to the Home Office every known ticket-of-leave man received in the West Riding department as a county prisoner. In the case of *nineteen* men so reported the licences were not revoked, each prisoner being set at liberty at the expiration of the period for which he had been committed.

In the year 1856 the great number of offences committed by discharged convicts, with or without tickets of leave, caused such an excitement in the country that Parliament was forced to take the matter up, and Committees of both Houses were appointed to inquire into the subject. The Committee of the House of Commons (called the Committee on Transportation) examined Colonel (now Sir Joshua) Jebb, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Great Britain; Captain O'Brien, one of the Directors; Captain Maconochie; Captain (now Sir Walter) Crofton, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland; and many other witnesses capable of giving important information; and ultimately presented to the House a valuable Report, wherein they took the view of the conditional licence system which obtained in Parliament when the Bill of 1853 was in progress: thus, instead of recommending its abolition, they urged that it should be really carried into effect, and, to give it a fair chance, that longer sentences of penal servitude should be passed.

In the following year, 1857, an Act (20 and 21 Vict. chap. 3) was passed, which abolished altogether the sentence of transportation, and authorised the courts to consign offenders to penal servitude for periods as long as those for which that penalty was awarded before the Act of 1853. The enactment of this measure seems to be almost the only effect that was given to the recommendations of the Committee; and, as if all parties conspired against a rational system of penal administration, the Judges have generally ignored this Act, continuing to pass the short sentences which came into vogue under the law of 1853.

The retrospect is a melancholy one. Nine years have elapsed since the country was promised a reformed system of convict management; and yet, so far from any improvement having  
taken

taken place, the public security has been constantly growing worse and worse, robberies being committed in the most daring manner. The character of the crimes has also become much more atrocious. Formerly a traveller had a pistol clapped to his ear with a demand for his money, and if he yielded this up peaceably, he escaped otherwise unharmed. But now a man is suddenly seized from behind, throttled until he is insensible, and robbed—the violence often producing maladies which remain for the rest of his life. And, of late, a still more cruel mode is adopted. The victim is stricken down with a ‘life-preserver,’ ‘knuckle-duster,’ or other dangerous weapon, stunned and maimed, and, while thus lying helpless, is robbed. In October last a young gentleman was attacked in this manner at six o’clock in the evening, in a respectable street near Bedford Square, and his jaw-bone broken, a piece of it, with some of the teeth, being actually knocked out! The recent increase in the police force of the metropolis merely drives the villains into other parts of the kingdom, in proof of which we hear of numerous offences in the great provincial towns. The evil is increasing from year to year—we had almost said from month to month; and a very dangerous symptom has recently appeared, viz., the intimidation of witnesses by the friends of such of the ruffians as have been caught. If some vigorous measures are not soon taken to stop this mischief, it will arrive at an intensity dangerous to the security of society.

Notwithstanding the frequency of offences by ticket-of-leave men and other discharged convicts, an attempt has been made to show that the present system of management is really successful—that the great majority of the prisoners are reformed, and that the punishment is deterrent. Indeed, Sir Joshua Jebb congratulates the public on the ‘stability’ which the system has now attained. The great question, of course, is as to the percentage of prisoners who relapse into crime after discharge. It is a very common fallacy to confound the number of offences *detected* with the number *committed*; and thus, countries and districts have obtained the character of being free from crime merely because they have no efficient police, while other places are supposed to be very vicious because they have a vigilant constabulary force who bring offenders to justice. The Directors seem to have been deceived by this fallacy. Sir Joshua Jebb has frequently stated that only eight per cent. of his prisoners have been recommitted; but, when questioned upon this subject by the Transportation Committee, he admitted that this was the number of relapses which had come to the knowledge of the  
Directors,

Directors, while he 'charitably hoped' that the remainder were doing well. Now, it is very right to take a charitable view of matters; but to suppose that, of a body of convicts who have been discharged into the cities containing the scenes of their former iniquities, all have become virtuous of whom we do not happen to have specific information to the contrary, is carrying an excellent virtue to an extreme—particularly when, so far from having taken all pains in our power to arrive at the knowledge we have been anxious rather to remain in an agreeable ignorance.

As the Four Justices sarcastically remark:—

'The general view of the subject put forth in the "Memorandum" often referred to [a document inserted into a Blue Book Report presented by Sir Joshua Jebb in 1857] seems to be this: the English convict prisons are so admirably constructed; the apparent order under a *quasi*-military discipline, is so perfect (except now and then when disturbed by a mutiny); moral and religious instruction are so carefully attended to; the uniform treatment of men in masses, without reference to their individual characters, has such a grand simplicity and is, *exceptis excipiendis*, worked with comparatively so little trouble that the results must, as a matter of course, be good. The whole system has thus acquired "a stability which it would not be desirable to disturb" by any attempt to test the reformation of the convict before discharge, or by inquiring too curiously into the doings of ticket-of-leave men afterwards.

'The view entertained, and the course to be pursued, seem very much like those which Don Quixote learnt to adopt with regard to his helmet; when, having once tested, with the edge of his sword, his new pasteboard visor, and, unluckily, undone, at the first stroke, what it had taken him a week to do, and having repaired and strengthened the construction, he felt that "he had reason to be satisfied with the solidity of the work; and so, *without any further experiment*, resolve that it should pass, to all intents and purposes, for a full and sufficient helmet."

'The English authorities have resolved that their system shall pass to all intents and purposes, for a full and sufficient system, feeling that they have reason, *à priori*, to be satisfied with the solidity of their work; and they prudently decline any further experiment, which might "disturb" that comfortable sense of satisfaction. Above all they deem objectionable that test to which the system would be put by placing ticket-of-leave men under the supervision of the police.'

The English Directors seem, indeed, to think like worthy Dogberry, that 'for such kind of men, the less you meddle with them, the more is for your honesty.'

Even the number of known relapses so increased, that Sir Joshua Jebb had to enlarge his proportion to 12 per cent.; and subsequently, in his Report of 1860, he states that 9 per cent. have had their licences revoked, and 11 per cent. have been re-sentenced.

sentenced to the convict prisons, making together 20 per cent. of relapses. In November last this gentleman wrote a letter to the 'Times,' in which he states that the

'Total number released on licence in England and Wales has not averaged since the commencement in October, 1853, more than 1400 in a year, of whom it may be fairly assumed that, in spite of all their difficulties, 1000 have not resorted to crime for a maintenance!'

Now, 400 out of 1400 is  $28\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and these are of the prisoners discharged on conditional licence, who ought not to include the worst characters. Captain O'Brien estimated the relapses at about 20 per cent.; but he admitted that this was a mere guess. Unfortunately there is every reason to believe that the proportion is far greater than any of these estimates, and that it is increasing rather than diminishing.

The Yorkshire Justices say that—

'On more minute inquiry, we find that the proportion of "old convicts" to the whole number of convicts received at Wakefield has steadily increased, year by year, from 7 per cent. in 1854 to nearly 31 per cent. in 1861, when of 514 received into the convict department of the prison, 158, or 30·7 per cent., were men who had previously passed through the convict prisons; and men of this class are, in conduct, incomparably the worst that we have to deal with.'

And this steady increase is not to be attributed to improved means of detection, since all information about the convicts is withheld from the police. From the number of prisoners committed to Wakefield Gaol who were recognised by the officers as having been previously in the convict department, the Yorkshire Justices have calculated the total number of relapses; and they bring out the proportion to be from 40 to 45 per cent. This result is arrived at by three distinct estimates, which seem to be founded on sound principles, and are based on different data. Adding to these figures an allowance for the number who have recommenced their old courses without being detected, and for those who have been detected without being recognised as old offenders, it is probable that at least half of this class fall again into crime. As absolute facts are more cogent arguments than estimates, however well founded, the Justices show that of 119 men sentenced from Wakefield to terms of four years' penal servitude in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, fifty have been recommitted up to June, 1862, being 42 per cent. already. Of these, thirty, being 25 per cent., have been again sentenced to penal servitude. The fifty are, of course, such as are *known* to be recommitted. Some must therefore be added for those whose committals, having taken place in other counties, may not have been heard of by the officers of the West Riding Gaol; so that it

is not too much to assume that, of these 119 men, 50 per cent have been detected in crime.

Credit has been taken on behalf of the convict system for some diminution which the statistical tables show to have taken place in the numbers of criminals and bad characters.

In his letter to the 'Times,' Sir Joshua Jebb gives the following statistics from the Blue Books:—

Years.	Number of known Depredators, &c.			Number of houses frequented by them.		
1859	..	..	135,763	..	..	26,276
1860	..	..	131,024	..	..	24,711
1861	..	..	123,049	..	..	23,916

These figures are no doubt gratifying; but they prove nothing in favour of the English system. The education of the working classes has greatly improved of late years; and ignorance is one of the main causes of crime. Ragged schools, industrial school reformatories, and other ameliorative influences, have now been in operation so long that they must have produced some considerable results. Indeed, the rapid diminution of the number of youthful offenders, consequent on the introduction of reformatories, is one of the most gratifying instances of the success of sound principle. Over a large part of the kingdom the hardened, habitual boy-thief has become an extinct animal. Where the youthful trainers and leaders of bands have been caught and sent to reformatory school the bands themselves have disappeared. And, recollecting that in four or five years a boy-thief becomes an adult criminal and a candidate for a convict prison, this diminution of the class ought of itself to have considerably lessened the inmates of the establishments; but on reference to the returns, we find that in England, Wales, and Scotland, the number of persons sent to penal servitude since 1853 was as follows: in the year 1853, 2418; 1855, 2364; 1856, 2431; 1857, 2583; 1858, 2130; 1859, 2170; and in 1860, 2219. The reduction of numbers shown by these figures may be accounted for by the diminution in the severity of sentences, whereby many criminals who would formerly have been sent to penal servitude, escaped with imprisonment in a common gaol. It should be observed also that the diminution in the numbers of convicts sentenced to penal servitude is much less than that of the committals for trial, which have dwindled from 29,359 in 1854, to 15,999 in 1860.

Again, we must bear in mind that these figures are records not of *offences*, but of *detections*, and there is reason to believe that the latter bear a less proportion to the former now than was the case some years ago. Up to 1858 the allowances made to prosecutors

secutors and witnesses for loss of time and expenses were liberal—in some instances, indeed, profuse; but in that year the Home Office framed a scale, so low, that persons of the most economical habits find themselves out of pocket by having to appear at the assizes or sessions. And the evidence contained in the Reports on the Allowance for Prosecutions, and given by judges, magistrates, grand jurors, constables, and persons of various classes, shows that this inadequate allowance causes information to be withheld from the police. The constables themselves are discouraged from an energetic performance of their duty, particularly in the recognition of old offenders, which would subject them to the burden of going to the assize town to prove a previous conviction; and the same observation may be made as respects gaol warders. A man has simply to shut his eyes, or profess want of memory, and he can always evade this onerous duty. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the impolitic alteration in 1858 has much checked both the detection of offenders, and the proof of previous convictions against them, which is generally necessary to cause a sentence of penal servitude to be passed. We cannot, therefore, draw much comfort from the diminution of convictions, and still less from that of the numbers sent to the convict prisons.

We trust we have now proved, independently of the strong corroboration afforded by the outrages daily and nightly committed in the metropolis and other large towns, that the mode of dealing with English and Scotch convicts hitherto adopted is a failure. To judge accurately of the causes of this failure, it will be necessary first to consider the present discipline a little in detail.

Formerly male convicts who were not sent abroad (and those who were sent abroad during a part of their sentence) were, after a short detention in Millbank Prison, set to work in the Royal Dockyards, being lodged in hulks, where little attention was paid to them beyond what was necessary for their safe keeping; and the abominations which prevailed in these receptacles—floating hells, as they have been not inaptly termed—were for a long time the constant subject of denunciation by philanthropists. Upwards of twenty years ago the reports which came over the Atlantic of the success in reforming criminals by the separate system in some American penitentiaries, led Government to try its effect here; and consequently Pentonville Prison was built, under the direction of Major (now Sir Joshua) Jebb. In this prison a number of convicts were incarcerated in cells for eighteen months, and then sent out to Australia as ‘exiles,’ receiving tickets of leave on their arrival in the colony. The ameliorative effect of  
this

this treatment appeared at first to be perfect. The most hardened ruffians became as soft as wax in the hands of the modeller; so much so, indeed, that it was found necessary to accustom the men gradually to the society of their fellows before bringing them together in large numbers in the ship. For a time it was hoped that the great problem—what to do with our convicts—was solved. Soon however, complaints began to arrive from the colonies of the conduct of the ‘Pentonvillans,’ as they were termed in Australia and ultimately it appeared that the supposed reformation was in many cases no more than physical and mental weakness caused by the long solitude, which, when it passed off, left the prisoner as prone to wickedness as ever; and even where the heart had been really touched, the discipline had imparted no strength of character such as would enable the man to resist temptation. On this becoming manifest, the authorities here determined—wisely as we think—not to abolish, but to modify, the separate system considering that its softening effects, although not to be relied on as effecting reformation, were a valuable preparative to a reformatory discipline. They therefore reduced the period of cellular confinement, and determined to employ the prisoners on Government works in this country before sending them abroad. For this purpose the prison at Portland Island was founded in 1847. There, convicts, after leaving the separate prison, are employed in stone-hewing and other out-door labours; and at night they all sleep in separate cells. For the reception of weakly prisoners, a penitentiary was built at Dartmoor, the inmates of which are employed in reclaiming and cultivating land and in in-door occupations: these also are separated at night. In 1856 the last of the hulks was happily got rid of—at least in England—and more suitable dwellings have been erected adjoining the dock-yards. The prisons now in use for male convicts are Millbank whither all convicts are sent from the county gaols immediately after conviction; Pentonville, where (as well as in cells rented from the magistrates in various county gaols) convicts drafted from Millbank are kept in separate confinement for eight or nine months; Portland; Dartmoor; the invalid prison at Woking; and the juvenile penitentiary at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight.

The general conception of the discipline is in most respects good; but there is a great want of consistency in its details. There are various ‘stages;’ and if the prisoner had to progress through them all by dint of good conduct and industry only, and if his conditional discharge were dependent upon his getting into and passing the highest stage, not only would misconduct in the prison be rare, but habits would be formed which would give  
great

great hope that this good behaviour might be maintained after discharge. But, instead of this, the period of release is (except in the case of flagrant ill behaviour) determined by mere lapse of time; and the advantage of being in a high stage consists in the ability to earn larger gratuities, and in some minor indulgences. Thus, instead of a man's good behaviour in separation enabling him to be removed at an earlier period into the associated prisons, to be placed there in a low stage (whence further good conduct would lift him to the higher grades), it sends him at once into the first stage. His continuance in a high stage is no doubt dependent on his not being reported for misconduct; but, owing to the enormous number of inmates of each prison, this duty is left to the warders—mostly old soldiers and men of a similar class—who cannot be supposed to be very able as administrators of a reformatory discipline; besides which, their own reputation and promotion in the service depend upon the (apparent) good behaviour in their wards. It is said also, that the prisoners have been known to make an example of a warder who was not in their opinion sufficiently liberal with his V. G.'s ('Very Good,' as marked in the accounts). As might be expected, therefore, the great majority of men are V. G.'s; and this turned out to be the case with most of the Chatham mutineers; where, indeed, some were 'exemplary'!

This leads us to one of the radical faults of the system, the huge size of the prisons. In Portland, for instance, there are 1400 prisoners; in Chatham as many; in Dartmoor 1100, &c. It is utterly impossible that the governors of these establishments should have any personal knowledge of the individuals of such vast assemblages: thus all actual dealing with these men must be left to the warders. And yet individual influence has been found to be the mainspring of any real reformation, as every manager of a reformatory school will bear witness. Indeed Sir J. Jebb admits this as respects females; but he lays it down that male convicts can only be dealt with in masses. What difference there is in the moral constitution of the sexes which can justify so wide a diversity in their treatment Sir Joshua does not explain.

We cannot help suspecting, with the Yorkshire Magistrates, that the practice is father to the avowed principle.

One very pernicious remnant of the older system ought not to be passed over without notice. We allude to the practice of sending convicts to pass a portion of their time on the public works at Bermuda and Gibraltar, and then bringing them home to be discharged in the United Kingdom. In those



those settlements the hulk system still exists in all its villainess, and, according to the Parliamentary Reports, the demoralization in Bermuda is fearful; and we have private information to the effect that things are but little better at Gibraltar. In Bermuda, the prisoners find means to buy spirits to add to the quota *allowed to them* by Government. In 1859, according to the official report of the chaplain, there was actually a faction fight between the English and Irish prisoners in the 'tween-decks of the 'Medway' hulk at night, in which one man was slain and twenty-four desperately wounded. 'The spectacle,' he says, 'would have appalled the stoutest heart. The hulk was a perfect shambles, and a frightful scene of uproar, excitement, and bloodshed. The mere handful of warders were powerless to deal with the armed mob below decks. All that could be done was to fasten down the hatches, and, when the work of butchery and carnage was over, descend below to fetch up the dead and wounded.' The miscreant Gilbert, who committed the frightful outrage and murder on the young lady Fordingbridge, had been an inmate of Gibraltar prison, where (as he informed the governor of Winchester Gaol while lying under sentence of death) he was instructed in the art of garrotting. To the demonizing effects of these hells upon earth may perhaps be attributed the extreme brutality which often characterises the outrages of discharged convicts.

Females on their conviction are placed in Millbank, at first in separate cells, and afterwards in association; thence they are removed to a prison at Brixton; from which the more able-bodied are placed in a Refuge, established by Government, at Fulham from which, however, it would appear that some are excluded on account of bad behaviour.

The management of the women, of which the interesting and evidently truthful little work 'Female Life in Prison' gives a vivid idea, seems to be better designed than that of the men; yet here a want of that careful attention to the details of organization so essential to the success of the best-devised system, is found, and the liberal diet and the general easiness of the discipline cause the punishment to be so little feared, that women, when discharged, have been known to commit offences with the avowed object of returning to the prisons.

As the capital penalty is now so rarely carried into effect upon women, and, indeed, frequently dispensed with as regards men, this defect in the deterrent character of the discipline is a very great evil; and it is high time that the question of the secondary punishment of the worst class of offenders should be  
serious

seriously considered. Perhaps a prison to be tenanted by murderers only, with a discipline suited to life-long imprisonment, might be adopted. The nation does not like to be told that 'penal servitude for life' means only penal servitude for twelve years.

Hitherto we have had little to portray but error and failure. We might, indeed, have said more: we might have pointed to the cases showing how a man may be convicted and reconvicted and yet not contrive, by any amount of evil doing, to forfeit the favour extended to him by the pertinacious and harmful lenity of the authorities; but we now turn to a more agreeable portion of our subject. In the convict management of Ireland, we have to tell of brilliant success—attained, too, under circumstances which might have discouraged the most hopeful.

Until about 1853 nearly all prisoners sentenced in Ireland to be transported were actually sent abroad. The Convict Department of that country being, therefore, at that time comparatively small, the management was entrusted to the governors of the various prisons, subject to the supervision of an inspector.

When, however, the refusal of the colonies stopped the outlet, these establishments, which seem never to have been well conducted, became full to overflowing, and in a short time they fell into a dreadful state of disorganisation. So bad a reputation had their inmates acquired, that the people of Western Australia, although then seriously anxious to receive convicts, petitioned that no more might be sent to their province from Ireland.

In the latter part of 1853 the Crown appointed a Commission to inquire into the subject, including among its members Captain Knight, the governor of Portsmouth convict prison, and Captain (now Sir Walter) Crofton, a country gentleman of Wiltshire, who, in his capacity of a county magistrate, had for years past paid great attention to the improvement of prison discipline and the promotion of reformatories. This Commission reported strongly upon the state of the Irish prisons, which equalled that of the hulks in their worst time. Idleness and dissolute conduct were the rule. The warders were often seen reeling drunk about the wards; peculations and gross frauds were rife; and it was found that the warders bribed the prisoners with tobacco to refrain from communicating their misdeeds to the inspector.

Government now placed the management of the Irish prisons under a Board of Directors, who at first were, Sir Walter Crofton, Captain Knight, and Mr. Lentaigne of Dublin, Sir Walter Crofton being the Chairman. Two years afterwards the Board had the misfortune to lose the assistance of Captain Knight. His place was, however, worthily filled by Captain Whitty, who had held an appointment in the English convict service. In 1861 Mr.

Lentaigne was appointed Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland; and last spring the state of Sir Walter Crofton's health compelled him to resign, leaving Captain Whitty sole Director.

Early in 1854 these gentlemen set about their duty in rig earnest, and in a short time the most flagrant abuses were reformed. This was not done without much opposition and difficulty; and a large proportion of the officers had to be dismissed. For many months the Directors continued to receive daily threatening letters ornamented with death's-heads, coffins, & in the true Irish style. However, 'threatened men live long,' and the Directors succeeded in cleansing this Augean stable.

But to institute a really good system of discipline was a still harder task than the extirpation of gross abuses. Nevertheless the Directors grappled manfully with the difficulty, and have happily obtained the success which usually follows determination. The practice of discharging at home persons sentenced to transportation, being new in Ireland, was regarded with much dread, which was by no means diminished by the accounts which were received of the conduct of the inmates of the Irish establishments. When the Bill of 1853 was before the House of Commons, Mr. Macartney gave vent to the feeling of apprehension which prevailed. He said that—

'If this Bill was passed immediately, it would produce the great inconvenience in Ireland, where there was not sufficient accommodation for the present number of convicts, to say nothing of the increased number who would have to be provided for under the new system. What Ireland wanted was an improved system of prison discipline, and the Government ought, at all events, to have given them eight months or two years to prepare for the change. At the present time there was suitable gaol accommodation in Ireland for no more than 3434 persons, but the number of prisoners was actually 5241. Moreover, the ticket-of-leave system would have a worse effect in Ireland than anywhere else, for in that country the state of morals among the labouring classes was very low indeed, and the people were easily corrupted. The turning loose 200 or 300 of these convicts among the lower orders was a very serious consideration.'

Before any really ameliorative discipline could be introduced it was necessary, first, to relieve the overcrowded prisons, which was effected partly by liberating a portion of the best conductors of the inmates who had been confined during a large part of the sentences of transportation, and partly by increasing the accommodation.

Having thus cleared the ground, the Directors had to consider how they could solve the great problem of disposing of convicts at home without detriment to the community.

'We have,' said they, 'firstly to punish the convict for the sake of deterring him and others; but this will make him more hostile than ever. He has suffered mere penal infliction repeatedly, and has returned to prison more hardened than before. Punishment alone has failed to deter him. Secondly. We have to amend him; but how can this be effected with his mind in a state of hostility to us? Thirdly. We have to train him before we liberate him, or the public will not value the voucher for his conduct. But how is this to be accomplished without the withdrawal of physical force? The last desideratum appears to be utterly hopeless, as the mind again reverts to the figure of the hardened desperado standing in heavy chains before us.'

To accomplish the desired results, the Directors relied on the following principles:—1st. Reward; by making all advantages, including ultimate release, dependent on industry and good conduct, as shown by a record kept from day to day. 2nd. Individual influence. To enable such influence to be exercised, the inmates in each prison were not allowed to exceed the number which could be personally well known to the governor, schoolmaster, and chaplains (about three hundred in the ordinary associated prisons, and one hundred in an intermediate prison, being the maximum). 3rd. Gradual approximation to freedom: thus, in every successive stage of the discipline, the prisoner is less and less under restraint, until in the last stage—the intermediate prison—he is half at liberty. And 4th. Strict supervision after discharge, and certain revocation of the ticket of leave on any appearance of a relapse. To carry these principles into effect, the Directors have elaborated a system which we will briefly sketch.

A male prisoner on his conviction is placed in a cellular prison at Mountjoy, near Dublin, for the first nine months of his sentence; though by very good conduct here, he may shorten this period to eight months; while, if his conduct is bad, he is detained in separation even longer than nine months. There is nothing new or original in subjecting the convict to separate confinement during the first portion of his sentence; but in Ireland it is the practice to make this state thoroughly penal, both by a very reduced dietary (including no butcher-meat) during the first four months of the period, and by the absence of interesting employment during the first three months: indeed, at the beginning he is not allowed any occupation at all except that of receiving instruction, so that he is impelled, by the tedium of his solitary idleness, to beg for work as a favour, instead of looking on it as a penalty, which must be the case where labour is enforced. By the time the convict is required for hard work in the second stage,

the improved dietary in the latter portion of the period in separation has rendered him physically able to perform it; and by the end of three months of the first stage the idler will generally have learned to associate industry with pleasure. But the convict is taught something very material to his future well-being in the first stage, when he has the advantage of much time devoted to his religious and secular instruction. He learns the whole bearing of the 'Irish Convict System' by means of scholastic instruction, and finds that he can only reach the intermediate prisons through his own exertions, measured by marks in the second stage of the system. As the liberation of the convict within the period of his sentence depends upon the date of his admission to the intermediate or third stage of the system, it is manifestly for his own interest, as it is for the interest of those placed over him, that he should be well informed upon this point.

The second stage consists of prisons in which the men work in association, but still under very strict discipline. A male convict, if a labourer, mason, or other out-door workman, passes from Mountjoy to Spike Island, in the Cove of Cork, where the Government are erecting fortifications for the protection of that important harbour. The work performed here is principally stone-hewing, masonry, and the attendant branches of labour. Prisoners arriving at Spike Island, whose conduct in Mountjoy has been good, are placed in the third class; the remainder are classed as probationers. At the end of every month marks are awarded to the prisoners for industry, diligence in school, and good behaviour, three marks being the maximum number attainable in each department. On obtaining fifty-four marks, a prisoner is raised from the probationary to the third class, or from that to the second; the attainment of a certain number more of good marks raises him another step; and so on until he has passed through the third, second, and first classes, and has entered the advanced class, when he is distinguished by a peculiar costume. After remaining a certain time in the advanced class, the prisoner is removed to an intermediate prison. Any misconduct is punished by degradation to a lower class. In some instances offenders are reduced from the advanced to the probationary class, and, for very serious transgressions, remitted to Mountjoy.

Handicraftsmen, invalids, and others, not strong enough for the out-door labour of Spike Island, were, until recently, on leaving Mountjoy, sent to the prison at Philipstown, where they were employed in weaving, tailoring, and similar trades.

Latterly, owing to the great diminution of the numbers of convicts in Ireland, Philipstown Prison has been closed, and the inmates

inmates removed to a department prepared for them at Mountjoy, where, however, they are treated on the same system as before, which is nearly the same as at Spike Island.

When a man has passed a certain time (proportioned to the length of his sentence) in the advanced class in his associated prison, he becomes eligible for the intermediate prison—the middle state between incarceration and freedom. If he is a handicraftsman, or too weak for hard labour, he goes to Smithfield, an old-fashioned prison in Dublin, with large working-rooms, and cells roomy enough for four or five men to sleep. Here the men are kept in association, and are employed at their own trades (supposing them to be acquainted with one), such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, tinwork, &c. Those who are ignorant of any trade are instructed in one, if capable of learning it. Old men and others unable to acquire a trade are employed in the housework of the establishment or in mat-making. The men here labour vigorously, and their work is well done. They make the clothes, officers' uniforms, &c., for the different convict prisons in Ireland. Strict accounts are kept of the work, which in this establishment gives an average result of about 17*l.* per head per annum over and above the cost of materials. Indeed, had it not been for the number of old men among the inmates, who could earn but very little, the institution would a few years ago have been self-supporting; the earnings of the able-bodied covering the cost of their food and clothing, and their share of the officers' salaries and general expenses of the institution; as it was, expenditure exceeded income by a small sum only. But at present, owing to the lack of convicts, the prison is half empty, so that the establishment charges have to be divided among a smaller number of prisoners. The inmates are allowed a small portion of their earnings, *e. g.* to the artisans so much for every coat, pair of shoes, &c., made, and a weekly sum to those employed in housework. Of these earnings 6*d.* a week is paid to them in ready money, which they are permitted to spend in tobacco, red herrings, or what little luxuries they will, except drink, which is strictly forbidden. This is done as a test of self-control. Very little money is spent in this manner: it is generally saved for better purposes. The prisoners work in association, and several sleep in a cell, where they have gas-light, and may read or amuse themselves before retiring. They are also employed in turn to go about Dublin as the messengers of the institution. The officers are very few in number, and could be easily overpowered were their charges so minded. Nine and a half hours daily are devoted to work; after which, in the evening, Mr. Organ, the very able and intelligent school-master

master to the institution, holds his classes. Writing, reading, arithmetic, &c., are taught, with which Mr. Organ contrives to combine moral and other useful training.

The school instruction here is conducted in such a manner to be interesting to the men, including, as it does—besides reading and writing, and that favourite study of the lower classes in Ireland, grammar—conversational lectures on social economy, which the inmates are encouraged to take part, and in which the philosophy of wages, strikes, and other questions interesting to working men, are discussed, and sound principles are inculcated. In particular, descriptions are given of the Colonies and the United States, with the rates of wages there, the chances of advancement in life, and the means of reaching these fields of enterprise. The object of this is to excite in the men a desire to emigrate, as it is justly thought that in a new country, where work is plentiful and the man is removed far from his bad connections, he will have every chance of doing well. And, in effect, it is found that a large proportion of the prisoners do emigrate after their discharge, defraying the expense out of the gratuities they earn in prison and their wages after liberation, and thus the advantages of transportation are obtained without any of its evils, and without a farthing's expense to the country.

The out-door prisoners, on arriving at the intermediate stations, were formerly removed, some to the works at Fort Camden and those at Fort Carlisle (the two strongholds at the mouth of Cork Harbour), and some to Lusk Common, about twelve miles north of Dublin. But recently both the forts have been abandoned as convict prisons, for the same reason as Philipstown; and now men of this class go to Lusk, where they are employed in reclaiming the waste—digging drains, tilling land, and otherwise preparing the ground for an intended agricultural penitentiary for young convicts, analogous to Parkhurst; which, however, owing to the great diminution of young prisoners caused by the action of reformatory schools in Ireland, it will probably be necessary to build. They live here in two moveable huts made of corrugated iron and wood, each containing only one large room (in which the convicts sleep, take their meals, and pass their time when not at work), with one or two small apartments for the stores, and for the accommodation of the officers. A cookhouse and offices of the simplest possible character stand with the huts, in an enclosure bounded by a mud wall a yard high. A few cottages for warders, scattered about the Common, complete the whole *matériel* of the 'prison.' None of the usual features of a prison, it may be said, are seen.

The men, who vary from fifty to sixty in number, are under charge

charge of five warders, who carry no weapons, but act like the overseers of ordinary workmen. Of more than a thousand men who have passed through the prison, only two have attempted to escape.

When the establishment at Lusk was first proposed, the residents in the neighbourhood were, not unnaturally, somewhat alarmed at the idea of having a number of thieves and burglars encamped in open quarters near them, particularly as there was no police station within five miles; but the good conduct of the men soon dispelled these fears. The Yorkshire Justices, who visited this establishment, were assured by Mr. Cobbe, a magistrate resident within a few miles, that so unexceptionable has been the conduct of the inmates, that he has never heard any complaint whatever of misconduct on their part, either within the establishment or outside. The non-escape of the prisoners cannot be attributed to the place being made so comfortable to the inmates that they have no wish to leave it. They sleep in hammocks in the hut, and all that can be said is that, while they are inside it, they have shelter; but the moment they leave it, they are exposed to every wind of heaven, and to all the rain of that humid climate. In point of mere physical comfort, the advantage is altogether on the side of an ordinary prison, to say nothing of a well-warmed cell at Pentonville or Mountjoy. The Justices found most of the men, at the time of their visit, working up to the middle in drains, than which few employments conduce less to comfort. The diet is stated to be not more than the medical officers consider to be necessary for the maintenance of health and fitness for the hard labour and exposure to which the men are subjected. Indeed, the diet at Lusk is lower than that at Portland, except in *potatoes*. The gratuity is half-a-crown a week, which is rather more than in any one stage at Portland. But it is so much lower in all the previous stages, that a convict under a four years' sentence in Ireland can only earn half the amount which he could earn under a similar sentence in England. The men at Lusk are permitted to spend sixpence a week of their gratuity; and we are told that many of them buy bread with it—an indication that the diet allowed to them is not excessive. The men in Smithfield Intermediate Prison present a similar appearance of improvement.

It will perhaps be said that these are selected cases, and not samples of what the whole of the convicts may become. But it appears by the returns that fully 75 per cent. of all the prisoners find their way to the intermediate establishments; consequently the inmates of these must be a fair sample of what is made of the bulk of the convicts.

It may be asked, what becomes of the remaining 25 per cent. who



who either do not work their way into the intermediate prison or, being convicted of murder or another very grave offence are not admitted there? These are detained—as they ought to be in England—until the expiration of their sentences and thus the public is protected against the repetition of the depredations for as long a time as the law will allow. An even of these it is believed that many do not again commit crime; but among them there is certainly a proportion who may fairly be deemed incorrigible. These, say the Director ‘should whilst in prison be employed as far as possible at such labour as will not give them the means of injuring their fellow prisoners and officers, and they should be placed under the special and continual watching of their chaplain. It may be that the supposed incorrigible may become, and prove himself to be corrigible. If not, he should be retained to the last hour of his sentence, and when discharged should be placed under such observation as will protect the public from his outrages.’ On such a person being a second time convicted of a serious offence he ought to be consigned to penal servitude for life, while, if incorrigible he would never be released; while, if he shows strong signs of amendment, he will be admitted to conditional discharge, but will still be kept under supervision, so that the public will be protected against his relapse.

It should be mentioned that there is no punishment in the intermediate prisons except a compulsory return to a lower stage; and this is awarded for any offence needing more notice than a slight reprimand. The principle on which this is done is, that an intermediate establishment is for men who are striving hard to do well, and consequently those who commit offences are out of place there. If the transgression is small, the offender is not put back far in the scale, so that he will be able soon to work back again; but there have been instances of men being sent from an intermediate prison to the separate confinement Mountjoy. Out of 1670 prisoners who have passed into London only forty-eight have been sent back.

It will be seen, then, that the convicts raise themselves by exertion and good behaviour (which is recorded at the time, and is consequently much more to be depended on than the vague general recollections of the officers) through the various classes and prisons until they win their way to freedom, and then realise the aspirations of Dr. Whately and Captain Maconochie. During the whole of their confinement the men are acted on *individually*, not merely by being bidden about (or cajoled) by warders but by being talked to and reasoned with by those to whom they must necessarily look up with respect—by the schoolmaster chaplain

chaplains, governors, and even the Directors themselves. These gentlemen have often spent a considerable time, generally with success, in striving to convince a prisoner that he was treated with justice, for they rightly deem that no real reformatory effect can be produced upon a person who is rankling under a belief that he is inequitably dealt with.

Men who have raised themselves to a stage by their own exertions must necessarily take a pride in their position, and strive to keep it; and thus in every class, except the lowest, there cannot fail to be a public opinion in favour of good conduct. The avoidance of the error of gathering the convicts together in huge masses is no doubt one of the causes of success. The Chatham mutiny shows, as the Yorkshire Justices well point out, that convicts treated in masses are apt to *act* in masses in a way that is highly inconvenient, yet is a natural result of such treatment. Soldiers are trained on a system the object of which is to merge individuality, so that they may act in masses against an enemy. Convicts trained on the same plan may be expected to act in the same way, so far as circumstances admit—their enemy being the authorities while they are in prison, and society at large when they get out. The *esprit de corps* animating such masses is a bond of evil, which is made stronger by indiscriminate treatment. To attempt to lift up *en bloc* a mass of degradation and criminality is to attempt a moral impossibility. The old story of the youth who tried to break a tied-up faggot might have taught a wiser lesson. The reason is plain. That which a large mass of convicts, as such, have in common is bad. The good remaining amongst them is to be sought for in their individual characters and dispositions. This good the Irish system seeks to develop by treating them as individual men, not as mere constituents of a machine. The mechanism of the mark system, which we have described, is no exception to this principle, but constitutes the means of carrying it out. Its effect is to make the man's better or worse condition depend directly on his own conduct, with the least possible intervention on the part of any one else, and thereby to draw out his individual exertions to attain the better and avoid the worse in conduct as well as in condition, the latter being indissolubly linked to the former by the mark system. The intermediate prisons carry on the same principle. There, more scope is given for the development of individual character by diminution of restraint, and assimilation to the circumstances of ordinary life. In order that this development may be more complete, and better studied by the authorities, it is laid down as a rule, that no one intermediate prison shall contain more than a hundred men.

It has been urged, that to their knowledge that their release near, the good conduct of the inmates of the intermediate prison and their not attempting to escape, may be attributed. And doubt this consideration has its effect; but persons acquainted with the character of the unreformed criminal will see that the test which his self-control would be put by so close an approximation to liberty is far more than it would bear; in proof of which it be recollected that several of the Chatham mutineers were men whose letters of discharge had actually come down to the prison from London.

The management of female convicts in Ireland is similar *mutatis mutandis*, in most respects to that of the men; but want of space precludes us from describing this very important part of the system, which is well portrayed in the Four Justices' book. We would, however, mention that all the stages of imprisonment are passed in different departments of one prison at Mountjoy; and that, instead of going into intermediate prisons, women, when they have gained the requisite number of marks, are placed in refuges kept by benevolent ladies, licences being granted to them, the condition whereof is, that they shall not leave the refuge without permission. When they have earned character in the refuges, places are obtained for them, and they receive full tickets of leave. They have mostly turned out very well.

We now come to the important subject of the supervision of convicts discharged before the expiration of their sentences.

As the Irish prisoners, when first placed under the Board, were unfit to be released on ticket of leave in Western Australia, the Directors deemed that they certainly ought not to be discharged in Ireland until some material improvement had been effected in them, even if public opinion in that country would have permitted such a course: consequently, instead of at once granting tickets of leave, as in England, to those who had passed the portion of the sentence required by the Government regulations, the Board for some years released none but prisoners whose terms had expired.

In 1856 the first licences were granted to 349 convicts, who had worked their way through the various stages, and given sufficient proof of amendment. On the tickets of leave were endorsed the same conditions as in England; but, unlike practice here, they are stringently enforced. Attached to Irish licence also are the following instructions to the convict: 1st. Each convict will report himself to the constabulary station of his locality on his arrival in the district, and subsequently the first of each month. 2nd. A convict must not change  
locality

locality without notifying to his constabulary station, in order that his registration may be changed to the locality to which he is about to proceed. 3rd. An infringement of these rules by the convict will cause it to be assumed that he is leading an idle and irregular life, and thereby entail a revocation of his licence.'

The English Directors have expressed a strong objection to placing discharged prisoners under police supervision. They say that such a course would cause the men to be known to have been convicts, which would ensure them failure to obtain work. The authority for this opinion is, it seems, the *convicts themselves*, who of course feel no desire to have anything to do with the police. In Ireland no evil has arisen from this supervision, the police being directed not to interfere with or even recognise a discharged prisoner, so long as they have no reason to believe he is relapsing into crime; and it is found that the police act on this direction. Indeed, they prove to be friends rather than foes to well-conducted ticket-of-leave men; and where the police are treated fairly, it might have been expected beforehand that this would be the case; for they can have no motive to prevent a man who is striving to do well from obtaining work. But where, as in England, all information is strictly withheld from them—now that the 'delusion' that the English ticket of leave is any evidence of reformation is 'dispelled'—they must necessarily look on every man who has been in a convict prison as a suspicious character, and behave accordingly. Much has been said by Sir Joshua Jebb and others on the effect of the 'prison brand;' how important it is to prevent this stigma from being known to attach to a prisoner; and so long as no means are afforded to the public of distinguishing the well from the evil disposed there is probably some truth in this notion. While it is known that discharged convicts are, as a class, dangerous, and people have no means of discerning such as are not so, they are likely to be shy of them. But the experience of Wakefield Gaol, where pains are taken to obtain employment for discharged prisoners who are inclined to amend, shows that where employers are treated fairly, and nothing is withheld from them, they are willing, as in Ireland, to employ these men. The licence-holders located in Dublin and its neighbourhood are not placed under the police, but are periodically visited by Mr. Organ, who makes a fortnightly report upon each individual. If a man shows any signs of falling back into his old courses, or commits any breach of the conditions and instructions appended to his licence, he is arrested, and brought back into confinement, where he is detained for a greater or less period, according to the gravity of his transgression, and his subsequent behaviour. Notwithstanding

withstanding the strictness with which the convicts have been overlooked, and the unhesitating revocation of their licences even for small causes—in some cases merely for failing to report themselves to the police,—out of 1800 tickets of leave which had been granted up to the close of the year 1861, only 7 per cent. have been recalled (two per cent. less than in England, where this step has been rarely taken, except on the holder's being committed for a new offence, and very frequently not even then), and only seventy-five, or 4 per cent., were re-sentenced to the convict prisons.

The rapid diminution in the numbers of the inmates of convict prisons in Ireland, notwithstanding the conscientious care taken not to liberate those who are unfit for freedom, speaks most strongly for the success of the system. In the beginning of 1854 there were in all the establishments 3427 convicts, while at the beginning of the last year the number had fallen to 1314. There were sentenced to penal servitude in 1854, 710 persons; and in 1859, 312 only. In 1861, it is true, the number rose again to 360, but this increase is attributable to the fact that the Irish Judges (probably seeing the superiority of penal servitude as a reformatory process) have recently frequently sentenced offenders on short terms of that punishment instead of to ordinary imprisonment.

That the Irish convict system has succeeded in obtaining the result for which all judicial jurisprudence is instituted, viz., the protection of the community from the depredations of criminals, is proved in the clearest manner, not only by statistical returns and the experience of the tribunals, but by the universal testimony of all persons connected with Ireland.\* Save in the districts in which, unhappily, agrarian outrage is still found, the security of life and property in that country is very high. Garrotting is unknown, and violent robberies of any sort are very rare.

To ascertain the fact that old offenders had been really reformed, the Yorkshire Justices visited some of the discharged prisoners and conversed with their employers, and fully satisfied themselves that these men were, and some had long been, leading honest and industrious lives. Several of the men thus visited had been burglars and hardened habitual criminals. The Justices mention cases in which such men have been trusted

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\* It may be thought that this is an over-strong statement in face of the agrarian outrages recently prevalent in certain parts of the country. But these offences are of an entirely exceptional character, not being committed, as a rule, by members of the criminal classes; and no conceivable system of prison discipline could produce much effect upon them. The returns show that the persons sentenced for these crimes have rarely been previously convicted, and that when discharged they seldom return to prison.

with large sums of money by their employers. Touching instances of resolute perseverance in well-doing by some of the discharged convicts, although sorely tempted by the pressure of want, have occurred.

The English and Irish systems of convict management contrast with each other in the following important particulars.

In England a prisoner is simply borne out of gaol by the onflow of time, without any exertion of his own, while the Irishman who desires to anticipate the termination of his sentence must vigorously work his own way to liberty. Reformation in England is supposed to be attainable by subjecting men gathered together in huge masses to routine regulations. In Ireland, on the other hand, every individual is separately acted on. There, prisoners before discharge are kept for a while in a state of semi-freedom, in order that the public may see that they have acquired the power of resisting temptation, and may thus feel confidence in their amendment; while here, from the ordinary state of prison restriction they are suddenly released into perfect liberty. In Ireland, after a man is discharged, he is still kept under the supervision of the Department until his sentence has expired; while in England he is lost sight of immediately. The Irish prisoner, on giving the smallest signs of relapse, is forthwith led back into confinement; while the Englishman is not rearrested even when known to be leading a life of crime. As to the deterrent effect of the two systems, the English prisoner, on entering the establishment, is at once put on a generous diet, which is maintained throughout his confinement, and the amount of work he does is small compared with that of free labourers; while the Irishman is placed at first on low diet, and at no time is his food nearly equal to that given to the English convict throughout his sentence, although he does what even a free labourer would consider a good day's work; and while the Englishman knows that he can get an early discharge without trouble, the Irishman can only obtain that privilege by great industry, good conduct, and self-control. As to the subordinate, but by no means unimportant, question of expense, convicts in Ireland cost each 24*l.* 6*s.* per year, while the annual expenditure of the English prisons is 35*l.* per head.\* Owing to the diminution

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\* We know that it is alleged that the value of the labour of the prisoners at the English public works is so great as nearly to repay the cost of their maintenance; but this value is founded on an estimate that each man's work is worth from 2*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* 9*d.* per diem. Estimates of this sort are very fallacious. Mr. Coode, the engineer of the works at Portland Island, informed the Committee on Transportation that a convict's labour is not worth much more than a third of that

tion of the numbers of convicts in Ireland, the estimates for the department last year were 50,000*l.* less than in 1854. A what is more important than all, while England is full of ticket-of-leave men leading a life of depredation, Sir Walter Crofton has frequently challenged any person to point out such a man in Ireland.

Measures far better devised than those which have hitherto adopted are required to grapple with the tremendous evil of which the English public so indignantly complains. A reasonable system of convict management—of which Ireland has proved the possibility—is a *sine qua non* for any permanent improvement. And, to ensure a fair prospect of success, the institution of the system should be entrusted to men who work it with a good heart. Sir Joshua Jebb has repeatedly declared his strong disapprobation of the characteristic principles of the Irish system—principles, as we believe, essential to success. And, although fully sensible of the advantage of releasing convicts who have behaved well before the termination of their sentences, he objects to placing them under any restriction, and has recommended the Secretary of State to discharge them unconditionally. To suppose that any man, however conscientious, will earnestly carry into effect a system to which he is heartily opposed, is expecting too much of human nature.

But while the grass grows the steed starves. A reformation of the convict system will, no doubt, produce an important improvement in a few years' time; though, even the further measures would be necessary to curb effectually the criminal classes; but the public cannot afford to postpone the protection of their throats, skulls, and purses against the outrages of the robber. Something must be done at once. If the hands of justice need to be strengthened, let that be effected without delay; but we believe that much might be done by vigorously putting in action the law as it stands. In the first place the Vagrant Act ought to be strictly enforced. Under this, persons carrying weapons or burglar's tools, with intent to commit felony, or reputed thieves, or suspected persons found frequenting highways, &c., with a similar intent, may be summarily committed to gaol for three months; and on a second offence (or the first offence where the culprit resists apprehension, or bre

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that of a free workman. The same gentleman told the Institution of Civil Engineers that the net value of the work done by the Portland prisoners is nil; and (owing to the division of labour) when the convicts knock off work the free men are compelled to stop also; and the numerous short days, cessations of work from wet weather, &c., of the convicts, cause so much waste of the time of the free men as to balance any benefit which may be derived from the prisoners' labour.

out of confinement) the magistrate can order him to be detained until the Quarter Sessions, when the Justices there may sentence him, as an incorrigible rogue, to a year's imprisonment. The individuals of the criminal class are well known to the police, who, when they receive a description of the appearance of a man by whom a robbery has been committed, generally produce him in a very short time.

The class of thieves, particularly street robbers, must be constantly bringing themselves within the provision against frequenting highways, &c., with intent. If the police were directed to bring up all such offenders, in a short time a large portion of the criminal class would be within the walls of the gaols, and the following of crime as a calling would become very difficult.

A valuable law was enacted a few years ago at the instance of the late Lord Campbell (the substance of which is embodied in the Larceny Act of 1861), to the effect that persons found by night armed, or in possession of burglar's tools, or with faces blackened, &c., with intent to commit a felony, are guilty of a misdemeanour, and may be punished by imprisonment, or by three years' penal servitude. But this Act is seldom put in force, the most dangerous characters found offending against it being constantly dealt with merely as rogues and vagabonds. The career of many a hardened ruffian might be stopped if he were sent to penal servitude under the provision of this salutary law.

Since the foregoing pages were printed, it has been announced that Her Majesty has issued a Commission (comprising several distinguished names) to inquire into the operation of the Acts relating to transportation and penal servitude, and the manner in which sentences of transportation and of penal servitude have been and are carried into effect. The Commissioners have our cordial good wishes. To amend our criminal jurisprudence, and thus remove the greatest blemish on our advanced civilisation—defective security of the life, limb, and property of the citizen—is an object worthy of the ambition of any statesman; and in no field of patriotic labour could he obtain higher or more enduring renown.

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- ART. VI.—1. *South Kensington Museum. Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages, and Period of the Revival of Art.* 1862.  
 2. *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediæval, Renaissance, and more recent Periods, on loan at the South Kensington Museum. June, 1862. 5 Parts.* Edited by J. C. Robinson, F.S.A.

THE Schoolmen were much perplexed with the practical and important inquiry—*utrum chimæra bombinans in vacuo potest comedere secundas intentiones?* Without presuming ourselves to have fully fathomed the question, we imagine that an approximate solution has been afforded in the case of the Museum existing at what was once Brompton, but is now South Kensington, in connexion with the machinery of the Governmental Schools of Design. If ever there was a chimæra buzzing in a vacuum, it was certainly that institution in its inchoate form. The creation of chance, a mere conglomeration of articles presented by the Exhibitors of 1851, for some time it dragged out an obscure existence as the denizen of lumber closets. Enriched at a later date by purchases made at the Bernal sale, and fixed in a tenement of its own, the chimæra stood confessed. The vacuum was the creation of Sir William Cubitt the real author of those ‘Boilers’ of which Captain Fowke has so generally received the credit. The very administration of the tentative institution was for a long period uncertain. Chance had, in the first instance, brought it under the control of the Board of Trade as an offshoot of 1851, and a so-called ‘Department of Science and Art’ was formed in connexion with that branch of the administration. The incongruity of the alliance was, however, too patent; and so bureaucracy set to work to invent the Vice-President of the Council of Education as a sort of curate to the Lord-President—not exactly a minister nor yet a subordinate—who was charged with the double duty of moving the Educational Estimates and slumbering over his art. To this official the care of the aforesaid Department, including the South Kensington Museum, was summarily handed over. The building was ready, and the administrative body had been created; all that was still wanting was a sufficiency of good wherewith to store the premises. The really valuable property which now passed into the hands of the new official was eastward stowed away in a small corner. When a government, however sticks up ‘unfurnished lodgings to let,’ it would be hard if it were long kept waiting for want of tenants. Foremost among the bidders appeared a mixed society of architects and architects-amateurs.

amateurs, which had been for a few years quietly bringing together a very useful though not generally attractive collection of architectural casts, chiefly of the mediæval schools. Heretofore this body had been the tenant of some picturesque and well-situated, but confined—we will not say cocklofts—in Cannon Row, Westminster, where it had gained more or less fame as well as done good service by its meetings and lectures. However, its income was never very overflowing, and the temptation of house-room at the national expense was irresistible; so the bargain was struck, and the lesser Museum accepted the hospitality of the great one, at the cost of the inevitable dissensions attending the introduction of an *imperium in imperio*. Patents and bottled specimens of food competed for favour in other divisions of the large shed. The sun of educational philanthropism by Act of Parliament had not yet set, so the wide nave was erected into an educational division, with the object, as the authorities oracularly announced, of ‘aiding all classes of the public, and especially those engaged in teaching, by bringing together all that is new and worthy of attention in the apparatus relating to education, both in its primary and secondary branches, whether of home or foreign production.’ So the main area of the Boilers presented a cheerful appearance midway between the National Society’s Repository and the Soho Bazaar, with its goodly array of models of school-buildings, barometers and black boards, alphabets and magic lanterns, toys, pens, ink, paper, and school-books, all in a row, as the curious may read in the classed Catalogue of the Educational Department of the South Kensington Museum, of which the second edition is before us—a bulky *brochure*, printed in 1857, and comprising 181 pages of text, to 686 of bills and advertising pamphlets stitched in to fill up the volume, and subsidise the concern. The Museum during this phase of its existence was not popular, although it was then, as now, worked by the indefatigable and astute Mr. Cole. The public was puzzled, the Press and the Art-world were suspicious, and the House of Commons was sulky. The show was so solemn and the situation so very remote. In vain did Mr. Cowper, in his blandest manner, plead the cause of general enlightenment. Solid Conservative squires shook their heads at the dangerous tendencies of so expensive an experiment, and the deep-pitched voice of Mr. Ayrton rose nightly, denouncing woe on the retrograde Government that dared to place its public institutions so far from the pleasant purlieus of the Tower Hamlets. There were also men not averse, on general principles, to spending the public money on public institutions for the public recreation and instruction, who had grave doubts as to

the expediency of the enterprise altogether, and who could understand the identification of a drawing-school and a collection, or the reason why the British Museum was not enlarged and adapted to the growing tastes of the day, instead of being directly confronted with a young suburban rival.

It was certainly not to be denied that the British Museum was particularly weak in Mediæval and Renaissance art, and the tastes of the day and the chances of the Bernal and Co. sales had started the South Kensington Museum on that point. Still, even the British Museum had made purchases enough in this department to lead to the expectation that it might in time, as well as to throw serious doubts on the claim of the South Kensington competitor to be *par excellence* the National Collection in those branches of art. Bystanders argued possibly, if not forcibly—Why not create at the British Museum a special department of Mediæval and Renaissance art, enlarge the board of trustees by the admission of men expert in technicalities of those styles, transfer to them the acquisitions already made by the South Kensington Museum, and leave the latter to fulfil the more humble but useful task of educational instrument, with its casts, and models, and botanical specimens of natural productions? The agitation of such views did not promise well for the Brompton enterprise; the less so when the Press, both general and artistic, favoured the malcontents.

In fact, the Chimæra seemed only waiting its Bellerophon to yield up the ghost, when a series of lucky accidents inoculated it with a vitality foreign to its primitive nature. The crop of second intentions grew up thick and succulent. The question was whether the original Chimæra could succeed in devouring, digesting, and assimilating them. The Sheepshanks pictures came to the rescue by the singular opportuneness of the condition that they were to be displayed at South Kensington and nowhere else. The gift-horse showed its teeth, but it was too valuable to be rejected. To be sure, a picture gallery was quite alien from the legitimate purport of the South Kensington enterprise. But the donor willed that the collection was to be housed thereabouts; and so, assuming the imperativeness of the condition, the existence of something in the shape of an art institution at Brompton became inevitable. That the Vernon, and ultimately the Turner pictures, should make holiday with those of Mr. Sheepshanks, was naturally to be expected, though there was no reason to anticipate those repeated shufflings of the cards which have characterised the National Gallery question, and which made their sojourn for an indefinite period at Brompton almost a necessity. The Report of the National Gallery Commission, and

at the close of Lord Palmerston's first administration, seemed to have settled the question of site in favour of Trafalgar Square, when the world was astonished by the news that Captain Fowke was building galleries for those pictures at Brompton; though, when the galleries were built, their critics candidly owned that the skylights had been successfully treated. In the mean while the Court of Chancery has brought back that portion of the Turner collection which was the painter's direct bequest, to Trafalgar Square. A rifle-shed still usurps Burlington House Gardens, which had been allotted to the Royal Academy, and the central hall of the Trafalgar Square pile no longer exists. Concurrently, however, with these delays and miscarriages, other less apparent influences were at work to consolidate the struggling institution on the basis of its second and better intentions. Parliament, in a fit of good humour, had placed sufficient funds at the disposal of the managers of the Museum, and the managers had been fortunate enough to secure the right agency for the expenditure of their money.

The South Kensington Museum as it stands is, in no small degree, the creation of Mr. Robinson and of his coadjutors. While Parliament was debating, and officials were theorizing, it kept on buying, till at length the world awoke to the fact that the last five or six years had unostentatiously placed the British nation in possession of a collection of foreign art-antiquities, chiefly of the late Gothic and Renaissance schools of Italian art, of which any Continental despot might well envy us the ownership. The series of accidents which had made it the depository of the Soulagés accumulations most materially aided this good result. Happily or unhappily, the primitive Boilers were worn out well nigh before they had come into full use, and the erection of a permanent Museum became unavoidable. Who the architect of the Museum was we need not say, for there is but one name in honour at Brompton. Anyhow, in this case, the iron building which Captain Fowke was called upon to produce was intended for permanent use, and the castings were, more or less, assimilated to recognised forms of Italian art. What the exterior will be when it comes into being we would rather not prophesy. It is enough to say that it will, probably, be an average example of that particular combination of Venetian and emasculated Byzantine which may be termed the Cosmopolitan-Governmental architecture of this century. In the interior, however, the courts are spacious and well lighted, while the architectural features, whether in brick or in iron, do not usually deviate from recognised types. Grand old fragments—reredoses, chimney-pieces, della Robbia panels, &c.—built up into the walls, impart a

dignity due to other times and other lands. The residuary spaces, pillars, and flat surface afford opportunities for mural decoration of which Mr. Sykes may make good use if he will take friendly advice and eschew such banalities as cast-iron base painted to mimic porphyry. The sight of the first permanent court of the new building, as it was opened to the public some twelve months since, operated a general revolution of feeling in favour of the South Kensington Museum. Such treasures as the majolica and della Robbia ware—foremost among the latter, the little unglazed figure of the monk writing at a desk—the Italian sculpture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which Mr. Robinson has described in a scholarly and beautifully-illustrated catalogue; the Limoges enamels, and the acquisitions at the Soltikoff sale, inclusive of the noble enamelled cruciform reliquary of Romanesque design, were sufficient to stamp the whole collection with the brand of first-rate merit. With all that might be ridiculous or superfluous in its administration, with all the trivialities of its Educational division, with all the inconvenience of its position, with all the prior claims of the British Museum facing it, the Brompton institution certainly showed itself vigorous, alert, and successful in creating so excellent a collection so quietly and so speedily. The fusion of the British and South Kensington Museums could no longer be agitated with as much urgency as heretofore; while it might fairly be asked whether the older establishment might not be invited to waive its dignity and its long-established claims, and to transfer its Gothic and cinque-cento possessions to its young rival, contenting itself with its undisturbed supremacy over Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The South Kensington success was, of course, a position gained by those who have so pertinaciously pursued the artificial creation of a great art-city and university down in the plains of Brompton; but, as we remarked a few months past in regard to the International Exhibition, we are not unwilling to accept the compromise. Let the inconvenience of the situation chosen for that Museum be fairly acknowledged, and on those terms in which that position may be accepted as a *fait accompli*. On the other hand, the Horticultural Society can be left to the undisputed and unenvied possession of its moral Cremorne and its Newfieldian colour-beds—

‘Et sola in sicca secum spatietur arena.’

How far the besom of reform may be requisite to sweep out the Kensington Museum itself is a point of detail. The whole Educational Department might, we think, be fitly relegated to the more appropriate receptacles of the Borough Road, the Sanctuary of

of Westminster, and the various toy-shops of the metropolis. The Society which has, at no small trouble and expense, got together the collection of architectural specimens, may be safely allowed to carry off not only their own property but the additional casts which the Department has spasmodically purchased, with a *pax vobiscum*, a charter it may be, and a handsome grant to set up on their own account as a national centre of architectural teaching.

Into the future of the pictures which are now there it is not our present duty to inquire; we conclude that after all the clearings, South Kensington will be left with its special collections of Christian European art of olden days, and of those selected and corresponding specimens of the art-workmanship of our own generation which the last dozen years have given us unusual opportunities of obtaining. Such a museum would be at once homogeneous, practical, and interesting. It would be the embodiment of the successive phases of the civilization of Christian Europe from the day when modern society grew up out of the ruins of the Roman Empire. It would furnish materials for that history which has still to be written, and the want of which any philosophical student must have often implicitly if not explicitly felt—the history of Christianology. By Christianology we do not mean any disquisition on dogmas or rites, but the science of the gradual modification of ideas, laws, customs, municipal regulations, the code of social decency in literature, representations, amusements, habits of life and so forth, honour and truthfulness, mercy and severity, which has grown up in Christendom, as contrasted with the old civilizations of the Greek, the Roman, and the Jew, and the contemporary institutions of Islam. The Museum itself ought to possess a more independent and powerful internal constitution than its present organization, including a standing representative of art notables; and some form of government might easily be devised, broader, more popular, and less fluctuating than the dictatorship of the Deputy Minister of Education for the time being. It has been suggested that a Ministry of Art and Science might be created, which should relieve the Council Office of its artistic duties, leaving to it the more matter-of-fact responsibilities of school-teaching, in the person of a new Parliamentary Under-Secretary, to answer questions and move estimates. The new Minister might perhaps absorb those functions of the Commissioner of Works, which it was not more convenient to hand over to the permanent Board of Woods and Forests, and he might in general undertake all that correspondence with and encouragement of learned societies and savants, which now devolves upon no Minister

Minister in particular, or else upon the overworked Premier, and which is alternately underdone and overdone, according to the temperament of the casual administration.

Such views as these were familiar to the world of art-politics during the last winter, when the International Exhibition was already in the agonies of its paulo-post-future existence. That Exhibition, with all its bigness, was but one in a cycle of many 'expositions,' some industrial and some artistic, with which the last dozen years have been crowded. Its industrial courts were a direct imitation of those which lined the Crystal Palace of 1851, while the picture-galleries told of Paris in 1855, and Manchester in 1857. But the Manchester show, which was started with no more definite idea than that of a picture-gallery, larger and more miscellaneous than the British Institution is wont to provide, ended as an exhibition of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, and made its fame accordingly.

It is interesting to trace the growth in fashion of the new taste which on that occasion took a step in its graduation. 'Wanted: new Excitement' might have been written up over the door of the rich virtuoso some quarter of a century back. A first-rate picture gallery was no longer so cheap or so easy to bring together as in the good old times of the grand tour, while second-rate art was a dangerous ware with which to dabble. The high prices which living celebrities are wont to set upon their current contributions to the art-market have always made the purchase of modern pictures a more favourite recreation with provincial than metropolitan collectors. The Bibliomania, hopeless malady as it is when the patient is thoroughly infected, could never extend beyond a limited circle from the absence of a large outside public to appreciate the mysteries of signature and colophon. Some fresh pursuit was needed not so fully worked out as old pictures, accessible at a cheaper rate than the canvases of popular R. A.'s, and appealing more directly to the eyes of the uninitiated than *incunabula* or *facetiae*. The sentimental admiration for the glories of the Renaissance with which travellers were accustomed to return home after a winter in Italy, and the recoil of impartial spirits from that *outré* guidance which had stamped the Middle Ages as a barbarous hiatus in the history of the world's civilization, conspired to give a bent to the great collecting mind. Curiosities, henceforward, assumed their legitimate position as objects worthy of the attention of the man of taste and education, and not as heretofore the idols of the harmless but eccentric devotion of old maids, Dry-as-Dusts, and Horatio Walpoles. Year by year, in the dark recesses of Wardour Street and the Seven Dials, modest-minded gentlemen of the Hebrew persuasion

persuasion had stored away the miscellaneous knickknacks which chance brought into their hands, as some oldest inhabitant allowed his heirlooms to pass under the hammer of the country auctioneer, or some threadbare emigrant parted for a song with the hoarded jewels of his decayed race. A few shillings or a few pence had put the dealers in possession of the little-coveted property. The speculation did not yield immediate returns, but it was cheap, and the hereditary and instinctive shrewdness of the chaffers prompted the bargains. For several years the collectors had a merry time. The general ignorance of the value of the articles told in their favour. The dealers murmured, but were beaten down. The mine seemed inexhaustible. Every obscure shop in London had its more obscure counterpart in Paris or Frankfort. The sacristies of country churches in Germany, France, and Italy were far too numerous to have been all ransacked by the generation of revolutions which had just passed away, while the absence of railways localised the petty commerce in showy moveables. But the golden age could not last for ever. The down-trodden dealer was at length able to vindicate his rights and to place the collection of curiosities on the same level of costliness which the purchase of pictures and the acquisition of books had already attained. The Strawberry Hill and Stowe sales stirred the waters. The Mediæval Exhibition carried out by the Society of Arts in 1849 was an era in the art history of the country. Many persons of the highest education and the widest acquirements were then for the first time made cognizant of the existence of great schools of art in every European country during those long centuries of intense activity which it was once the fashion to designate as the 'dark ages.'

The Bernal sale, which occurred in 1856, was a source of mingled joy and woe to those enlightened spirits who had for so many years been quietly forestalling their age, in rifling the pawn-brokers' back rooms of specimens of quadro-cento and cinquecento art, the value of which was a mystery to the innocent dealers of King William's time. Those who were still in the full ardour of collecting, and dreamed of heirlooms, saw with dismay the sudden rise of prices. These feelings were not shared by people who had completed their collections, and who contemplated a provision for their families through the posthumous fame and profit of a celebrated auction. When Manchester had set its broad seal on the new taste its popularity was assured. The Soulages importation added fuel to the rising flame. The De Bruges sale, although in a foreign country, had also its effect. In the mean while the Archæological Institute fed the curiosity of



of the more discriminating public by periodical exhibitions of a special character; and the Antiquaries condescended to follow suit. The contagion crossed Temple-Bar; and in 1861 it was announced that the Ironmongers' Company had given up three feasts to make one exhibition. This signal act of devotion was rewarded by a success which rather frightened the spirited projectors. Three days were all that the Company had allowed for the show; and the accommodation was limited to the hall and adjacent apartments. But the treasures that came flowing in, and the crowds that thronged and hastened to see the sight, demonstrated that London was ripe for an art exhibition of a more permanent and systematic character. One mine of wealth in particular had been opened out which Manchester had never thought of working. Its cases displayed only the spoils of private collections. In answer, however, to the appeal of a corporate body, the corporations and guilds freely sent their treasures to Ironmongers' Hall, and the world learned how much of wealth and art was still locked up in chartered coffers, in spite of all the spoliation due to the Vandalism of Puritan revolution and the Corporation Reform Bill.

Still the International Exhibition had no place for such art-treasures. It had, to be sure, added the picture gallery to the original scheme of 1851, but there it stopped. In the mean while the South Kensington Museum was, as we have seen, dealing in bricks, mortar, and iron. Its special collection, richest in cinquecento, owing partly to accident, and partly to the bias of the authorities, but replenished with mediæval *chefs-d'œuvre* purchased at the Soltikoff and other sales, was, as we have seen, arranged in the first completed of the permanent courts. The system of supplementing its own possessions by temporary loans had since the commencement been in vogue at the Museum, and had been found to work well. A large portion of a second permanent court was on the eve of completion; and the idea was started of inaugurating it by a developement of the loan system on a brilliant scale. The reputation of the Ironmongers' Exhibition was still fresh. The complaints of those who feared that that experiment might operate as an impediment to any more permanent display were still loud. It was no wonder then that the notion of an Art Treasures Show as a house-warming to the new building, and a supplement to the Great Exhibition, should have grown up and should have been received, as soon as mentioned, with universal acquiescence.

Thus, then, the 'Works of Art on Loan Exhibition'—to quote the roundabout phrase which so disfigures so excellent an undertaking—was formed. The mandarins of the first and second

order had given it their *exsequatur* ; but the real responsibility had lapsed to a joint committee of working officials, like Mr. Robinson and Mr. Smith ; amateurs, like Mr. Curzon and Mr. Maskell, who appreciated the value of their own possessions ; and such learned *amici curiæ* as Dr. Rock and Mr. Beck, whose names were a guarantee of the quality of the articles admitted. It is not for us to lift the veil which shrouds the elaborate diplomacy necessary to overawe the proud collector, to reassure the timid inheritor, to out-argue the scruples of conscientious stakeholders, and to open the closed fist of shrewd dealers. We believe that two or three 'kingdom-of-Greece' questions might have been easily solved with the amount of ingenuity which was brought to bear on the successful accomplishment of that one exhibition. All that was anticipated was, of course, not achieved on this occasion. An international display was the first idea. One or two French and perhaps a single German collector responded to the appeal, but the broad result has been the congregation of art-treasures belonging to individuals or corporations subject to Her Majesty. We are not really sorry for this conclusion. An 'international exhibition,' properly so called, would have only differed from any other so far as the allegiance of the present proprietors was concerned. As it is, the collection is an epitome of the art-history of Europe and of some portions of Asia for about fifteen hundred years, and the names appended to the articles in the catalogue prove how many of those stores have been accumulated in the United Kingdom. From the very first, the difficulty with which the managers had to contend was how to refuse. The Crown stores were thrown open with characteristic liberality. One by one the most exclusive bodies, civic corporations, and colleges of the Universities, found that no valid prohibition restrained the temporary deportation of their most cherished heirlooms. Private cabinets were thrown open with an alacrity which showed that the only offence to be feared was not rifling them enough. From the first the authorities fought shy of Oriental art, and husbanded their zeal when porcelain came into question. The by-paths of antique art had also to be trodden with a wary footfall. The great floodgate was opened when the word had been passed to the million possessors of family miniatures to throw open their cases and unhook their locket. Illuminated MSS. of French and Flemish origin count by the gross, and upholstery of the Louis XV. and XVI. age is to be found in the drawing-rooms of almost every country-house. The proffer of such articles had, therefore, to be met by chary encouragement. The difficulties were trebled when the owners of some half-hundred second-rate plausibilities had by good luck come into

into possession of an indispensable masterpiece which was to be angled for with or without dead weight.

The dexterity with which the managers slipped through the many complications of their extensive programme certainly deserves commendation. Apart from miscellaneous objects, the collection may be summed up under a few conspicuous heads. Metal-work, mainly in the precious metals, but with some choice specimens of iron and brass, perhaps stands in the first place. Ivories of every style, from Consular diptychs to florid German productions of the seventeenth century, may be ranked next. *Cloisonné* and *champlevé* enamels prepare the way for the gorgeous plaques which Limoges rejoiced to turn out in the troubled century and a half, ranging from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Louis. The pottery of the Persian, Majolican, Henri Deux, and Sèvres epochs indicates the tight grasp which earthenware has for some time held upon collectors' purses. A few choice pieces of Roman glass appropriately herald the way to that great outburst of vitreous art with which quadro-cento Venice flooded the market. Crystals, quaintly carved in many fantastic shapes, exhibit a grace which the most exquisite glass-work cannot compass. The heart of the ecclesiastical antiquary is gladdened with an interminable series of Church vestments, as stiff with gold as cunningly pencilled with needle-work. The large gems may be regarded as having a scientific and mercantile, more than an artistic value; but of the historic importance of the rings so profusely displayed there can be no doubt.

But it was after all neither in the breadth of the subjects included in the display, nor in the mere multitude of articles exhibited under each head, that the great interest of the Exhibition to the public resided. The special, and as it were anecdotal, value attaching to various selected articles attracted the public eye in certain cases; while others more intrinsically valuable, more historically or artistically curious, were, as a general rule, rapidly passed over. It was, however, in the lessons drawn from individual classes of articles that the more thoughtful and instructive found their chief entertainment. We are not here speaking of the mere collectors, but of the intelligent artists and of aesthetic observers and critics, towards the building up of whose education the indiscriminate accumulators of curiosities serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Two of the most generally popular sights were the large jewels and the miniatures. Human nature has an instinctive proclivity, in spite of the philosophers, to enjoy fine stones—as it enjoys smart dresses and the precious metals—for their own sakes; while art treasures, properly so-called, involve art knowledge on the

the part of the spectator. The attraction of the miniatures was similar to that which any other picture gallery of portraits possesses, augmented by that feeling of admiration which conspicuous smallness is as powerful to raise in the common mind as conspicuous size. Nor was this branch of the Exhibition devoid, irrespective of its artistic qualities, of teachings to the historical student, who found in those small ovals of much-laboured ivory a key to the artificial character of the social and political eighteenth century, with its smooth bewigged statesmen, and those fascinating she-devils of the French stage, whose influence over *duc et pair* and *fermier général* made soft with roses the way to the Place de la Révolution. The sight of these sweet, insolent, uneducated faces explains the mystery of a school of art in which the Loan Exhibition—much thanks to Royal munificence—was splendidly exuberant, the Sèvres porcelain, with its dainty vignettes, in which mythology, fashionable life, and sham rusticity so oddly amalgamate. At the risk of blackballing ourselves among *virtuosi* we must make the unblushing confession that among the various schools of ceramics the one for which (Dresden excepted) we feel the least enthusiasm is that of Sèvres. No doubt the discovery of the 'pâte tendre' was a triumph of scientific ingenuity; no doubt the 'rose du Barry' was born to blush conspicuous; no doubt the possessor of a 'ship' may, until the fashion changes, congratulate himself on having locked up a younger child's fortune in that fragile pot. Still, when everything that can be said in their favour has been exhausted, we are left with the conclusion that the productions of Sèvres were the lawful offspring of the age of Louis XV., refined, and yet unartistic; not openly vulgar, but as assuredly destitute of the high grace of genuine beauty. The Watteau snuffboxes are the natural complement of—the masculine gender to—these lady-like ceramics. Those who desire visible evidence of the demoralising influence of centralising tyranny can scarcely discover a better example than the contrast between the pottery and the enamels of France in the eighteenth and in the sixteenth century. We are no admirers, in spite of M. Michelet, of the latter epoch. The impure spirits of Charles IX., Catherine, and Henry III. brood over it; the ambiguous reputations of Francis I. and Henry II. are identified with its most brilliant years. Still, with all its faults, it stands out in grotesque, irregular vigour beside the smooth self-indulgent cynicism of the later age.

The Henri Deux ware, by the simplicity of its form, the soberness of its tints, and the straightforward ingenuity with which the well-known processes of bookbinding were adapted to the production of its designs, themselves apparently attuned to or inspired by

by the reminiscence of Oriental pattern, stands alone and singular among the art triumphs of the Renaissance. It is no small credit to the managers of the Exhibition that they brought together all the twenty-two out of fifty-four known specimens which England had secured. Palissy's humorous outbursts imply a purchasing public not as yet entirely enslaved to an artificial standard. The full-coloured Limoges plaques and plates, whether belonging to the so-called 'Gothic' or 'Fine' epochs (to borrow the not very felicitous terms of the catalogue), and the delicate grisailles which came into vogue during the middle of the sixteenth century, have one characteristic in common. They may be crowded or quaint in their composition, and the tinctures may sometimes be too 'loud' to be quite harmonious. But one and all, they are the strong art of a vigorous age. The subjects are not borrowed from the coulisses, or from Arcadia as dreamed of by Watteau and Marmontel, and acted out by Madame de Warrens, but they range over all history, sacred, profane, and allegorical. The men,—saints, sinners, and heroes,—may have too marked a proclivity to brawny calves and Roman helmets, but at the worst they are athletes, not velvet-breeched muscadins. The women are often voluptuous enough, and to spare, but they are never merely meretricious. With all its vices, public and private France of the sixteenth century still owned provincial life, municipal institutions, freedom to talk and freedom to think, without having to hoist the 'philosophic' banner. When Sèvres and the snuff-boxes came into vogue, the French soul had passed under the axes and harrows of Bourbon centralization, with all its demoralizing accompaniments. The country had already been absorbed in the capital, and the capital at that epoch had succumbed to the Court. If we seek a symbol of contemporaneous manners here, we find that Eighteenth-century England stands out as characteristically typified in the gigantic silver baths, flagons and monteiths—huge loads of precious metal cumbered on the table—by which the territorial lords of the soil, the Georges, Earls and Dukes, rejoiced to vindicate the strength of their heads and the depths of their purses. These are less artistic even than the snuff-boxes, but they are the costly follies of men who lived on their own acres, hunted their own foxes, brewed their own punch, while the rival noblesse was dawdling at Versailles in the chase of other men's wives, who coveted Sèvres. Accordingly, 1793 took stock of them, while the rising ground and the headship of every patriotic and charitable enterprise in every county confess to the still living, aye, and increasing, influence of the great-grandsons of the topping squire and Lords of Walpole's days. Some seventy years earlier the English

English silversmiths were busy fabricating corporation regalia and the other grandiose appurtenances of an old ceremonious system, which had to be found fresh to replace the havoc of the Commonwealth. There were few features of the Exhibition which were more significant than this visible proof of the sad waste of genuine loyalty made by that shameless monarch Charles II.

The Germany of the Renaissance stood represented by one work of surpassing merit, the iron chair, worked by Ruker, given by the free city of Augsburg to the Emperor Rudolph II. in 1577, and now the property of the Radnor family. The same persevering spirit which makes the scholars of the German race the first of lexicographers presided over the elaboration of this masterpiece of minute manipulation. No Frenchman could, no Italian would have undertaken the task of working out a chef-d'œuvre in such a simple material as iron. The oval ivory basin, filled with cabinet groups of hunting subjects, executed a century later, is *longo intervallo* another specimen of the same German patience. This chair was ordered as a compliment paid by a tributary commonwealth to a lord paramount, claiming to represent that strange amalgamation of Cæsardom and Christianity, that union of David and Augustus, the Holy Apostolic Roman Empire reigning in Germany; and the idea had to be embodied in the dialect of the pedantic yet poetical sixteenth century. So the subject selected was Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with its grand sweep of nations, and its double culmination in the preponderance of Rome and the advent of the Christian Church. Whether underneath this compliment something of didactic irony lurked, and the imperial republicans were desirous to remind the Kaiser that there was once a potentate more mighty than himself, as famous for his fall as for his magnificence, we cannot tell.

Ruker, a man not otherwise much known, got his commission and went to work with a will. The back, of open work, is filled with long stately processions of innumerable figures deploying in double files, *en ronde bosse*, finished up as carefully on one side as on the other, and culminating without any feeling of the ridiculous in the superposition over the king's bed-chamber of the Day of Judgment, which sums up the teachings of the vision. The carved legs are all embossed with medallions of the Roman legend, springing, as might be expected, 'of old Anchises' line,' while salient blocks are found for allegorical statues of a larger dimension. The material of the whole is, as we have said, steel, and the method of the fabrication has puzzled the experts. The great part, no doubt, is wrought. In other portions there are indications of something like casting, but those of handwork preponderate;

preponderate ; and in any case, even if casting has been employed to rough-shape the brute material, it is the superadded art of the graver which has created this miracle of tasteful patience.

Italy, from the very abundance and variety of its Cinque-cento treasures, does not so readily offer any one typical class. Perhaps however, as we have been dealing with porcelains, we may regard the faïence of the Umbrian mountain cities as occupying this place in spite of the glass produced at Venice, a commonwealth which ever maintained a kind of exceptional nationality. Sèvres, Henri Deux ware, and Limoges enamels are all of them evidently luxuries of the rich. As evidently the ceramic industry of Italy during that epoch was, like the modern English revival of that manufacture, intended to meet the purse of all classes. The elaborate candelabra and the nicely moulded bowl could never have been turned out except at an excessive price. The plate reproducing some known print in blue and yellow stain was obviously produced for a large and comparatively cheap market. The natural inquiry is, how it came to pass that so popular a manufacture so soon died out? Political reasons growing out of the divided state of Italy and the dead weight of Sacerdotal government supply, we believe, the answer.

We have in our retrospective glance over the Loan Collection backed upon the very verge of that deep and steep gulf which parts the art of the Middle Ages from that of the Renaissance. The evidence afforded by the present Exhibition fully corroborates the phenomenon which has been so frequently noted that the change was sudden and even dislocating, with very little of the shading off and compromise which characterises all other revolutions. Here and there, to be sure, some specimen appears which links the two epochs. The most strange and prominent among them is that oddly barbaric silver gilt ewer and basin longed for by the Marquis d'Azeglio, embossed with allegorical and romantic subjects, in a style whose rude grotesqueness recalls the wood-carvings of early and remote Scandinavia, which the authorities have decided must be the work of some mountain genius of Savoy about the year 1500. The Limoges enamels supply some other links, and so does a school for specimens of which we have to go to the South Kensington Museum's permanent stores, the of the grand ceramic bas-reliefs of the della Robbia family.

With these and a few more exceptions the demarcation is even sharper in portable than in constructional art, in which, as at the Certosa of Pavia, at Oxford and Heidelberg, at Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, at St. Eustache and St. Etienne du Mont at Paris, a system of architecture was projected even into the seventeenth century, in which we sometimes find the alliance of

of Gothic forms with Renaissance principles, and sometimes of Renaissance forms with Gothic principles. In portable art, on the other hand, the revolution, once it was inaugurated, ran its course rapidly and completely. It would lead us too deep if we were to attempt to fathom the reasons of this phenomenon. They may very briefly be summed up in two words, Italian conceit. The fact we hold to be one of the greatest misfortunes which art ever sustained. We grant to the utmost the new appetencies, the new senses even, which the concurrence of such events as the infusion into the West of Eastern lore, following on the fall of Constantinople, the invention of printing, and the geographical discoveries of Columbus and Da Gama called into being. But we assert that it was the fault of the artists reared among the rapidly succeeding emotions of these revolutions that they wantonly proceeded to reconstruct where they might have developed. The Renaissance would have been more truly a renaissance, for it would have been the new birth of the Middle Ages as well as of older civilisation, if it had condescended to keep terms with the centuries which immediately preceded it. We are not without hopes that some future time may ratify the balance. In the mean while the abruptness of the Gothic revival of our own day and the existing oppugnancy between the rival authorities of antagonistic styles, are but the legitimate and the natural consequence of the proceedings of the leaders of the classical Renaissance. When a principle has not only been displaced but banished by a coup-de-main, it can seldom regain its footing without a display of physical force at least sufficient to lead to a compromise.

The first impression to which the mediæval cases of the Loan Exhibition give rise is that of the infinite variety of styles comprehended under the single term 'Gothic.' This is more evident in some materials than others. It is least of all so in ivory, from the stuff being a substance which is not merely non-ductile, but actually hard and brittle. Accordingly, the development of ivories, from the rude Carlovingian specimen to the lace-like chefs-d'œuvre of the fourteenth century, is one which rather follows after, than is of assistance to, the contemporaneous art-developements. In carvings in wood, which, though hard and not ductile, is not brittle, the inventive faculty had freer scope. But mediæval wood-work, with a few choice exceptions, is a complete blank in the Loan Exhibition. We have the best example of the wide diversity of mediæval treatment in the examples of metal-work with which the Collection abounds. The liberal use of enamel, not, as mostly in the Limoges work (for there was a thirteenth century Limoges school), as the vehicle



vehicle for cabinet pictures, but for the embellishment of chased work, prevails from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. In the later examples, to be sure,—of which the pastoral staves of the Limerick Prelate, of William of Wykeham, and Fox, and the St. Andrew's mace and Aumale Cross, may serve as ensamples—the enamelling, though still in large request, was, in the general effect, subordinated to an excessive employment of chased canopy-work, which makes the masterpieces of fifteenth century metal-work more like buildings in model, than specimens of portable art for specific purposes. Perhaps, indeed, the invention of pictorial enamel may be regarded as the logical recoil from this extreme. Ruker, that great eponym of Cellini, which equally fathers the royal Julius Cæsar shield, the Cowper salver, and the enamelled sardonyx ewer once in the Louvre; and the race of silversmiths who worked in Germany for several generations; were severally the heirs, executors, and assigns of Gothic art. The old *verve* was in them, and the confidence arising out of their improved technical processes sustained them. But the intolerance of the Renaissance refused to acknowledge its obligations to the past, and its bequests to posterity were consequently stinted.

The second reflection which occurs is that, with all our researches, we know but a little of what the full resources of mediæval art were. Neglect, destruction, change of taste, have been for three centuries wasting the specimens of every epoch; and in the middle ages themselves each epoch was strange to its predecessor's merits. Even now examples like M<sup>rs</sup>. Paul's fourteenth century cup, adorned with transparent cloisonné panels of coloured glass, turn up, as solitary relics of what, no doubt, was then an habitual process. The secular plate and drinking cups, full of wavy lines and swelling contours, exhibit forms totally different from those which were adopted for religious uses, on which our current notions of Gothic metal-work have been too exclusively moulded. The more perishable classes of art production—such as hangings and coverlets, chairs and tables, or vessels in metal and earthenware—which must at one time have counted by the million, are now scarcely reckoned by the score in European museums. Yet it is impossible not to conclude from analogy that, as a rule, these must have been designed according to artistic principles. Indeed, since Pompeii has been unearthed, we almost know more of the town life of a Roman citizen than we do of that of Lord Mayor Walworth or Justice Belknap. Yet this great abolition of intelligence was, to a large extent, wanton. Forget went hand in hand with Destroy. Do we need any further proof that towards the development of the future Europeo-Christian art there is many a missing link to be supplied?

supplied? Granting this fact, we have a cogent argument in favour of temporary collections, for it is more than probable that these will often be more happy in their casual contributions towards solving the problem than permanent museums, the selection of which cannot fail to be coloured by the pet tastes of the successive curators.

Outside of the general teaching of the Collection there are many special classes or isolated articles, which deserve more than a passing notice. The Royal and the Devonshire gems are of European celebrity. Mr. Waterton's unique cabinet of rings—itsself but a portion of his vast accumulation—is a concentrated history of human civilization. The early Irish metal-work, with its grim hieratic richness, and its Oriental complication of pattern and handling—delicate details spread over barbaric wholes—speaks of a race isolated and self-reliant, and yet not sufficient for itself, with acute and yet unequally developed intellect, highly civilized, and yet holding much savagery in solution.

We pass by the noble array of illuminated manuscripts, from the conviction that nothing short of a specific article would do justice to a craft which flourished in every century and every land of Christendom and of Islam down to and beyond the invention of printing—as the seed-plot of all pictorial art, and as the occupation of all the institutions, and the accompaniment of the processes by which the flame of the world's civilization was kept alive. The golden necklace discovered in an Alexandrian tomb, too soon withdrawn by Signor Castellani, puts to shame the boasted proficiency of the modern goldsmith. A still more pointed rebuke to his pride of workmanship is administered by that funereal parure of the old Egyptian Queen, sent to this country by the Pasha of Egypt; but as that invaluable collection was perversely deposited in the International Exhibition, it hardly falls within our present scope. One of the contributions of Baron Rothschild is described by Mr. Franks, in the Catalogue (4957), as 'a very remarkable vase of the 3rd or 4th century, formed of glass of a pale ruby colour by transmitted light, and of a pale opaque green by reflected light, decorated with figures, vines, &c., in full relief, in some cases completely detached from the glass,' the figures being Bacchic and fixed on, the whole 'carefully cut and polished with a tool like cameo-work. This remarkable vase may, from its workmanship, be of the kind called by the ancients *diatreta*, and which seems to have been made by a special class of workmen, the *diatretarii*.' So that, like Mrs. Paul's mediæval cup, this fragile goblet is left, as a geological specimen might be, a solitary remnant of an art-process considerable enough to

have been the occupation of a caste, and important enough, we venture to add, to have required artistic invention in the design and modelling. How many similar processes may there not have been of which the very memory has perished!

The contemporaneous colossal bust, in terra-cotta, of Lorenzo di Medici, now the property of Lord Taunton, which is the first article in the Catalogue, throws a new light on the history of that able and successful man. Most persons, we fancy, have been apt to regard 'Lorenzo the Magnificent' as a kind of glorious Apollo, imposing by the beauty of his person, no less than by the astuteness of his intellect, on his obedient subjects. Such may have been the Lorenzo of Michael Angelo or Roscoe. But here the real man stands confessed, depicted by some industrious opponent or candid friend—ugly, hard-featured, shrewd, not to say cunning, with a mouth in which sarcasm contends with caution, deep-set eye, slender contracted eyebrows, and the advantage of a nose so much on one side that the two profiles of the same face are totally different. Lorenzo as he was is before us, and questions of historical ethics, which otherwise might be doubtful, are solved by the plain laws of physiognomy.

Out of the numerous contributions which the Duke of Hamilton has sent, there are two which ought to have been ranged side by side as an historical antithesis, relics as they are of two contrasted phases of royalty—that of the Augustus, second consolidator of a new line, and of the hereditary Augustulus, a thousand years apart—of the first Pope-crowned Emperor and of the last English King by 'indefeasible right.' The first of these is a jasper jug audaciously set with gold mountings of Louis XIV.'s time, and to the casual visitor possessed of no especial antiquity. The vessel so disguised is of early Byzantine work, while tradition asserts it to have once been the property of Charlemagne. The other one is described as a 'square silver-gilt tray, bearing the Royal arms of England, with a cardinal's hat, and comprising a raised box for salt, accompanied by two knives, two forks, and two spoons,' which formerly belonged to the Cardinal of York. This seemingly utilitarian piece of plate has a signification which the compiler of the Catalogue overlooked. Singular as it may appear, the possession by the last of the Stuarts of a silver-gilt tray on which to place his knife and fork was nothing less than his persistent claim to the Crown of 'England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.' Readers of St. Simon may remember the *cadenas* which, according to old etiquette, was the unquestioned appanage of crowned heads, and the object of earnest longing and furious dispute on the part of Sovereigns who did not bear the regal title. The concession  
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of the cadenas to James II. was the last crowning-point of Louis XIV.'s elaborate courtesies. Well, then, the cadenas was neither more nor less than the accommodation of a salt-cellar and knife-tray which kings alone were privileged to use at dinner; so the Cardinal's assumption of that custom proved that, in spite of George III.'s pension, there still was a Henry IX. in one old man's opinion.

We could multiply the enumeration of specific objects twenty-fold; but the specimens we have culled are sufficient to indicate the exceptional character of the collection. The technicalities on which the money value of so many of the articles depends are in most instances so minute that no description, unaccompanied by illustrations, could successfully bring them home to the general comprehension. Some are points of artistic excellence; others, as in the parallel mystery of book-collecting, turn on mere chance questions of rarity. Accordingly it is with set purpose that we abstain from entering upon discussions which would only bore the general reader. We might cull of the Catalogue many instances, some of them amusing, and others merely vexatious to the possessors, of previous owners carelessly attributed and now mercilessly disposed of. We could also give a great deal of good advice to future purchasers to ware forgery. But we refrain; merely by the way observing that in the French Department of the International Exhibition we found a small case, belonging to a metal-worker named Dotin, who had received a medal for, as far as we could judge, his very close 'imitations' of Gothic and Renaissance work; not copied as Barbedienne might have done, but dirty with sham ærugo.

We have all along been speaking of the Loan Exhibition in the present tense. Connected as it has been with a permanent institution, it enjoys the supreme felicity of an imperceptible Euthanasia. Unlike its gigantic neighbour, which came to a sudden close with the extempore *pas de fantasia* of the long-suffering policemen, it is privileged to exist until the exhibitors please, one by one, to consummate its dissolution. Many of its treasures have already been removed, but more still remain whose owners are willing to leave them in the careful custody of the South Kensington authorities; and the vacant spaces are being filled up, some with compensatory loans, and others with the permanent acquisitions of the Department.

Writers who strive to cover the shallowness of their thoughts by tricks of language are fond of aping the pseudo-philosophic slang of modern French publicists. These gentlemen will probably agree that the Loan Exhibition is not only the 'exploitation' of the art-treasures which private Englishmen possess, but

the moral 'rehabilitation' of the collectors themselves. Collecting for mere collecting's sake is selfish and narrow-minded, heathenish rather than Christian. On the other hand, the collector who recognises the responsibility of his acquisitiveness and while, it may be, gloating over the value of his property does not refuse the use of it, in his own cabinet, to the casual artist or archæologist, is, in his degree, a public benefactor though seldom at the cost of much self-denial. Those collectors who have on the present occasion parted with their choicest treasures for the recreation of the million, certainly bespeak our kindly gratitude. Leaving them, accordingly, to the reward of their own consciences, we proceed to ask a few questions as to the practical value of the Loan Exhibition.

Taken by itself, the Great Exhibition might have been likely to give an evil as a good impulse to art-ethics. There in the world of invention—no less than in that of politics—school which believes that any current number of the 'Times' equal in instruction to the whole of Thucydides. The big pressure knowledge-come-easy system of our schools of design has a tendency to foster the delusion. When it is more recollected that the great mass of purchasers are people destitute even of that superficial art-education which the intelligent student of low-priced illustrated periodicals may sometimes impart, it will be seen that the danger arising from a profusion of cheap production—the acceptance of a deteriorated standard—becomes more imminent. Could we possess the power of introspection into the breasts of the multitude of visitors to the Great Exhibition, I believe we should arrive at the mortifying result that on our shilling day the number of special admirers of the American milking-machine beat, by a hundred to one, that of the intelligent appreciators of the Libyan Sibyl; while we know, as a fact, that the painted Madonna from Munich has been variously mistaken for Her Majesty and for Gibson's tinted Venus. Well, then, many classes of cheap art are no more than another term for shilling-day patronage; and shilling-day patronage, without the corrective of first-class models (assuming, of course, the presence of some one to point out their excellence), must inevitably end in vulgarised invention. We fully grant that many—nay, the majority—of the articles exhibited in the Loan Exhibition, and especially the most curious examples, are wholly incapable of being reproduced for modern use. The cause of their existence is a system of manners, dress, and worship very divergent from the general English tastes of the present day. The diamond George and Dragon aigrette, to loop up the Jacobean dandy's hat, speaks as plain a language as the cases of mediæval vestments.

vestments. But when we make that abatement we have left untouched the broad fact that the spirit which they reveal of patient conscientious work, coupled with a noble contempt for that artificial polish which is too often the modern artificer's highest aim, affords a wholesome corrective to the evils of this age of wholesale reproduction of second-rate art.

Cognate with this danger is the extent to which the showy working-up of sham material is pushed by our modern producers. Those who made themselves familiar with the English furniture department of the late Exhibition cannot fail to recollect, not only the prodigality with which papier mâché, carton pierre, and similar delusive inventions were displayed, but the unhappy degree of perfection to which the graining and the marbling of deal planks had attained. What is more, the constitution of the jury-system offered a direct premium to such *boutades* of false art, for by the obligation of their office the jurors were bound to forget their own principles of taste, and crown with an equal reward the art-craftsman who made the most legitimate use of real substances, with all their incidental difficulties of hardness or of brittleness, and the fabricator who was most successful in the illegitimate adroitness of cheaply mimicking valuable or coy materials by processes which, in evacuating difficulty and skill, at the same time evacuated almost all merit in it so far as artistic merit implies the subordination of form and colour to the circumstances of the substance employed. The jury which had to reward in the jewellery class was placed in a similar false position. Casinos and theatres afford the reason why of the last-named school of false art. The key to the prevalence of false furniture will not be difficult to be discovered by any one who has gone a few miles out of town in any direction, and mused upon the strange phenomenon of the endless rows after rows of neat terraces, shading off into blocks of more ambitious semi-detached houses, which are unvarying types of the modern London suburb in Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex. If he is of a musing or a practical turn, he cannot fail to make the discovery that these bantlings of the building fraternity present in the aggregate an appearance of boundless wealth which can only be explained by the consideration that they are purposely made to combine the maximum of show with the minimum of outlay, both on the part of the speculator who has run them up, and of the tenant of very moderate means who occupies them. We should be the last persons in the world to deprecate art which is really cheap by being really artistic. The substitution of well-executed chromo-lithographs of accredited pictures for tenth-rate original daubs or miserable copies, saves the purse and educates

educates the eye of the man who has a drawing-room wall to cover. The general introduction of furniture showing through varnish the genuine grain of the deal or the birch of which it is made, in place of clumsy veneers of inferior mahogany, coarse grainings of impossible foreign woods, or the Quakerly uniformity of drab-paint, is an unmitigated benefit to good taste, economy, and cleanliness. But before we can proclaim triumph, the false Duessa of sham art must be slain. As it is, the general upheaving of good taste has been more conspicuous in securing improvement of design than reality of material. We have instances in our eye in which the upward movement in one direction has been counteracted by a downward one in the other, and designs which the popular art-miner would not have swallowed twenty years back have been made possible by a complex ingenuity in sham, of which that generation would have been equally guiltless. Perhaps the Crystal Palace has something to answer for in this respect.

The evil will for years to come be rampant in the 'semi-detached' stratum of society, from the plain fact that the builders of this class of houses are generally men who have to look to the immediate returns accruing from the rapidity with which they get their articles off their hands, and that the arbiters of the popularity of these houses are a class of persons to whom we should not ordinarily apply as authorities on questions of taste. Respectable English matrons, who would not think of frequenting casinos in false diamonds, yet see no immorality in installing themselves in the half of a semi-detached mansion composed on the outside, and within grained and papier-mâchéed into sham-magnificence. These will be the last persons, in these times of fast civilisation, who will ever become, even under a combined Cole-Scott-Ruskin power, moulded into docile recipients of artistic truth and soberness. But, in the mean while, the continuous exhibition to the public of the nursery of real materials which displays like the Loan and the Permanent South Kensington Collections afford, and which, as we see, the International only partially provided, will pave the way to such a consummation—for cheap art can only come into healthy existence when the laws of dear art have been thoroughly settled.

Another sufficient reason for such exhibitions is found in the absolute ignorance into which the public had fallen as to the very existence of many unfashionable methods of procedure. Pugin somewhere records that, when he first turned his attention to the reproduction of mediæval metal-work, the only workman he could find who was capable of understanding and reproducing his ideas, was an old German, who earned an obscure subsistence  
by

by beating up copper jelly-moulds, the last base form in which the noble craft of repoussé still survived in England. Now the casual meeting of the enthusiast and the grimy old operative has, in the course of a single generation, borne fruit, not only in the plate cases of Hardman, Kidmore, Keith, and Hart, but in the novel methods to which firms of ancient name have to resort, in order to keep themselves 'up to the running.' The 1849 exhibition was of incalculable service to this movement, and we ourselves bear testimony to the healthy avidity with which the archaeological art workman will avail himself of the opportunity of studying any ancient model which the sympathy of a collector places at his service. We venture accordingly, without having put any man to the pain of owning antecedent ignorance by confessing to large augmentation of knowledge, to prophesy that the offshoots of the loan deposits will sprout out of many unsuspected soils.

Paradoxical as our statement may seem, we claim the omnigenous character of the Loan Collection as a positive gain to the truth and purity of art principles. No more Vandalic condition of things could exist than one in which the monetary—i.e. the collector's—as opposed to the critic's—appreciation of ancient objects was founded solely on their presumed artistic excellence. Such an assumption would inevitably end in creating a subjective and not an objective basis of excellence. No age is ever large-minded enough to comprehend, in all their numberless diversities, the manifestations of art in the natural or artificial world. Many great schools of thought must, at all times, remain unappreciated. The result is that the general development of the art sense, as opposed to the collecting instinct, is apt to lead to the want or neglect, if not to the intentional destruction, of all specimens which do not happen to fall in with the prevalent taste of the hour. The long neglect of mediæval art by those whose criteria of taste were the rules of Vitruvius distilled through the Italian revivers of the sixteenth century, is a precedent as to what might again happen, pregnant with warning. Hardly less disastrous would be such a triumph of the Gothic revival as should lead to the disregard or obliteration of the art monuments of the old or Renaissance world. Inigo Jones proved his one-sidedness when he inflicted his Corinthian portico on old St. Paul's. It would not be less ridiculous to stick a Gothic spire on to the flanks of the Madeleine. One school prefers one style; another school prefers another. We may have our own conviction as to which is nearer the truth, but we plead for the recognition of a peculiar excellence in each distinctive style. The chimney-piece, admirably finished



in its technical details, and exhibited in the nave of the Great Exhibition by a leading English firm, failed to give satisfaction, from the inharmonious manner in which it endeavoured to combine—not to fuse or strike the balance between—antagonistic styles. The natural corrective is a wide-spread if not indiscriminate spirit of collecting, under the condition that the specimens of each school shall be, as far as possible, good of their kind. The world in consequence will very likely be burdened with much rubbish which it might well be quit of; but the rubbish is, so to speak, the padding which saves really valuable, though for the time unfashionable, articles from the jostling and destruction of the machine's onward progress. The most tawdry Louis XVI. cabinet which our *grands seigneurs* please to set up in their country houses, or the guardians of the National Museum please to retain, is a pledge which collecting gives to art, that the chasses of the thirteenth, and the ivories of the fourteenth, and the corporation plate of the fifteenth centuries shall be respected. When the mere collector has finished his work of accumulation, he had better sit down and let the reapers come to the harvest. If he attempts to discriminate, he is apt to find himself travelling beyond the record, and to expose his useful profession to well-deserved criticism. The more indiscriminate he is in his acquisition of good things, the more truly he fulfils his duty, while he leaves the second-best articles to his humbler yet provincially useful confrères. He is no more an art teacher by virtue of his speciality than the picture collector is a painter or a lecturer.

Some few collectors there may be who combine both functions, as there are painters who are generous enough to form a gallery of other men's works, or vain enough to hoard up their own *chef-d'œuvre*, or instructed enough to construct systems of art-teaching; but as a general rule there is a want of sympathy between these two classes in the art world, which may, indeed, be necessary towards the balance of forces on which progression depends. We are the more earnest in laying stress upon these considerations because the recognition of them is the best security against the dangers to high art which would otherwise environ the Loan Collection. Let it be at once understood that it is no accumulation of articles selected for imitation, but only an *omnium gatherum* of objects of art manufacture, chosen for their collective value as samples of their respective schools, good, bad, or indifferent, as each school may be in the eyes of men of critical taste. The critic will then go to analyse, the student to discriminate, and the manufacturer to learn what to avoid no less than what to copy.

Already

Already we think we can discern the results of a more catholic study and appreciation of all the styles of art. Architecture is no longer confined to the direct imitation of a few stock patterns; and the furnishing of a house is no longer abandoned to the upholsterer's unenlightened judgment. Considerations of climate and of national habits, the close study of natural forms in human, animal, and vegetable life, bold experiments in the juxtaposition of colours; a wider employment of materials for constructive objects,—all indicate the germination of a new style derived from, but not servilely following, existing systems. We shall not recapitulate the means by which we have already had occasion to show we have arrived at the conviction that this style, while boldly eclectic in its details, must, in its main principles, vividly embody the historical characteristics of England, for whose material uses it will come into being. We are aware that in venturing this anticipation we may excite the apprehension, and perhaps bring down the grave remonstrance, of those who are afraid to look beyond precedent. We are satisfied to take refuge in the conviction of the essential unity of all true art; while from that conviction we infer the unsoundness of all theories which hold up any antecedent age as an epoch of ideal perfection. The world's schooling had made some progress in the thirteenth century of the Christian era; compared with its condition in the fifth century before Christ. But for all that we are no more prepared with M. Viollet le Duc to take our stand on the thirteenth A.D. than with M. Quatremère de Quincy on the fifth B.C.: ergo, we feel ourselves at perfect liberty to study and to appropriate, with the necessary modifications, every principle of beauty which either epoch places at our disposal.

Again, the exclusive study of art on a large scale, in its bigger manifestations such as architecture and sculpture, would be as misguided as exclusive devotion to details coupled with an entire neglect of the great whole. No true artist ever made himself by confining his attention either to the broad mass or to the petty detail. The voice of nature protests against either excess. The tree without its bulk and outline, or without the delicate ramifications of its twigs and its leaves, would be equally incomplete. There are many minds, indeed, which can only be trained to an appreciation of the general and the broad, by the process of individual generalization derived from the study of the small and the detailed. For such minds, and they are many, a collection of minute art treasures is invaluable. The undoubted power of wide and indiscriminate appreciation which in different ways sustains the modern ardour of collecting as well

well as colours the modern system of art criticism, though often treated as an æsthetic, is more properly a metaphysical phenomenon of the age, which requires due practical acknowledgment as well as respectful investigation. No doubt this characteristic, if pushed to excess, would naturally lead to the violation, and ultimately to the negation, of fixed canons; but it is equally certain that within due limits it symbolises a state of society in which the science of criticism has attained a philosophic amplitude hitherto unknown. All that is wanting—a great deficiency, we willingly own—is a man of genius who can profit by the analysis ready made to his hand of the various types of beauty, or it may be of deformity, which belong to past times and different lands, and who can construct therefrom that more perfect system which shall bear the same relation to its predecessors as Greek did to Egyptian, Roman to Greek, Romanesque to Roman, and Gothic to Romanesque.

But here we are crossed with the question—What has all this to do with the Loan Exhibition? The Loan Exhibition may be very valuable, some may say, to the jeweller, the potter, the ivory-carver, or the glass-blower, but what part or lot in it does the great artist possess? We shall not answer the cavil by a mere appeal to names; or by reminding our objector that within the walls of the Loan Court are to be found the productions of Van Eyck, Fra Angelico, Michael Angelo, and della Robbia—not to mention other names of less catholic celebrity. We prefer to appeal to facts. We rather refer to the circumstance that the tendencies of the age obviously lead to the more gigantic reproduction of what has hitherto been only ornamental material on a constructional scale. We call on our objector to take in with his mind's eye the spectacle, not further removed in time or place than the eastern dome of the Great Exhibition; and with that panorama in view, to own that the metal-worker and the potter are already treading on the architect's heels, and that the forests of another hemisphere are calling on the cabinet-maker and builder to find fresh combinations suited to the fresh stores, fresh opportunities of colour and material, poured into the lap of commerce. Accordingly, as the leaf of the water-plant is said to have given Sir Joseph Paxton the first idea of the Crystal Palace of 1851, so the Henri Deux ware or the Augsburg chair may to the man of original imagination be the parent of some new masterpiece of architectural genius. When we appeal in particular to metal work and to ceramics as probable engines of architectural progression, we do not pretend to give utterance to more than what theologians term a 'pious opinion.' Whether we

are right or wrong in this respect, it is certain that, with only the more fully tried materials to handle, the sharp-witted artist has ample scope for wide inventiveness.

We have indicated the semi-detached house of the suburbs as a last stronghold of bad taste. We look to the country house, properly so called, as a likely field for successful originality. Both architect and employer breathe more freely in the country than in a town, where some respect must always be shown to neighbours. The elbow-room is greater, and the indispensable funds are usually more unsparingly granted. The building either stands in connexion or is planned to accord with some natural beauty of site, or some exhibition of ornamental gardening, itself a branch of the fine arts, and one which is extensively and justly popular both in its formal and in its landscape shape, or better still, as it combines each method in the same plaisance. The owner, if a man of means, has usually some collection of pictures or curiosities, which the architect of ready resource will not forget when he calculates his effects, any more than he will overlook the fittings and the furniture as parts of the artistic whole. The offices and the houses required for the chief dependents of the estate afford as happy an opportunity for the introduction of experiments in cheap real art as the central pile for more costly exhibitions. In short, all concerned in carrying out a country house have the opportunity of being natural, as they can be nowhere else, and in following nature they can hardly fail to reach art.

We trust that we have given sufficient reasons for the general acceptability of miscellaneous art museums even on the part of those who are personally most strongly wedded to any particular school of taste. The inference which we would draw from this concession is that of the utility of such exhibitions as the Loan one taken in concert with the permanent property of the South Kensington Museum. It would thus stand to reason that as a museum that institution has established its claims to general confidence. But its very comprehensiveness in the character of a museum raises strong doubts whether it be desirable that it much longer remain an integral portion of a school of design. A school and a collection need not be identical. We know no other case where they are so, though they may occasionally be combined in a university. But Brompton is emphatically no place for a university. The South Kensington Museum has hitherto been endeavouring to fulfil both functions. It is a central school of design for the whole kingdom; it has also, as we have seen, become the British Museum of post-classical art. We have now to ask how long its characteristic system of art teaching

teaching can coexist with that rapid development of its collecting power which has made its museum, the casual loans included, no longer a choice assortment of articles intended as direct models for the draughtsman and the copyist in certain given styles, but a conglomeration of every style brought together upon the simple consideration that such things once were and therefore claim recognition from the living world. Such a museum to be perfect must freely expand into the realms of ugliness. No collection can pretend to be complete which does not exhibit typical examples of the bad as well as the good taste of past generations. We have shown that otherwise there is no guarantee that the good will survive the fluctuations of taste. But then what becomes of your art teaching? We await Mr. Cole's answer to our inquiry; and in the mean while we suggest a more complete administrative divorce than has yet been faced between the school and the collection, which are now fixed in the same building under the common name of the South Kensington Museum. The collection itself will be more broadly available for the purposes of study when it is understood that the direct instruction of the student is not the primary cause of its acquisition. Its curators themselves will be more free to buy all articles the value of which consists in the illustrations they afford of history or art, when it is known that the purchase presumes no judgment on their artistic excellence. Special museums, like the one which once adorned the now demolished East India House, might then be amalgamated with it on grounds of historical value. The school will of course, as at present, wherever its site may be fixed, possess its own collection of models, copies, and photographs, while the national collection will be available to its constant use as the cabinets of the genial private collector fly open to the artist. But the administration of the two institutions will be separated. Thus, although the Museum may unhappily be condemned to continue at Brompton as the tenant of buildings which are too valuable to be abandoned, yet the head School of Design will be at liberty to seek fresh quarters in some more central situation.

We might say much more, but we forbear. We have insensibly been drawn into a discussion of the very question we desired to avoid. We have been led to show that this useful institution has not yet divested itself of its double and chimerical nature. Until the Royal Academy has proved that the necessities of its teaching require that it should be made possessor of the National Gallery, and until the British Museum has instituted professional chairs for the arts and sciences, we stick to our text. Everywhere save at South Kensington, the school

and the collection have been kept jealously separate. Why should that one institution of modern date be a standing exception to a well-recognised and salutary rule?

Before we conclude we have a debt of gratitude to discharge to the managers of the Loan Exhibition. The most convinced dualist need not desire a stronger contrast than that which has been presented between the Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition and its non-illustrated correlative over the way. The charity of our nature forbids our retalling the scandals of the former publication. A certain number of copies has, we believe, been sold; and such of them as have crept into public libraries will keep alive the recollection of the most gigantic speculation in literary puffery ever perpetrated on this side of the Atlantic. The Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition, which has modestly appeared in five successive parts 'under revision,' and edited by Mr. Robinson, has been carried through on the antagonistic principle of never, except in a few special cases, allowing an exhibitor to describe his own property. The result is the cheap publication of a permanent repertory of art literature, ranging over 721 pp. of small octavo, partly essay and partly inventory. In addition to general supervision, the editor has specially undertaken the classes of sculptures, Renaissance ivories, bronzes, furniture, mediæval art in various branches, Henri Deux, Palissy, Majolica, and Persian ware, and part of the Sevres porcelain, antique and other gems, with sundry miscellaneous objects. Mr. Franks's share includes mediæval ivories, the early and later Limoges and miscellaneous enamels and glass. Mr. Robert Smith furnishes the notices of ancient Irish and Anglo-Saxon art, decorative plate 'belonging to the Universities' (it should have been said Colleges) 'of Oxford and Cambridge,' and the plate, &c., of various corporate bodies, as well as a section of miscellaneous objects, including the Limerick 'crozier' (properly speaking pastoral staff, the crozier being the archiepiscopal cross, not the bishop's crook) and mitre, the Oscott lectern, the Soltikoff cross, the Augsburg chair, and miscellaneous rings. Dr. Rock, after describing his own portable altar, treats of ecclesiastical vestments and embroideries—a subject which he has made his own. The sections of portrait miniatures, book-binding, historical relics, and certain miscellanies, are due to Mr. Beck. Mr. Chaffers has himself contributed the descriptions of locks, keys, and such articles, jewellery, personal ornaments, and gems, clocks, watches, crystal and sardonyx objects, knives and forks, together with (under revision by Dr. Rock) Sevres, Dresden, and some other porcelain, snuff-boxes, and *bijouterie* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, decorative arms and  
armour,

armour, and (under revision by Mr. Beck) the plate of manufacture. The crystal section, which appears in part, is not equal to the remaining catalogue, and show marks of haste. Messrs. Bailey and Russell French the plate of the City Companies and of some count-rations. Illuminated MSS. are disposed of by Mr. while Mr. Poole handles the subjects of damascened and Mr. Waterton is the historian of his own unrivalled collections. The whole work, with all the disadvantages under which it has been produced, is so satisfactory that justified in calling upon its authors not to rest content with easy glory of a safe provisional success, but to bring revised and enlarged edition of a publication which will record of the most complete exhibition of European art has yet been brought together. The million will not, I care to buy it as soon as the speciality of the Loan Exhibition has been merged in the general Kensington undertaking will remain a volume of reference for all those persons who appreciate the compilers must really have laboured. Opinion is pretty well agreed that another English International Exhibition is not to be desired.

How this general agreement should have been reached not for us to explain. We are sorry for it, as it implies management somewhere; but of the correctness of the judgment we have not the slightest doubt. It is others are glad to think, with the Loan Exhibition. The gratification which it has afforded has been great and general. The complaints to which it has given rise have not reached various as are the branches of art with which it has possessed a unity of purpose which vindicates the undertaking. Many as were the treasures, their portability brought them to show within the compass of a single apartment. They could work on inch by inch, while the general visitor glanced and departed unbewildered. So, whatever may be the chance of our seeing another London International Exhibition, we dare anticipate that many special Exhibitions of Art will yet be held. Our advice is, that for the future the subjects should be more circumscribed, so that each should display may in its degree supply the void that the mere display of the omnibus system may have created. Suppose, for example, that in any particular year the arts called upon for exhibition are those of the goldsmith and silversmith, the famous, if not already hackneyed, masterpieces of the past will be ranged on one side of the hall; on the other side, found, not the large shop-fronts in which the capital

smiths of London and Paris luxuriated during last summer, but a few choice specimens, two or three from each, labelled with the names of the designer and modeller, and ranged in direct comparison with the dead no less than with the living. So, too, in another year old Sèvres and new Sèvres, modern and ancient Dresden, the Potteries and Gubbio, may fairly be ranged in friendly antagonism. Exhibitions of this kind possess a more practical value than the exclusive display either of ancient or of modern art. They appeal, to be sure, to a more critical audience than that which has been invited uncritically to admire either the Loan or International Exhibitions. They represent, in short, that second stage in which general popularity gives place to professional progress. Above all, the claptrap of medals and mentions must be abandoned, and the juries, if there are any, kept strict to their legitimate duties of describing, criticising, and teaching. The fact, to be sure, that such a display would be what we conclude the wordmongers will dub—though we do not do so—‘inter-æval,’ ought to be a guarantee against the repetition of such folly; for it would be a *reductio ad absurdum* to have to advertise for the heirs-at-law of Ruker, Palissy, or Cellini to receive a large bronze medal. It would be as absurd to pass them over if Brown, Jones, and Robinson got rewarded. Still we cannot make sure that official insensibility to the ridiculous might not suggest the revival of the system in the case at least of the moderns; and so we lodge our *caveat* by anticipation.

The South Kensington Museum, in its large purchases of 1862, has made a great advance towards setting up a permanent basis of comparison of the nature we have outlined; but the competition must be kept alive. Fresh elements of comparison must ever be ready; and the real verdict must be sought, not from any jury hurriedly called together, working in the spirit of compromise, and anxious above all things to *transiger* its troublesome responsibility, but from the free judgment of the whole artistic public, and of that strong phalanx of voluntary Arguses which an age of active journalism has created. Such exhibitions may be pieced on to the Loan Exhibition of this year; they do not legitimately grow out of the International one; and we may venture to say that, in proportion as the latter, with all the material success attending its various classes, has on the whole disappointed every one, so the Loan Exhibition has given promise that it will become the model on which a machinery may be constructed for the amusement and the improvement of future days.



ART. VII.—*Christopher North: a Memoir of John Wilson*  
By his Daughter. Edinburgh, 1862.

MRS. GORDON has not been well-advised to become biographer of her father. Over and above the considerations which usually forbid that a child should sit in judgment upon a parent, there are special reasons in Mrs. Gordon's case why she should have studiously held aloof from so delicate an enterprise. Mrs. Gordon is the wife of a gentleman to various social qualities adds this, that, being the scion of a Whig family, he has, in a place where party feeling always runs high, from his youth upwards breathed an atmosphere of Whiggery. The wife, as is natural, adopts her husband's friends, and falls in with her husband's prejudices. It is scarcely possible for her, therefore, in writing the life of a Tory father, to look at the subject from first to last, except through a Whig medium. The hero of her tale, according to his daughter's showing, passes the better half of his days without taking the smallest interest in politics or expressing any opinions on the subject. By and bye he is thrown among a knot of rabid Edinburgh Tories, and, after wasting his great powers for many years in advocating their views, he subsides at last, when passion has died and judgment matured itself, into moderate Whiggism. It is moreover that, during the continuance of his Tory delusion, he is cruelly made use of by the agents of the faction for their own purposes. Having a keen perception of the value of their power, they seize it, and hold it with a grasp which cannot be shaken off. Certain obnoxious individuals throw their spell over him whereupon his character, as well moral as intellectual, undergoes a frightful change. They persuade him to join them in a purely literary undertaking, and he is involved at once in the fiercest party polemics. His articles take, he cannot tell how, a tone of bitter personality. If he lend himself at any time—and it is not denied that he often does lend himself—to proceed in a course which outrage the laws of Edinburgh decorum, it is always at the suggestion of somebody else. If with a too remorseless hand he demolish a cockney, or expose a charlatan, or strip the mask from a hypocrite, or scarify a pretender, and a spirit more wicked than his own has set him on. Now it appears to us that, granting all this to be true, the truth, as Mrs. Gordon sets it forth, redounds very little to her father's honour. We cannot call him a great man who does even great things only at the suggestion of others—you must pronounce him to be a poor creature indeed whom somebody else inveigles into the pe-  
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tration of mean things and bad things. But is it all true? Mrs. Gordon declares that it is; and in order, we presume, to verify the assertion, she has used her father's correspondence in a way which that noble-minded person would have been the first to condemn. There are letters printed in these volumes which could not possibly have been intended for other eyes than those of the person to whom they were addressed; and which take their places where we find them with the worse grace that it was obviously not in Mrs. Gordon's power to favour us with her father's answers to them.

Is it thus that the good name of a generous and gifted man is to be vindicated? Is it not rather by preserving his confidences, by respecting his friendships, and by writing in a spirit of which he would have approved? Nor is the strictly narrative portion of the performance worthy of the subject with which it deals. Mrs. Gordon acknowledges many obligations to Mr. Alexander Nicolson, Advocate; but whatever may have been the amount of aid rendered to her by that gentleman, she has not succeeded in giving to the world such a portraiture of her father as does him common justice. Her account of his childhood and early youth is neither more nor less than a *rechauffée* of some of the papers in the 'Recreations of Christopher North.' Her story of his first love, and of its influence upon his character and prospects, is mere silliness. Of the notice which she takes of his literary life in Edinburgh, we shall have more to say when the proper time comes, regretting sincerely that she should have imposed upon us so disagreeable a task. Meanwhile it may not be amiss to lead up to that point by sketching very briefly the outlines of Wilson's career, till we find him first a briefless barrister in the Modern Athens, and then a contributor to 'Blackwood's Magazine.'

John Wilson, the eldest son but fourth child of his parents, was born in Paisley on the 18th of May, 1785. His father, a gauze-manufacturer, had sprung from the people. He was the founder of his own fortunes, an honest man, and a good citizen. His mother claimed descent through the female line from the great Marquis of Montrose. To this circumstance Mrs. Gordon attributes the old lady's stately manner and peculiar personal beauty. We are really not competent to offer an opinion on so delicate a point, having encountered in our day a great deal of loveliness among the lower classes of society, as well as a great deal of the reverse among the higher. But be the causes what they might, the fact itself is undeniable that John Wilson's mother was a very striking person, and that she transmitted to her

children, originally ten in number, no small share of her own remarkably Saxon dignity and beauty.

The house in which Wilson was born retains the name of Wilson's Hall, and is shown with becoming pride to strangers by the good people of his native town. It is a dingy tenement in a dingy court or close, which runs off, after the usual manner of Scotch closes or courts, from the top of the High Street. It was, however, abandoned by the family soon after the future poet came among them, and is now used as a Mechanics' Institute by the operatives of the place. Wilson's earliest associations were thus connected with a mansion on the outskirts of the town, which, besides being surrounded with extensive gardens, commands a fine view over a country undulating and rich, and here and there diversified with patches of woodland. His first lessons were learnt in a day-school kept by Mr. James Peddie. By and bye he was removed to the manse of Mearns, in which Dr. M'Latchie was the incumbent; and finally, at twelve years of age, he became a student at Glasgow College, and a boarder in the house of one of the best men and ablest teachers of whom Scotland could then boast—the late Professor Jardine.

Wilson, as a child, was remarkable even in his father's house for the exceeding beauty of his form and face and the sprightliness of his movements. He learnt easily what he was set to learn and never forgot it. Athletic, too, and enterprising, he evinced a keen relish for sports, and especially for sports which tested both his strength and his courage. At three years of age, we are told he set off one day to fish in a burn three miles distant from his home, and returned brimfull of delight, bearing in his hands a minnow which had been so ill-advised as to impale itself upon his crooked pin. At eight, he knew every pool and linn in the stream which runs through the parish of Mearns, and could tell exactly where the best trout lay in the black loch over the brow of the hill which looks down upon the manse. This passion for angling, as it early showed itself, so it never left him to the end of his days. It recurs perpetually in those exquisite rhapsodies with which as Christopher North he long delighted the world; and among which there is none more touching than those which seem to have been inspired by the remembrance of his schoolboy days at Mearns, and of the companions with whom they were spent. We scarcely feel while we read that what is as before us may, after all, be but the poet's dream. Who can doubt that the boy lost on the hill-side saw and felt all that the author describes? We are close beside him when 'the mist becomes a shower, and the shower a flood, and the flood a storm, and the storm

storm a tempest, and the tempest thunder and lightning, and the thunder and lightning heavenquake and earthquake, till the heart of poor wee Kit quakes and almost dies within him.' We see distinctly 'the small brown moorland bird, as dry as a toast, hopping out of his heather-hole, and cheerfully cheeping comfort;' and then 'with crest just a thought lowered by the rain, the green-backed white-breasted peaseweep walks close by us in the mist, and—sight of wonder! that makes, even that quandary by the quagmire, our heart, beat with joy—lo! never seen before, and seldom since, three wee peaseweeps, not three days old, little bigger than shrewmice, all covered with blackish down interspersed with long white hair, running after their mother. But the large hazel eye of the she peaseweep, restless even in the most utter solitude, soon spies us glowing at her and her young ones through our tears, and not for a moment doubting—Heaven forgive her for the shrewd but cruel suspicion!—that we were Lord Eglintoun's gamekeeper, with a sudden shrill cry that thrills to the marrow in our cold backbone, flaps and flutters herself away into the mist; while the little black bits of down disappear, like devils, into the moss.'

All this we not only feel, but see: indeed, if the man who wrote it had never written another line of the same sort, he would have taken his place among the foremost of the word-painters who have adorned the literature of England, or of any other country under the sun.

From his twelfth to his eighteenth year Wilson continued to reside, during term-time, in Professor Jardine's family, and was an indefatigable student in his class. He attended likewise the prelections of John Young, the Professor of Greek, of whom, as well as of Professor Jardine, he often speaks in terms of the warmest commendation. Nor were these commendations undeserved, whether Young or Jardine chanced to be the subject of them. They were both men of extraordinary power as teachers. The former, small in person, with a keen black eye, seemed to catch the very spirit of each separate author as he spread out the page before him; and, himself laughing or weeping, he threw his pupils into fits, or brought tears from their eyes, according as he read aloud some passage from the 'Clouds' of Aristophanes or lingered over the parting scene between Hector and Andromache. Jardine, on the other hand, possessed, above all the teachers whom we have known or of whom we have read, the art of fostering and bringing into play the peculiar talent, whatever it might be, which belonged to his scholars individually. It is not surprising that such a man should have made an enduring place for himself in Wilson's affections; for many besides Wilson

learned to look up to Jardine as their intellectual father, and still retain—though their numbers are diminishing fast—a deep sense of the benefits which they derived from that good man's instructions.

Wilson seems to have attained to marked success at Glasgow especially in the Logic class. He carried off many prizes, and amused himself besides by writing essays and poems. Some of the latter still survive in MSS. His personal habits, all the while, were methodical and neat, contrasting strongly with those into which he fell a few years later in life. There is a portrait by Raeburn in the Edinburgh National Gallery, which represents him as a well-grown youth, and a dandy of the first water. He is dressed in a blue coat with bright brass buttons, buckskins, and top-boots, just as if he were preparing to mount the horse which is seen in the background. Nor was that with him an infrequent occupation in those days. He rode well, and took great delight in the exercise. He was likewise a good runner, a capital jumper, and a bold swimmer. In fact, he diversified his student life with all the amusements to which youth is prone; not forgetting balls, concerts, tea-parties, and morning calls. He seems, however, to have enjoyed himself most on the banks of the Clyde, in that lovely valley over which the woods of Bothwell wave, and on which the ruined towers of the grim old castle look down. And here, according to Mrs. Gordon, he fell desperately in love with an orphan maid, who afterwards stood for the original of his Margaret Lindsay. We have not the slightest doubt as to the falling in love. It was exactly what an imaginative lad of seventeen or eighteen would be apt to do; and we dare say that for many a day afterwards the image of Margaret Lindsay retained its place in his memory, when other calls upon his time and attention left him free to think about her. But to build upon so slight a foundation a romantic story of despair, and of irregularities of conduct arising out of despair, is a mistake into which only a woman could fall. There is no reason, as far as we can discover, why Wilson should not have plighted his faith to Miss Lindsay at Glasgow, and married her afterwards: had he been so disposed. His father was dead, and had left him master, when he came of age, of a fortune estimated at 50,000*l.*; and, potent as we all know the principle of filial obedience to be in Scotland, it can scarcely be credited that, in deference to his mother's prejudices, Wilson would have given up a maiden to whom he was greatly attached, and who, according to Mrs. Gordon's showing, was every way worthy of a poet's love.

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From Glasgow Wilson proceeded, in 1803, to Oxford, where he became a Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen College. He soon began to make a stir among the groves of Acadæme. A hard reader by fits and starts, he shot ahead of his contemporaries as a scholar, and still more so in the eagerness with which he threw himself into practices which were better thought of in those days than they are now. We speak of times when cock-fighting was still fashionable among fast men, and bull-baiting practised 'on the sly.' There is nothing to show that Wilson patronised the bullring, but he frequented the cockpit regularly, kept his gamecocks and fought them. He was one of the stoutest oars on the Isis; in running and jumping no one could approach him; and he was a first-rate pugilist. Many a bargee guilty of insolence to himself or to others, received condign punishment from him on the spot. He tells of himself, and the tradition still survives about him in Oxford, that for a slight wager he leaped across the Charwell, at a point where the stream measures twenty-three feet from bank to bank. Unless our memory play us false, a jump not far inferior to this was taken over the same river a few years subsequently, by the late Sir William Hamilton. These exploits, with his magnificent appearance—for he walked the High Street six feet high, with the chest and shoulders of an Atlas, and the limbs of an Apollo—gained for him at least as much of favour among gown and town, as his brilliant examination when he went up for his Bachelor's degree gratified the heads of his college.

A considerable change had, however, come over him in many respects. Ceasing to be a dandy, he degenerated into something not far removed from a sloven. It was impossible to render either a face or figure like his unattractive; but he did his best to mar the effect of both by the mal-arrangements of his toilet. His hair, which he wore in huge masses over his shoulders, looked as if it seldom came in contact with a comb. Contrary to the recognised customs of the age, he allowed his whiskers to grow to an enormous size, and his outer habiliments seemed to imply that his tailor's and shoemaker's bills could bring him very little discomfort at the end of the year. Dr. Southwell, one of the few of his surviving contemporaries at Magdalen, gives the following ludicrous account of his habits in these respects:—

'The established rule of our Common-room was that no one should appear there without being in full evening dress: non-compliance involved a fine of one guinea, which Wilson had more than once incurred and paid. Having one day come in in his morning garb, and paid down the fine, he asked, "What, then, do you consider dress?"

"Silk

"Silk stockings, &c., &c.," was the answer. The next day Wilson, looking very well satisfied with himself and with us "Now," he cried, "all is right. I hope to have no more fines to You see, I have complied with the rules," pointing to his silk stockings, which he had very carefully drawn over the coarse woollen stockings which he wore usually: his strong shoes he retained.'

It was the fashion in Oxford half a century ago to drink and Magdalen was assuredly not behind other colleges in respect. Wilson is admitted on all hands to have been flincher at his cups; yet Mrs. Gordon assures us, on the testimony of Dr. Southwell, that they never got the better of him. are not at all surprised to hear it. Wilson's head was as steady as his arm; and there was no amount of liquor which, when it came on, he could not carry away with impunity. Witness swallowing on a certain occasion—when weary and foot-sore called, after a long day's fast, at a farm-house on the banks of the Ormeau—a quart of whiskey, diluted with milk, at two draughts. The truth we suspect to be, that during the last year of his undergraduate course, and subsequently till he quitted the University, Wilson's manner of life was such as must have broken down any constitution less adamant than his own. He was the severest student, the most joyous companion, the most delicate athlete in his own circle. He would suddenly shut himself in his rooms, reading and writing, and denying himself to everybody, and as suddenly break away again, like one whom an impulse to strong physical exertion carried headlong before. He often disappeared from Oxford for days together, no one knowing whither he had gone. On these occasions he travelled on foot, and the marches which he made would have astonished even the Duke of Wellington's famous Light Division. In the morning he arrived at Magdalen to breakfast, having walked the way from London, which he quitted after dinner on the previous evening *en grande tenue*. He accounted for the circumstance by saying that a fellow had insulted him in Grosvenor Square, that he thrashed him, and, not wishing to get into trouble with the police, that he walked on and on till he found himself at the College gate. His vacations he seems to have devoted almost entirely to pedestrian tours. One of these carried him through Wales, another to the Lake country, a third all over Ireland; indeed, a yearning for wild adventure seems to have been at all times the master passion of his nature, which he seriously indulged by accompanying Mungo Park in his second journey into the interior of Africa.

Another of Wilson's practices, for which Mrs. Gordon accu-

in her own way, was this: he would sally forth at midnight, and go to the Angel Inn, where many of the up and down coaches met. 'There he used to preside at the passengers' supper table, carving for them, inquiring all about their respective journeys, why and wherefore they were made, who they were, &c., and in return astonishing them with his wit and pleasantry, and sending them off wondering who and what he could be.' 'He frequently went from the Angel to the Fox and Goose, an early-purl and gill house, where he found the coachmen and guards preparing for the coaches which had left London at night, and there he found an audience, and sometimes remained till the College gates were opened.' Does the reader suppose that these were mere escapades—the acts of a young man carried away by exuberant animal spirits? They were nothing of the sort. Wilson 'went to such places in cold blood, to study character, in which they abounded.'

Strange to say, the man who thus rioted in the wildest realities of outer life, was at heart an idealist of the most sensitive kind. He had early sworn allegiance to the Lake school of poetry, and aspired to become in due time one of its leading members. Indeed, while yet an inmate of Professor Jardine's house, he wrote to Wordsworth a letter which breathes strongly of the discipline to which the pupils of the good Professor were subjected. Mrs. Gordon has printed this letter at length, and Wordsworth replied to it promptly and kindly. The consequence was, that the Lyrical Ballads became to a great extent the models of Wilson's minor pieces, and that the 'Isle of Palms' and the 'City of the Plague' took their inspiration from the 'Excursion' and the 'Brothers.'

In 1807 Wilson quitted Oxford. He had by this time broken off his correspondence with 'Margaret,' whatever the nature of it may have been, and now transferred himself to Elleray, a small but charming property which he had purchased on the banks of Windermere. He seems to have been attracted thither, partly by admiration of the scenery, to the beauty of which he was keenly alive; partly because of the presence in that locality of Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Charles Lloyd, Bishop Watson, and others, among the most remarkable men of the day. He soon became intimate with them all; and under the influence of their conversation gave himself up more and more to poetic musings. We are told that it was a common practice with him to spend whole nights in solitude among the mountains; and fifteen or sixteen stanzas, which Mrs. Gordon has introduced into her narrative, give a fine picture of the feelings which came over him on such occasions. But these poetic musings were a good



good deal diversified with antics of a more characteristic kind. Wilson established a fleet of boats upon the lake, and deluged in exposing himself and others, at all hours and seasons, to the chances of the weather. Having gone out on a cold December night, he narrowly escaped, with the boatman attending, from being lost or frozen to death. On another occasion, riding with a friend, his horse ran away with him, when, to its ardour, he guided it into the lake, and swam across, his companion following sorely against his will. But the extravagant freak of all was a fancy which he took to his bull belonging to a neighbouring farmer, and always to hunt at night. Take the following account of this extravagance De Quincey has placed it on record :—

‘Represent to yourself the earliest dawn of a fine summer’s morning—time, about half-past two o’clock. A young man, anxious for introduction to Mr. Wilson, and as yet pretty nearly a stranger to the country, has taken up his abode in Grassmere, and has strolled on this early hour to that rocky and moorish common called the V Moss, which overhangs the Vale of Rydal, dividing it from Grassmere. Looking southwards, in the direction of Rydal, suddenly he becomes aware of a huge beast, advancing at a long trot, with the heavy thundering tread of a hippopotamus, along the public road. The creature soon arrives within half a mile of his station, and the grey light of morning is at length made out to be a bull, apparently flying from some unseen enemy. As yet, however, all is mystery but suddenly three horsemen double a turn in the road, and flying into sight with the speed of a hurricane, manifestly in pursuit of the fugitive bull. The bull labours to navigate his huge body to the moor, which he reaches, and then pauses, panting, and blows out clouds of smoke from his nostrils, to look back from his retreat among rocks and slippery crags upon his hunters. If he had been ceited that the rockiness of the ground had secured his repose, the foolish bull was soon undeceived. The horsemen, scarcely relaxing their speed, charge up the hill, and speedily gaining the rear of the bull, drive him at a gallop over the worst part of that impracticable ground, down into the level ground below. At this point of time the stranger perceives by the increasing light of the morning that the hunters are armed with immense spears, fourteen feet long. With the bull is soon dislodged, and scouring down to the plain below and the hunters at his tail take to the common at the head of the lake and all, in the madness of the chase, are soon half engulfed in the swamps of the morass. After plunging together for ten or fifteen minutes, all suddenly regain the terra firma, and the bull again retreats for the rocks. Up to this moment there had been a silence of ground and the stranger had doubted whether the spectacle were not a pageant of aerial spectres, ghostly huntsmen, ghostly lances, and a ghostly bull. But just at this crisis a voice—it was the voice of Mr. Wilson

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shouted aloud "Turn the villain! turn that villain! or he will take to Cumberland!" The young stranger did the service required of him; the "villain" was turned, and fled southwards. The hunters, lance in rest, rushed after him. All bowed their thanks as they fled past. The fleet cavalcade again took the high road; they doubled the cape which shut them out of sight, and in a moment all had disappeared, and left the quiet valley to its original silence, whilst the young stranger, and two grave Westmoreland statesmen, who by this time had come into sight upon some accident or other, stood wondering in silence, and saying to themselves, perhaps:—

"The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,  
{ And these are of them."

Wilson had not abandoned all this while his fancy for cock-fights. He bred the birds carefully beside Windermere, and entered them wherever a main was to be fought. Once he fought a main in the drawing-room of his own house—let us add that the room was as yet unfurnished—and won a silver drinking-cup, of which he was extremely proud. He patronised wrestling likewise, the great game of Westmoreland and Cumberland, giving prizes and belts to the victors, such as had never been offered before. But a new interest in life was by this time awakened for him. There came to reside at Gale House, Ambleside, a family from Liverpool, with one of the daughters of which Wilson fell in love. No foolish obstacles stood in the way of his happiness now; and on the 11th of May, 1811, he took to wife a loving, gentle, and amiable woman, Miss Jane Penny.

We have referred to Wilson's poetical attempts, which were frequent, both at Oxford and at Elleray. So early, indeed, as 1807, he appears to have completed in MS. the 'Isle of Palms,' besides filling a notebook with odes and sonnets. It was not, however, till four years subsequently that he made any move to bring them into print. His first publisher was Mr. John Smith, a highly respectable bookseller in Glasgow, who seems to have dealt with him very liberally. At all events, we find him expressing entire satisfaction with the terms which Mr. Smith proposed; and at last, on the 20th of July, 1812, the volume appeared. Though praised by Sir Walter Scott, and reviewed favourably in the 'Edinburgh,' it did not make its way so rapidly as the author had anticipated, and he wrote in consequence about his critics, pretty much as disappointed authors are apt to do: 'Jeffrey's review is beggarly;' 'the other review is a masterpiece of nonsense and folly.' Still the poetic fervour by no means grew cold. We find him in 1812 beginning to get ready a second volume, which he expects to bring out in 1814,  
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and of which 'The City after the Plague' was to constitute but a minute fragment. We need scarcely add that the proposed volume did not make its appearance till 1816, by which time 'The City of the Plague' had assumed its present dimensions and became the principal poem in the collection.

Thus far the sun had shone with steady lustre on Wilson's progress through life. His own fortune was ample, his wife brought a handsome addition to it; he was devotedly attached to her, and she to him. They dwelt in one of the loveliest spots in the Lake country, and children were born, who began to grow up at their knees. He aspired in 'letters' to no higher distinction than the world seemed willing to award him, and every whim and caprice which took his fancy he indulged. But evil days were at hand, and he woke one morning in 1815 to find himself a ruined man. The patrimony bequeathed to him by his father had been allowed to remain in the house, and an uncle who carried on the business failed. Wilson never appears to have taken greater advantage than when staggering under the weight of this blow. He not only uttered no complaint, but he contributed out of the little which he could still call his own to support the man who had brought him to poverty. He recognised the necessity likewise of giving up the dreams of his youth, and he acted upon it like a brave man. Ellera was let, and, retiring with his family to Edinburgh, he accepted his mother's invitation to live with her. Prior to this, as it happened, he had taken steps to be called to the Scotch Bar; not with any view to follow the profession of an advocate, but merely as an arrangement qualifying him to assume a definite place in society. He now went the way of all barristers, and might be seen day after day bewigged and begowned in the outer courts of the Parliament House. We cannot discover that any reasonable prospect presented itself or success in the profession. Few briefs came to him, and of these few he jocularly said some years afterwards, 'I did not know what the devil to do with them.'

Wilson made nothing of Scotch law. He tried to take an interest in the Edinburgh Speculative Society, and contributed a single essay to its Transactions; but the sort of abstraction which were discussed at its meetings had no charms for him and he soon ceased to attend them. He rested his hopes, therefore, mainly on the reception which was to be awarded to his new poem, and up to a certain point they did not fail him. 'The City of the Plague' met with a fair measure of success, and the 'Edinburgh Review' spoke very favourably of it; but on Wilson's sensitive ear the praises of the 'Review' fell somewhat unpleasantly. He took it into his head that Jeffrey was in  
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fluenced by personal esteem for the author, rather than by a due appreciation of the merits of the work ; just as in the case of Wordsworth, he assumed that the genius of that great master was habitually underrated, because the master himself happened to be personally obnoxious to the critic. It is to be regretted that the letter of remonstrance in which he conveyed these sentiments to Jeffrey has not been preserved ; but Jeffrey's answer is excellent, and we therefore subjoin it :—

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I am extremely gratified by your letter, and thank you very sincerely both for the kindness it expresses and the confidence it seems to place in me. It is impossible, I think, to read your writings without feeling affection for the writer, and under the influence of such a feeling I doubt whether it is possible to deal with them with the same severe impartiality with which works of equal literary merit, but without that attraction, might probably be treated. Nor do I think that this is desirable, or would even be fair. For part, and not the least part, of the merit of poetry consists in its moral effects, and the power of exciting kind and generous affections seems entitled to as much admiration as that of presenting pleasing images to the fancy.

‘ You wish, however, to be treated as a stranger, and I think I have actually treated you as one ; for the partiality which I have already mentioned as irresistibly produced by your writings certainly has not been lessened by the little personal intercourse we have had. I am not aware that it has been materially increased by that cause, and was inclined to believe that I should have felt the same kindness towards the author of the work I am reviewing, although I had never seen his face. As to showing you no favour for the future on the score of the past, I am afraid if I do not exactly comply with your request, it will be more owing to my own selfish unwillingness to retract my former opinions and abandon my predictions than from any excess of good nature towards their objects. However, your request is very natural and manly, and I shall do what I can to let you have nothing more than justice, and to save you from having any other obligations to your critic than for his diligence and integrity.

‘ As to Wordsworth I shall only say that while I cannot at all agree, nor is it necessary, in your estimate of his poetical talents, I love and honour the feelings by which I think your judgment has been misled, and by which I most readily admit that your conduct should be governed. I assure you I am not the least hurt or offended at hearing his poetry extolled, or my remarks upon it arraigned as unjust or erroneous ; only I hope you will not set them down as sure proof of moral depravity and utter want of all good affections. I should be sorry that any good men should think this of me as an individual. As to the opinion which may be formed of my critical qualifications, it is impossible for any one to be more indifferent than myself. I am conscious of being quite sincere in all the opinions I express, but I am the furthest in the world from thinking them infallible, or even having

having any considerable assurance of their appearing right to persons of good judgment.

‘I wish I had more leisure to talk to you of such matters, but I cannot at present afford to indulge myself any farther. I think we now understand each other in a way to prevent all risk of any future misunderstanding.

‘ Believe me always, dear Sir,

‘ Very faithfully yours,

‘ F. JEFFREY.’

We have now arrived at a crisis, so to speak, in Wilson's fate. Had he been in ever so slight a degree less impulsive than he was; had he possessed even a small share of that power of self-restraint which is assumed, most erroneously, to be incompatible with the highest order of genius; he would have probably settled down into the condition of a hardworking man of letters, with the best assurance of acquiring in due time fame and fortune and a leading place in Edinburgh society. Jeffrey evidently contemplated for him this career, and opened both his hospitable doors to receive Wilson as a guest and the pages of the *Review* to his contributions. It is clear, likewise, that Jeffrey had taken a very favourable measure of his new friend's capabilities. He accordingly wrote to Wilson thus, first opening a subject which he as editor was desirous that Wilson should treat, and next referring to a theme which Wilson, as a contributor, was desirous of handling :—

‘ MY DEAR WILSON,—Do you think you could be prevailed upon to write a review for me now and then? Perhaps this may appear to you a very audacious request, and I am not sure that I should have had the boldness to make it, but I had heard it surmised, and in very intelligent quarters, that you had occasionally condescended to exercise the functions of a critic, in works where your exertions must necessarily obtain less celebrity than in our *Journal*. When I apply for assistance to persons in whose talents and judgment I have as much confidence as I have in yours, I leave of course the choice of their subjects very much to themselves, being satisfied that it must always be for my interest to receive all that they are desirous of sending. It is therefore rather with a view to tempt than to assist you, that I venture to suggest to you a general review of our *Dramatic Poetry*; a subject which I long meditated for myself, but which I now feel that I shall never have leisure to treat as I should wish to treat it, and upon which indeed I could not now enter without a pretty laborious resumption of my now half-forgotten studies. To you I am quite sure it is familiar; and while I am by no means certain that our opinions would always coincide, I have no hesitation in saying that I should very much distrust my own when they were in absolute opposition to yours, and that I am unfeignedly of opinion that in your hands

hands the disquisition will be more edifying, and quite as entertaining as ever it could have been in mine. It is the appearance of the weak and dull article in the last 'Quarterly,' which has roused me to the resolution of procuring something more worthy of the subject for the 'Edinburgh,' and there really is nobody but yourself to whom I can look with any satisfaction for such a paper.

'I do not want, as you will easily conjecture, a learned, ostentatious, and antiquarian dissertation, but an account written with taste and feeling, and garnished, if you please, with such quotations as may be either very curious or very delightful. I intended something of this sort when I began my review of Ford's 'Plays,' but I ran off the course almost at the starting, and could never get back again.

'Now pray do not refuse me rashly. I am not without impatience for your answer, but I would rather not have it for a day or two if your first impression is that it would be unfavourable. If you are in a complying mood, the sooner I hear of it the better.

'Independent of all this, will you allow me again to say that I am very sincerely desirous of being better acquainted with you, and regret very much that my many avocations and irregular way of life have forced me to see so little of you. Could you venture to dine here without a party any day next week that you choose to name, except Saturday? If you have no engagement, will you come on Monday or Tuesday? Any other day that may be more convenient. If you take my proposal into kind consideration, we may talk a little of the Drama; if not, we will fall on something else.

'Believe me always, &c.,'

Nothing seems to have come of the editor's proposal. The following is his reply to a suggestion of the contributor:—

'MY DEAR WILSON,—I give you up Byron freely, and thankfully accept of your conditional promise about the Drama. For Coleridge, I should like first to have a little talk with you. I had intended to review him fairly and if possible favourably myself—at all events mercifully; but on looking into the volume, I can discern so little new, and so much less good than I had expected, that I hesitate about noticing him at all. I cannot help fearing too that the discrepancy of our opinions as to that style of poetry may be too glaring to render it prudent to venture upon it, at least under existing circumstances. And besides, if I must unmask all my weakness to you, I am a little desirous of having the credit, though it should only be an inward one, of doing a handsome or even a kind thing to a man who has spoken ill of me, and am unwilling that a favourable review of this author should appear in 'The Review,' from any other hand than my own. But we shall talk of this after I have considered the capabilities of the work a little further.

'I am very much gratified by the kind things you are pleased to say of me, though the flattering ones with which you have mixed them rather disturb me. When you know me a little better you will find me

me a very ordinary fellow, and really not half so vain as to take your testimony on behalf of my qualifications. I have, I suppose, a little more practice and expertness in some things than you can yet have, but I am very much mistaken if you have not more talent of every kind than I have. What I think of your character you may infer from the offer I have made you of my friendship, and which I rather think I never made to any other man.

‘I think you have a kind heart, and a manly spirit, and feel perfectly assured that you will always act with frankness, gentleness, and firmness. I ask pardon for sending you this certificate, but I do not know how else to express so clearly the grounds of my regard and esteem.’

‘Believe me always, &c.’

These letters, besides placing Jeffrey in a very amiable point of view, bring Wilson before us in the garb of an ordinary member of society—a gifted one doubtless, yet neither eccentric nor odd as a writer desirous of finding some outlet for his ideas, but unwilling that they should run when let loose in a common groove. Interesting as the picture is, however, it bears no resemblance whatever to the original. Wilson had no respect for society; he can scarcely be said to have belonged to it in the common acceptance of the term. He was as impatient of restraint in things relating to mind as he was intolerant of conventionalities in matters affecting the body. Having no very intensified conviction on any subject, he did not care to connect himself too closely with those who had. He wrote one paper, and only one, for the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ and suffered, we have reason to believe, extreme misery when occupied upon it. A staid, grandiloquent journal which discussed letters, politics, and science—not without an avowed bias in favour of the party to which it was pledged—presented a field too cramped and narrow for him. He never could recognise, he never did, any other principle of action than the caprice of the moment. Observe how, when the humour takes him, he thinks and speaks of men for whom, when assailed by others, he was always ready to do battle. Observe, too, how the old passion to escape from himself and from the world in violent physical exertion still works within him. He literally flees from time to time out of Edinburgh as if an hour’s longer sojourn there would have killed him. These outbursts were, for the most part, indulged alone, and into some extraordinary adventures they usually hurried him. But in one, which he describes to Hogg, his gentle English wife bore him company, and it is worth while, for many reasons, to give the narrative here:—

‘MY DEAR HOGG,—I am in Edinboro’, and wish to be out of it. Mrs. Wilson and I walked 350 miles in the Highlands, between the

5th of July and the 26th of August, sojourning in divers glens from Sabbath unto Sabbath, fishing, eating, and staring. I purpose appearing in Glasgow on Thursday, where I shall stay till the Circuit is over. I then go to Ellaray, in the character of a Benedictine monk, till the beginning of November. Now pause and attend. If you will meet me at Moffat on October 6th, I will walk or mail it with you to Ellaray, and treat you there with fowls and Irish whiskey. Immediately on the receipt of this, write a letter to me at Mr. Strutt's book-shop, Hutcheson Street, Glasgow, saying positively if you will or will not do so. If you don't, *I will lick you*, and fish up the Douglas burn before you next time I come to Ettrick. I saw a letter from you to M. the other day, by which you seem to be alive and well. You are right in not making verses when you can catch trout. Francis Jeffrey leaves Edinboro' this day for Holland and France. I presume, after destroying the King of the Netherlands, he intends to annex that kingdom to France, and assume the supreme power of the united countries, under the title of Geoffrey the First. You he will make Poet Laureate and Fishmonger, and me Admiral of the Mesquito fleet.

'If you have occasion soon to write to Murray, pray introduce something about the "City of the Plague," as I shall probably offer him that poem in about a fortnight, or sooner. Of course I do not wish you to say that the poem is utterly worthless. I think that a bold eulogy from you, if administered immediately, would be of service to me; but if you do write about it, do not tell him that I have any intention of offering it to him, but you may say you hear I am going to offer it to a London bookseller.

'We stayed seven days at Mrs. Izett's, at Kinnaird, and were most kindly received. Mrs. Izett is a great ally of yours, and is a fine creature. I killed in the Highlands 170 dozen trout: one day nineteen dozen and a half; another, seven dozen. I one morning killed ten trouts that weighed nine pounds. In Lochawe, in three days, I killed seventy-six pounds weight of fish, all with the fly. The Gaels were astonished. I shot two roebucks, and had nearly caught a red deer by the tail. *I was within half a mile of it at furthest.* The good folks in the Highlands are not dirty; they are clean, decent, hospitable, ugly people. We domiciliated with many, and found no remains of the great plague of fleas, &c., that devastated the country from the time of Ossian to the accession of George the Third. We were at Loch Katrine, Loch Lomond, Inverary, Dalmally, Loch Etive, Glen Etive, Dalness, Appin, Ballahulish, Fort William, Moy, Dalwhinnie, Lock Erich (you dog!), Loch Rannoch, Glen Lyon, Taymouth, Blair Athol, Bruar, Perth, Edinboro'. Is not Mrs. Wilson immortalized?

'I know of Cona.\* It is very creditable to our excellent friend, but will not sell any more than the "Isle of Palms," or the "White

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\* 'Cona, or the Vale of Clwyd, and other Poems,' by Mr. James Gray, one of the Masters of the Edinburgh Grammar School.



Doe." The "White Doe" is not in season; venison is not liked in Edinboro'; it wants flavour. A good Ettrick wether is preferable. Wordsworth has more of the poetical character than any living writer, but he is not a man of first-rate intellect. His genius oversets him. Southey's "Roderick" is not a first-rate work. The remorse of Roderick is that of a Christian devotee, rather than that of a dethroned monarch. His battles are ill fought; there is no processional march of events in the poem; no tendency to one great end, like a river increasing in majesty till it reaches the sea. Neither is there national character, Spanish or Moorish; no sublime imagery; no profound passion. Southey wrote it, and Southey is a man of talent; but it is his worst poem.

'Scott's "Field of Waterloo" I have seen. What a poem! such bald and nerveless language, mean imagery, commonplace sentiments, and clumsy versification! It is beneath criticism. Unless the latter part of the battle be very fine indeed, this poem will injure him.

'Wordsworth is dished, Southey is in purgatory, Scott is dying, and Byron is married. Herbert is frozen to death in Scandinavia; Moore has lost his manliness; Coleridge is always in a fog; Johanna Bailey is writing a system of cookery; Montgomery is in a mad-house, or ought to be; Campbell is sick of a constipation in the bowels; Hogg is herding sheep in Ettrick forest; and Wilson has taken the plague. Oh! wretched writers! unfortunate bards! What is Bobby Miller's back-shop to do this winter? Alas! alas! alas! a wild doe is a noble animal! Write an address to me, and it shall be inferior to one I have written—for half a barrel of red herrings.

'The Highlanders are not a poetical people; they are too national, too proud of their history. They imagine that a colley shangy between the M'Gregors and Campbells is a sublime event, and they overlook mountains 4000 feet high. If Ossian did write the poem attributed to him, or any poems like them, he was a dull dog, and deserved never to taste whiskey as long as he lived. A man who lives for ever among mists and mountains knows better than to be always prosing about them. Methinks I feel about objects familiar to me in fancy and manhood, but when we speak of them it is only upon great occasions, and in situations of deep passion. Ossian was probably born in a flat country.

'Scott has written good lines in the "Lord of the Isles," but he has not done justice to the Sound of Mull, which is a glorious strait.

'The Northern Highlanders do not admire "Waverley," so I presume the South Highlanders despise "Guy Mannering." The Westmoreland peasants think Wordsworth a god. In Borrowdale, Southey is not known to exist. I met ten men in Hawick who did not think Hogg a poet; and the whole city of Glasgow thinks me a madman. So much for the voice of the people being the voice of God. I lost my snuff-box in your cottage; take care of it. The Anstruther Barrels have advertised their anniversary; I forget the day.

'I wish Lieutenant Gray, of the Marines, had been devoured by the lion he once carried on board his ship to the Dey of Algiers; or that

he was kept a perpetual prisoner by the Moors in Barbary. Did you hear that Tennant had been taken before the Session for an offence against good morals? If you did not, neither did I; indeed, it is on many accounts exceedingly improbable.

‘Yours truly.’

What does Mrs. Gordon say to all this? ‘The White Doe is not in season;’ ‘Southey’s “Roderick” is not a first-rate work;’ ‘Wordsworth is dished;’ ‘Southey is in purgatory;’ ‘Scott is dying;’ ‘Coleridge is always in a fog;’ ‘Campbell is sick of constipation in the bowels;’ ‘Montgomery is in a madhouse, or ought to be.’ If such bursts of fun, when others indulge in them, are to be attributed to malice and sarcasm which cannot spare even friends, how shall we except John Wilson from the charge of being malicious and sarcastic? But we must not linger over trifles like these. The field of mental exercise suited to his genius, and for which he had so long looked and looked in vain, presented itself at last to Wilson, and the hour which saw him plant his first footstep upon it settled his destiny for life.

We shall leave Mrs. Gordon to describe historically the rise and progress of ‘Blackwood’s Magazine.’ The tale has, indeed, been told on more impartial authority than hers; yet, making due allowance for the colouring which she has unconsciously given to it, the curious in such matters will find her version, upon the whole, sufficiently correct. The circumstances of the case were briefly these:—For many years prior to 1817, the authority of the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ in matters of literature and taste, had been in Scotland, and to a considerable extent in England and Ireland also, all but supreme. Edited by Jeffrey, and supported by Brougham, Mackintosh, Horner, and Sydney Smith, the Review achieved for itself a position the commanding nature of which could not be disputed; and, as the principles advocated in its pages were decidedly opposed to those of the existing Administration, its success not only irritated, but alarmed the Scotch Tory party. This is the less to be wondered at, that in Edinburgh, to a greater extent perhaps than in any other city of Europe, intellectual attainments, real or pretended, command for their possessors a leading place in society. The ‘Edinburgh Review,’ its editor, and its friends became thus masters of the situation. All the young men who aspired to be accounted clever, made court to them and echoed their opinions. Their canons of criticism upon books, men, and things were accepted as indisputable; and a tone of Liberalism began to pervade society which threatened to bring about a revolution in public opinion. No genuine Tory could contemplate this except with dismay.

Vol. 113.—No. 225. q

dismay. Long and anxiously the heads of the party looked about for some means of staying the plague, but censer after censer burnt black in their hands; they were powerless, and they knew it.

It was under these circumstances that the late Mr. Blackwood a man of rare ability, as well as an enterprising publisher, he thought him of converting a magazine of which he was the proprietor into an organ of Toryism. The organ, to be effective however, must take high ground as a literary journal, and Mr Blackwood did his best to ensure that object by engaging the assistance of a number of very distinguished men. Sir Walter Scott, still the Great Unknown, promised an occasional paper so did the Man of Feeling; so did Dr. M'Crie; so did Dr. Andrew Thompson. Sir David Brewster, Robert Jamieson James Wilson, De Quincey, Hogg, Gillies, Fraser Tytler, Sir William Hamilton, and his brother, the author of 'Cyril Thornton,'—all undertook to contribute. There were others whose names we need not stop to particularise; but above the whole banner two stood pre-eminent, John Wilson, and John Gibson Lockhart. These soon left all other contributors behind, both in the raciness and the diversity of their articles. They were, as Mrs. Gordon justly observes, capable at any time of providing the whole contents of a number; and we beg to add that more than once they did so provide, and that the provision was admirable.

Thus far Mrs. Gordon tells her story well enough. She is perfectly justified, likewise, in declining for her father the honour, which was often thrust upon him, of being the sole editor of 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Mr. Blackwood never had an editor, properly so called, but with rare tact was able to judge for himself what would and what would not go down with the public. At the same time, as we shall take occasion presently to show, Mrs. Gordon a good deal overstates her case in this matter. Her extreme anxiety not to be considered as excusing, far less approving, the tone which pervaded many of the earlier numbers of the Magazine, is sufficiently intelligible. Others than she are ready to admit that the mode of warfare adopted with success forty-five years ago would nowhere be tolerated now: but when she goes on to say that in whatever was objectionable in the Magazine her father had no share; that she had been unable to trace to his hand 'any instance of unmanly attack,' or 'one shade of real malignity,' and so forth, we must take the liberty of telling her that both directly and by implication she is making an assertion which she has no right whatever to make. 'Blackwood's Magazine' is answerable for many faults,  
both

both of omission and commission; and probably there are few surviving contributors to its early numbers who would hesitate to make this acknowledgment. But they cannot allow Mrs. Gordon, or anybody else, to claim for John Wilson that which he would have scorned to claim for himself—an exemption from the common censure, as well as the common praise, which is due to the whole band. Something more serious, however, remains to be noticed.

If Mrs. Gordon be unaware of the tender regard which to the last days of his life John Gibson Lockhart entertained for her father, she is, we should imagine, the only person known both to Wilson and to Lockhart from whom that fact is hid. If she be not ignorant of the fact, did it never occur to her, we would respectfully ask, while playing off the one against the other, that she was offering greater outrage to the memory of her father than even to that of his friend? Or has she so entirely surrendered herself to local influences that, in order to gratify a small clique, which feared Lockhart when living as much as it hated him, she consents to attack him, *ex cathedra*, now that he is dead? Conceive the daughter of John Wilson writing thus:—

‘The striking contrast in the outward aspect of the two men corresponded truly to the difference of character and temperament, a difference, however, which proved no obstacle to their close intimacy. There was a picturesque contrast between them, which may be simply described by light and shade. But there was a more striking dissimilarity than that which is merely the result of colouring. Mr. Lockhart’s pale olive complexion had something of a Spanish character in it, that accorded well with the sombre or rather melancholy expression of his countenance. His thin lips, compressed beneath a smile of habitual sarcasm, promised no genial response to the warmer emotions of the heart. His compact, finely-formed head indicated an acute and refined intellect. Cold, haughty, supercilious in manner, he seldom won love, and not unfrequently caused his friends to distrust it in him, for they sometimes found the warmth of their own feelings thrown back upon them in presence of his cold indifference. Circumstances afterwards conferred on him a brilliant position. He allowed the gay coteries of London society injured his interest in the old friends who had worked hand in hand with him when in Edinburgh.’

And, again:—

‘Systematic, cool, and circumspect, when he armed himself for conflict, it was with a fell and deadly determination. The other’ [that is to say, Wilson] ‘rushed into combat rejoicingly, like the Teutons, but even in his fiercest mood he was alive to pity, tenderness, and humour. When he impaled a victim, he did it as Walton recommends, “not vindictively,

vindictively, but as if he loved him." Lockhart, on the other hand though susceptible of deep emotion, and gifted with a most playful wit, had no scruple in wounding to the very quick, and no thrill of compassion ever held back his hand when he had made up his mind to strike. He was certainly no coward, but he liked to fight uncovered, and keep himself unseen; while Wilson, even under the shelter of anonymity, was rather prone to exhibit his own unmistakeable personality.

We beg to enter our protest strongly against all this. Mr. Lockhart was cold, haughty, and supercilious only when he found himself among those whose approaches to intimacy he judged expedient to repel. He was by far too manly to 'seek prestige from 'the reflected glory found in rank.' He knew perfectly well what his own position in society was, and he kept it. The 'gay coteries of London society' never lessened his interest in his old friends. As to his habit of caricaturing, it was the merest play of fancy, neither intended to wound nor, in fact, wounding, the feelings of those who happened to sit to him. Indeed, as Mrs. Gordon's pages abundantly show, he was himself more frequently than anybody else the subject of his own humorous sketches.

Again, Mrs. Gordon wrongs her father cruelly, by representing him as a tool in the hands of others. She is especially at fault in assigning to Mr. Lockhart a pre-eminence over him which Lockhart never aspired. When these two gentlemen met in Edinburgh to discuss with Mr. Blackwood the future fortunes of the Magazine, Mr. Lockhart was barely twenty-three years of age; Mr. Wilson nine years older. Is it conceivable that a man at the mature age of thirty-two, already known to fame as a poet and a critic, would give himself up, bound hand and foot, to the guidance of a boy? But this is not all. Though Mrs. Gordon rarely condescends to enter into particulars, it does so happen that in the few instances which she cites of Lockhart's malignity and Wilson's long-suffering, she is entirely mistaken. Take, for example, her version of an occurrence at which we ourselves happened to be present, and of which we are therefore in the position to give the true account. She is describing the first appearance of what she calls 'a very clever but rather tedious composition of Lockhart, called the "Mad Banker of Amsterdam," in which, to use her own expression, he 'poked his fun at his friends all round':—

'There was a society in Edinburgh,' she continues, 'called the "Dilettanti Club," of which Wilson was President. They came in for a sketch, and he begins with his friend the President:—

' " They'

“They’re pleased to call themselves the Dilettanti,  
The President’s the first I chanced to show ’em,  
He writes more malagrugously than Dante,  
The City of the Plague’s a shocking poem ;  
But yet he is a spirit light and jaunty,  
And jocular enough to those who know him.  
To tell the truth, I think John Wilson shines  
More o’er a bowl of punch than in his lines.”

‘It is said that my father chanced to see the proof-sheet before it went to press, and instantly dashed in, after the above stanza, not a little to the chagrin of the author, the following impromptu lines :—

“Then touched I off friend Lockhart (Gibson John),  
So fond of jabbering about Tieck and Schlegel,  
Klopstock, and Wieland, Kant, and Mendelssohn,  
All high Dutch quacks, like Spurzheim and Feinagle.  
Him the Chaldee, eclypt the Scorpion,  
The claws but not the pinions of the eagle  
Are Jack’s ; but though I do not mean to flatter,  
Undoubtedly he has strong powers of satire.”’

We cannot tell by whom this may have been said, but we know that it is entirely untrue. The poem was read to Wilson by Lockhart before it went to press, in a lodging which the former then occupied in a street to the west of Athol Crescent, of which we have forgotten the name. Wilson laughed heartily at the stanza devoted to himself, and wrote on the instant, and read to Lockhart, both laughing all the while, his counter-portraiture of the individual who is assumed by Mrs. Gordon to have aimed a secret blow at his friend, and to have been very much chagrined at the exposure of his malignity.

Even less candid is the manner in which Mrs. Gordon speaks of the production of the famous Chaldee MS. After telling us that this most audacious squib was composed in her grandmother’s house, No. 23, Queen Street, where Wilson lived, ‘amid such shouts of laughter as made the ladies in the room above send to inquire and wonder what the gentlemen below were about,’ she actually makes the statement already quoted, that ‘she cannot trace to her father’s hand any instance of unmanly attack, or one shade of real malignity.’ Far be it from us to assert that the Chaldee MS. contained a single sentence which ought to be read as conveying an unmanly attack, or as tinctured with a shade of malignity ; but the gentlemen shown up by it were certainly not of that opinion ; and it must therefore follow, according to Mrs. Gordon’s logic, that Wilson at his own dinner-table took no part in the composition of the squib, however  
.. heartily

heartily he may have joined in the mirth which it occasioned to his guests.

Again, referring to the effect of deep sorrow on the two friends when both had become widowers, and quoting a letter from Lockhart, which bears date 1844, Mrs. Gordon observes, 'Lockhart's very sorrows are a contrast to those of his friend: he is stricken, as it were, and will not look up; but my father, with that healthful heart of his—that joyous nature which smiles even in the midst of tears—has scarcely yet laid aside the strong enthusiasm which belonged so remarkably to his youth.' From which, and from other sentences, not necessary to be quoted, we are to infer that, while Wilson found support in a happy temper, and, though deeply grieved, applied himself at once to the business of life, Lockhart yielded to the calamity which had overtaken him, and became a 'soured, hopeless, sulky, discontented man.' Has Mrs. Gordon ever read her father's letters to Lockhart soon after her mother's death? Has she never come across Lockhart's letters to her father when both were mourners? Or has she forgotten to inquire whether Lockhart visited his friend at the season of his deepest anguish, and with what effect? We can supply this latter void in her narrative:—

'I found him utterly prostrated,' said Lockhart, describing his visit to Wilson, 'unable, or, as he said, determined never to take any interest in the affairs of life again. "Well, what passed?" Not much worth repeating. I reasoned with him, and tried to show him that neither he nor I had any right to succumb to evils that were not of our own seeking—that we had both work to do, and must do it—that it was neither manly nor Christian to mourn as he was mourning. "Had your remonstrances any effect?" Yes, I think they had. He pressed my hand, looked up for a moment into my face, and said, "It is all true; I know it; but I have no strength." However, his strength came back faster than we both expected; and now he is pretty much what he ever was.' \*

Thus far Mrs. Gordon speaks for herself. She has formed her own judgment or adopted the judgment of others respecting Lockhart, and she delivers it without scruple. She had a perfect right to do so if she pleased; but we deny that she had any right, moral, legal, or literary, to make Mr. Lockhart misrepresent himself. What would be thought of John Wilson if his loose, chatty, and effervescing correspondence were dealt with as Mrs. Gordon deals with Lockhart's letters to her father? Nor, as it appears, could her purpose be served by simply printing these letters and

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\* Note of a conversation with Lockhart.

leaving

leaving them to their fate. She must needs preface them with remarks of her own, all conceived in the same spirit of detraction: 'They are as characteristic of his satirical powers as any of those offhand caricatures that shred his best friends to pieces, leaving the most poetical of them as bereft of that beautifying property as if they had been born utterly without it.' 'Lockhart's sorrows are a contrast to those of his friend. There is something of a listless bitterness in the words;' and so forth. Cannot the cry of a much-wounded heart, when the depth of its anguish wrings from it an occasional complaint, escape the depreciatory notice of the daughter of the mourner's oldest and most familiar friend?

But Mrs. Gordon's misstatements and breaches of propriety will do little harm to Lockhart's reputation — with those, at least, to whom his many noble qualities were known — and that little it may become our duty, on some future occasion, to remove.

To return to the immediate subject of this article. From the date of his first connexion with 'Blackwood's Magazine' down to within eighteen months of his death, Wilson was a constant contributor to that periodical. The amount of work thrown off in the course of these years almost passes belief. It would appear likewise that, though strictly speaking never invested with the autocracy of editorship, he assisted the publisher in deciding upon the articles to be produced, and generally corrected the press. This we gather from a letter written by Wilson in 1827 to Dr. Moir, the 'Delta' of the Magazine, as well as from his remonstrances with the printer if proofs happened to be delivered irregularly. Indeed Wilson himself acknowledges a very close connexion with the Magazine in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Fleming, of Rayrig, which Mrs. Gordon has printed, but of which she has failed to perceive the effect:—'Of Blackwood,' he there observes, 'I am not the editor, although I believe I very generally get both the credit and discredit of being Christopher North. I am one of the chief writers, perhaps the chief writer, but never received one shilling from the proprietor except for my own compositions. Being generally on the spot, I am always willing to give him my advice and to supply such articles as are most wanted, when I have leisure.' Surely, after this, Mrs. Gordon beats the air when she labours to throw the responsibility of Blackwood's misdoings on everybody else than her father. If Wilson's advice were worth asking, it was probably worth following; so that the system of mystifying, which his daughter goes out of her way to condemn, must have received his sanction, if he took no active part in promoting it.

Intense



Intense mental labour like that to which Wilson lent himself demanded strong antidotes, if it were to be carried on to any effect. He applied them in the shape of violent exercise, taken by fits and starts, as had always been his wont. He spared the stomach likewise while taxing the brain. It was his custom to put off to the latest possible moment the articles required for a forthcoming number, and when the task could no longer be deferred, he shut himself in his room, which was closed against all comers. He ate sparingly on these occasions, and always alone; he drank nothing but water. He rose early, and sat late and wrote with extreme facility; then having despatched the copy, it might be three or four papers on as many different subjects, he came forth again and plunged, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, into all his old habits. His gentle wife took care, while the fit of incubation was upon him, that not even his children should go near to disturb him: but no sooner was the study door thrown open than the house rang with the music of young voices; for of all living men Wilson was the last to put any curb upon the exuberance of childish glee, in the frolics in which it delighted him to play a part, not less in the nursery than elsewhere.

With this flood of literary success came a steady improvement in Wilson's pecuniary circumstances. In 1819 he was in a condition once more to set up his own household gods, and to dispense a generous hospitality to his friends and acquaintances. In 1820 an event occurred which proved still more important to him than the popularity of 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Dr. Thomas Brown, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, died, and Wilson became a candidate for the vacant chair. The nomination to the Professorship lay with the Lord Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh, at that time a body in which Tory principles were considerably in the ascendant. So Wilson's prospects might be considered good; but somehow another report had got abroad that he was not very sound either religion or morals, and even Tory counsellors shrank from supporting a man of whom the voice of scandal said that he was a free liver and a free thinker. Outside the council chamber, on the other hand, all the Whig influence which could be brought to bear was turned against him. The party started as his rival an admirable man, the late Sir William Hamilton, whose Whiggery, though of recent growth, was singularly moderate, and whose scholarship and acquirements as a speculative philosopher eminently qualified him for the post. It is not necessary to describe in detail how the contest went on. Both parties seemed alternately hopeful and despondent, for to both the issues were of great importance.

portance ; but at last, through the untiring exertions of his friends, Wilson carried the election.\*

Probably few men ever undertook a charge so important, with so little preparation made for the work. Wilson's reading, though extensive, had been desultory, and to concentrated thought upon any single subject he was entirely unaccustomed. Yet he set himself energetically to get up a course of lectures, and he succeeded.

The following description of what Wilson as a lecturer ultimately became is from one of his favourite pupils, and bears upon the face of it the stamp of truth :—

'His appearance in his class-room it is far easier to remember than to forget. He strode into it with the Professor's gown hanging loosely upon his arms, took a comprehensive look over the mob of young faces, laid down his watch so as to be out of the reach of his sledge-hammer fist, glanced at the notes of his lecture, generally written on the most wonderful scraps of paper, and then, to the bewilderment of those who had never heard him before, looked long and earnestly out of the north window towards the spire of the old Tron Kirk, until, having at last got his idea, he faced round and uttered it with eye and hand, and voice and soul, and spirit, and bore the class along with him. As he spoke, the bright blue eye looked with a strange gaze into vacancy, sometimes sparkling with a coming joke, sometimes darkening before a rush of indignant eloquence ; the tremulous upper lip curving with every wave of thought or hint of passion, and the golden grey hair floating on the old man's mighty shoulders, if, indeed, that could be called age which seemed but the immortality of a more majestic youth. And occasionally, in the finer phrenzy of his more imaginative passages—as when he spoke of Alexander clay-cold at Babylon, with the world lying conquered around his tomb, or of the Highland hills that pour the rage of cataracts adown their riven clefts, or even of the human mind with its primeval granitic truths—the grand old face flushed with the proud thought, and the eyes grew dim with tears, and the magnificent frame quivered with the universal emotion. It was something to have seen Professor Wilson—this, all confessed ; but it was something also, but more than is generally understood, to have studied under him.'

We never had the good fortune to listen to one of these lectures ; but a course which, setting out with a definition of what the moral faculty is, and requiring not fewer than thirty-seven lectures to make that point clear, must have possessed attractions

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\* 'I wad like to gie ye ma vote, Mr. Wulson ; but I'm feared. They say ye danna expect to be saved by grace.' 'I don't know much about that, Bailie ; but if I am not saved by grace, I am sure that my works won't save me.' 'That'll do, that'll do ; I'se gie you my vote.' So, it was said at the time, Wilson discussed his own chances with one of the Edinburgh magistrates. ;

## *Life of John Wilson.*

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is a very peculiar kind, otherwise it never could have kept alive, as we are assured that it did, the attention, from beginning to end, of a dense and excited audience. Mrs. Gordon declines to express any opinion in regard to the merits of these lectures. The following communication from one who is eminently qualified to give information upon the subject, enables us to supply the deficiency:—

‘There was genius in Wilson. There was grandeur in his conceptions, and true nobility in the tone and spirit of his lectures. I can compare them to nothing save the braying of the trumpet that sent a body of high-bred chivalry against the foe. “Charge, and charge home!” Wilson’s action upon the better and more pur minded of his pupils was pre-eminently beneficial. His lectures deeply influenced their characters for humanity, for unselfishness, high and honourable resolve to fight the battle of life; like the Danish hero, “to dare nobly, to will strongly, and never to falter the path of duty.” Such was Wilson’s creed. I had many conversations with him, and the modesty and good-humour with which listened to my remarks at the end of some of his lectures again Grecian philosophy quite gained my heart. The truth is, his acquaintance with that subject was very slender. But of the workings of human passion and of the errors of the human understanding, he was not ignorant. On the contrary, he was, like old Timotheus, a master of the lyre. He was of the school of Brown, but greatly inferior to it. By his own nature and observation he caught the key-note of character, i. e. that men and nations are guided, moved, and swayed by their understanding, but by their passions; and, in a word, Wilson was the greatest master of the philosophy of the passions whom I ever listened. To every thoughtful and feeling class Wilson was a seer, an interpreter of his own mysterious life. I revere his memory, though no stranger to his faults.’

There are men, and Wilson was one of them, on whom more work you throw the better they are able to go to it. So far from relaxing his literary efforts after he had attained to the professorial dignity, he seems rather to have increased them. He meditated the publication of a third volume of his *Blackwood*, however, never saw the light. He continued his work to *Blackwood* as regularly and in as great abundance as he gave to the world, in 1822, the first series of his *Lights and Shadows*. The popularity of that volume was wonderful. The second edition after edition; young men and maidens, children, devouring it with equal avidity; and in due course by the *Trials of Margaret Lindsay*. These works enabled Wilson still more to increase his influence. He removed from Anne Street, where he had

himself, to a more commodious dwelling in Gloucester Place, and—which was to him a source of far greater rejoicing—he found himself able to return to the summer occupation of Elleray. A happier creature than John Wilson, in the interval between 1822 and 1837, never walked the earth. The choicest gifts which fall to the lot of man had fallen to him. He did not know what sickness was. His active mind worked freely and well at its own pleasure. A robust frame gave him the power, an ardent will gave him the disposition, to seek, when weary, refreshment as well as inspiration among the grandest scenes of his native country. He even took a trip on board the experimental squadron, and enjoyed it immensely. His means were equal to the utmost of his wishes. He lived in a circle of friends, all of them worthy of his respect and esteem, and all sincerely attached to him. He was, beyond compare, the most popular man in Scotland with high and low, rich and poor. The wildest rhapsodies which came from his pen were received with favour. Extravagances of conduct, which in anybody else would have been censured or set down to mental aberration, secured for him the applause of the multitude. He could not only stand by abetting and approving a ‘mill,’ but he could himself enter the ring, and gain glory from success as a boxer. And this after he had become Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh!

As a teacher, Wilson acquired over his pupils an ascendancy which not even the madness of the Reform agitation could permanently shake. They accepted his dicta as law, and never seem to have loved him more than when he reproved their follies or pointed out their mistakes. But, above all his many blessings, that which Wilson prized the most was the sunshine of his home. He was a loving husband and a devoted father, and wife and children repaid his devotion by a measure of love equal to that which he meted out. He had besides, to a remarkable extent, sources of enjoyment which are not lightly to be considered in connexion with our moral nature. He was extremely fond of animals, and appeared to possess some charm which attracted them in the strongest degree to himself. Dogs and horses, as they were his companions in real life, so they play no mean part—especially dogs—in the scenes which his active fancy revelled in delineating. Of Wilson’s brilliancy in conversation only those who knew him best could form an idea. He was the soul of every convivial party into which he entered. His wit came pouring out like a torrent, sparkling, dancing, and apparently exhaustless. Nor was he less effective in public than in private symposia. Wilson was a capital after-dinner speaker, and

and seems never to have been backward, when called upon, either to propose or to answer to a toast.

It was early in 1837 that a heavy cloud overspread this atmosphere of gladness. Wilson had long outlived all the petty troubles originating in his early connexion with 'Blackwood's Magazine.' He had come to understand that fierce personal attacks neither correct men's tastes nor improve their morals. He looked back, probably with as much of surprise as of regret, on the time when he and Lockhart believed themselves bound not alone to answer philippic with philippic, but to call upon their libellers, by letters addressed to them through the newspapers, to throw off their disguise and fight. A Tory to the last he continued to be; but he was too wise a man not to admit the necessity of conforming to the changes, social as well as political, which the passing of the Reform Bill brought about. He was thus living in an atmosphere of peace, more settled than he had ever known before, when the wife of his bosom sickened and died. A severe cold, caught during a summer excursion in 1836, undermined her constitution, and, in spite of the tenderness with which she was nursed, it ended in water on the chest. Wilson, like other men of ardent temperament, appears to have put from him the contemplation of a great possible calamity. He persevered to the last moment in hoping against hope, and hence when the blow fell it stunned him. He was in the act of raising his wife's head from the pillow, in order to administer some nutriment, when she uttered a long sigh, and expired. 'The Professor' writes an eye-witness, 'was seized with a sort of half-delirium, and you can scarcely picture a scene more distressing than his lying on the floor, his son John weeping over him, and the poor girls in equal distress.' Wilson never became again what he had once been. Not that he gave himself up to useless repining—he was a great deal too manly for that—but he was sobered and subdued in the whole order of his existence; and fancy itself, which used to run riot with him, amid the affections and beauties of earth, took, perhaps unconsciously to himself, a higher flight. There is a religious tone in Wilson's later writings, even in the most exuberant of them, more real, and therefore deeper, than is to be found in any of his earlier productions. It seemed as if his treasure were removed to a better world, and as if his heart had gone with it.

Time, the best of all physicians, if it did not heal, soothed the widower's hurt. He threw himself once more into the business of his class, and, after a brief interval, wrote more incessantly than ever. We find him also presiding over a 'Burns Festival,' and in 1841 taking the chair at a dinner given in Edinburgh

burgh to Charles Dickens. The marriage of his daughters, likewise, and the settlement of his sons in life, awakened new interests in him. The love which he used to lavish on them, when young, he transferred to his grandchildren, to whom no greater treat could at any time be proposed than a visit to grand-papa's room. But so constant a strain upon the nervous system could not be maintained for ever, and in 1840 he received the first intimation that even his iron frame was subject to the laws of humanity. A slight shock of paralysis seized him, and for well nigh a year his right hand remained disabled. A forced suspension of literary labour was the consequence: indeed, he seems to have contributed between 1840 and 1845 only two articles to the Magazine. In 1845, however, his old habits resumed their force, and though often obliged to employ an amanuensis, he again threw off paper after paper unceasingly. The last of these, which he called '*Dies Boreales*,' began in June, 1849, and came to an end in October, 1850. They breathe all the poetry of his earlier productions, with a tone of seriousness and holy thought peculiar to themselves. But Wilson's thread was by this time spun out. In the winter of 1850 symptoms of a break-up showed themselves. He was often obliged to absent himself from his class, yet struggled hard to repel the enemy thus marching steadily against him. At last the crash came.

'One day Professor Wilson was late in appearing, perhaps ten or twelve minutes after the class-hour—an unusual thing with him, for he was punctual. We had seen him go into his private room. We got uneasy, and at last it was proposed that I should go in and see what it was that detained him. To my latest hour I will remember the sight I saw on entering. Having knocked, and received no answer, I gently opened the door, and there I found the Professor lying at full length on the floor, with his gown on. Instinctively I rubbed his head, and raised it up. Kneeling with the noble head resting on my breast, I could not, of course, move; and in a few minutes in came other students, wondering in turn what was keeping me, and we together raised the Professor up into his chair. I caught the words "God bless you!" Gradually he got better, and we forced him to sit still, and never dream of lecturing that day, or for a time. I remember, too, that we spoke of calling a cab; but he said "No, it would shake him too much." In about half an hour he walked home. We announced to the class what had taken place, and very sore our hearts were. I think the Professor remained away three weeks, and on his return expressed glowingly and touchingly his gratitude to "his dear young friends."

'The end did not come till his work for that session was done. On  
Friday

Friday he distributed prizes and heard the students read their Essays: taking particular interest in those of one gentleman, who with great ability attacked his whole system; and of another, who fancied that he discovered a "via media" between the two great factions. Then he dismissed us, and the cheers and plaudits of his class rang in his ear for the last time. On Monday I called to get his autograph in one of my books, but the blow had already to some extent fallen, for he was unable even to write his name. Twice after this I saw him at his own request, and always on the subject of his lectures, for he was bent on what he called a reconstruction of his theory for the ensuing session while it was but too plain to those around him that he was not likely to see the College again. The old lion sat in his arm-chair, yellow maned and toothless, prelecting with the old volubility and eloquence and with occasionally the former flash of the bright blue eye, soon drooping into dulness again. I still remember his tremulous "God bless you!" as the door closed for the last time. How different from that fresh and vigorous old age in which he had moved among us a royally the year before!

The relaxation of summer holidays brought no improvement to his health. He tried the effect of a journey into the Highlands; but for once it did him no good. He returned to Edinburgh when the winter came, and sent in his resignation of the professorship. All party animosities had by this time died out so far as he was concerned. Like the best of the Tories who fought hardest for the Constitution of 1688, he accepted the Constitution of 1832 as a finality, and supported those who were willing so to regard it. In this spirit, when Macaulay last stood for the presentation of Edinburgh, Wilson gave him his vote; and mixed freely and kindly, as it was his nature to do, with men of all shades of opinion. It is to the credit of Mr. Moncrieff, then and now Lord Advocate, that, without considering for a moment whether Wilson were really become a convert to Whiggery, applied to Lord John Russell, at that time Prime Minister, to confer a pension out of the Consolidated Fund upon the worn poet. Earl Russell, as is well known, has never allowed pa feeling to stand between him and the claims of literary merit; and Her Majesty was advised, with the best possible grace, to set on Wilson 300*l.* a-year. But why pursue these details farther? Wilson faded day by day, in body rather than in mind. In the autumn of 1852 he received a visit from Mr. Lockhart, which is described by Mrs. Gordon in a far more becoming manner than she has chosen to adopt in speaking elsewhere of her father's old friend. This fragment of her tale is indeed very touching. So is the description of her father's efforts to test and keep alive the vigour of his intellect, when that too had yielded to the stroke of destiny.

At

At last he kept his bed, and—sad, yet not humiliating sight—amused himself there, by arranging and rearranging the fishing-tackle which was laid within his reach. It was verily with him the ruling passion, strong in death. On Christmas Day, 1853, he gathered round him his entire family, sons and daughters, with their children. He even dined with them downstairs; and in the evening received them all in his bedroom, which his servant had by his desire decorated with evergreens, twining one little garland round the portrait of his deceased wife, which hung over the chimney-piece. Then came the early spring of 1854, with its gleams of sunshine, and the first twittering of its birds. It was a fitting season in which the soul of one who had been so keenly alive to the beauty of these things should take its departure. On the 1st of April a fresh shock of paralysis seized him; and about five o'clock in the morning of the 2nd, his breathing became faint. He seemed to fight against death throughout the entire day, and a little before midnight passed his hand across his forehead and eyes, as if to remove a film. 'A bitter expression,' says his daughter, 'for one moment crossed his face,' as if he felt that he was beaten in the struggle. A moment more, and while the clock was still chiming the hour of twelve, his spirit passed away.

We have left ourselves no space to do justice to Wilson's character, either as a writer or a man. Neither do we conceive that ours is the proper tribunal before which it would be becoming, in the latter capacity, to arraign him. But this much his best friends and bitterest enemies—if, indeed, he left any—will allow, that a more generous heart than his never beat in human bosom. He had an instinctive abhorrence of everything that was base and mean. His sense of justice was so acute that it carried him in early life into the commission of innumerable absurdities; all of them, however, chivalrous, and therefore not entirely to be condemned. Even in the decline of life the same impatience of wrong would constantly show itself, and not unfrequently took the old course by applying a corrective on the spot. It was in this spirit that one day seeing a brutal carter illuse his overladen horse, he twisted the fellow's whip out of his hand, and emptied the coals into the street. He was, as we have elsewhere shown, a loving father, an indulgent husband, a steady friend; and a man of whom these qualities may with truth be predicated has not much to fear on the score of morals, however microscopically his conduct may be examined. As to his religious views, these are seen in almost every line which he latterly wrote to have been earnest, simple, and holy. 'Was Burns a reader of his Bible?—did he  
ever



ever attend church?' were questions which he anxiously put when preparing to write a sketch of the poet's life; and what he so much hoped and desired to find that the Ayrshire bard had not neglected, he himself never overlooked. Wilson's habits of conviviality may have carried him at times a little too far; but let us not forget, in reference to such matters, that the opinions of half a century ago were much less rigid than those of the present day; and while we admit that in this respect the time present is better than the time past, we need not be too severe in condemning those who belonged to a bygone generation.

With respect to Wilson's merits as a writer, a variety of judgments will be formed. His poetry can never, in our opinion, take a foremost place among English classics. His prose tales 'Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life,' 'The Trials of Margaret Lindsay,' 'The Foresters,' &c., had their day. Probably no man, living or dead, could have written them except himself; yet we doubt whether they will find many readers a dozen years hence. Of his criticism, likewise, we are constrained to observe that it is at all times the decision of an impulsiveness rather than of a judicial mind. But far above all his contemporaries, and, indeed, above writers of the same class in any age, he soars as a rhapsodist. As Christopher North, in the loch, or on the moors, or at Ambrose's, he is the most gifted and extraordinary being that ever wielded pen. We can compare him, when such fits are on, to nothing more aptly than to a huge Newfoundland dog, the most perfect of its kind; or better still, to the 'Beautiful Leopard from the valley of the Pal-trees,' which, in sheer wantonness and without any settled purpose, throws itself into a thousand attitudes, always astonishing and often singularly graceful. As a teacher of moral philosophy, the influence which he is allowed to have exercised over the tastes and tempers of his pupils, some of them men of great ability, proves that he was a man of enormous power; and it is light praise to add that he seems never to have wielded power from the chair or through the press, except with a view to promote the good of others.

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ART. VIII.—*Miscellanies*. Collected and edited by Earl Stanhope. London, 1863.

‘I hate all Kings, and the thrones they sit on,  
From the King of France to the Caliph of Britain!’

THUS sung or said, in the bitterness of exile—detesting alike the false friend who had made a cat’s-paw of him, and the open foe who had set a price upon his head—one who is well known to fame, though not in his poetical capacity. These, and six other lines of about equal merit, constitute the poetical remains of ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie,’ the last representative (for poor Cardinal York may be left out of the question) of the author of ‘The King’s Quair’ and ‘Christis Kirk of the Grene’!\*

For our introduction to the Lays of the Last Stuart, discovered among the Stuart papers at Windsor, we are indebted to Lord Stanhope, who has included them in the pleasing little volume of ‘Miscellanies in Prose and Verse,’ which, although (as he remarks in his Preface) almost wholly unconnected in subject or in period, are yet worthy of permanent record, and which we cordially thank him for having preserved. Fragmentary as they are, they are full of interest, and afford us useful hints as to the mental habits of some of our greatest men, of what they had to do and to endure. Indeed, they who are disposed to envy the career of great statesmen or commanders, would soon be cured of ambition if they would look closely into the lives of those who have won the highest prizes and achieved the brightest distinctions.

What Minister ever attained so early and so brilliant success as Mr. Pitt? Yet, powerful and respected as he was, we find—to speak of the affairs of Ireland alone—his wise and far-sighted plans for the improvement of that country baffled by faction; we see him labouring hard to satisfy disappointed friends, and to check the arrogance of new allies. Some idea of his mortifications and embarrassments may be gathered from his wise, considerate, and feeling letters to the Duke of Rutland, Lord Westmorland, and Lord Fitzwilliam, which Lord Stanhope has included in this collection.†

But so it is to the end of his life. Wherever we catch a glimpse of him, in office or out of office, an atmosphere of disquietude surrounds him; yet that disquietude never affected the tranquillity of his spirit, or the spell which he exercised over all

\* See Irving’s ‘History of Scottish Poetry.’ Edinburgh, 1861.

† See also ‘Quarterly Review,’ vol. 109.

who approached him. Worthy Mr. Christmas, of the Bank of England, who used to work with him at accounts, never to the end of his days lost his temper *during the hours of business*, simply because Mr. Pitt had told him not to do so; and immediately after Mr. Pitt's death his private secretary, Mr. W. D. Adams, writes :—

‘It is not the loss of his vast talents and unexampled public services which affects me now—though they will be embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity—but the remembrance of his unnumbered kindnesses, of that goodness and gentleness of manner, and of that purity of mind, which I never saw equalled in man.’\*

Lord Stanhope points out ‘that the bold and resolute order to seize the Spanish treasure-ships—an order which was carried into effect near Cadiz on the 5th of October following, and which led to a declaration of war on the part of Spain—was entirely and beyond all question the act of Mr. Pitt,’ as shown by a letter addressed by Pitt to Lord Harrowby in September 1804, and now for the first time published.† Readers of English History will remember that his father resigned office in 1761—because the Cabinet shrank from giving a similar order.

The contemplation of such a life as Mr. Pitt's would give ~~us~~ little taste for statecraft. But it will be said that these ~~carries~~ belong exclusively to high office. Let us see how it fared with Burke, who was scarcely in office at all.

‘*Memorandum by the Right Hon. E. Burke.*

‘1794.

‘Mr. Burke understands that Mr. Pitt is so obliging as to think that his humble industry in his thirty years' service may without impropriety be recommended to His Majesty's gracious consideration.

‘Mr. Burke has never asked for anything, nor suggested any reward. It never did become him, nor does it now become him, to suppose that he has any merit to entitle him to the particular favour of the Crown or of the public. He is sensible that he has done nothing beyond his strict duty.

‘But if he is permitted to compare his endeavours and rewards, not with the standard of his duty, but with contemporary examples, he would submit the following matters to judges more impartial than he can be in his own case.

‘In the year 1782 Lord Rockingham was Minister. Mr. Burke's connexions with that noble person were of the closest kind. About that time, or a little before, Mr. Burke was deeply concerned in a great variety of affairs, and was supposed to be of some use, both in producing good and in averting evil. At that period this was pret

\* ‘Miscellanies,’ p. 37.

† Ibid., pp. 22-25.

generally acknowledged by all parties. Mr. Burke believes it to be in the memory of many that a surprise was expressed that a provision for him had not been recommended by his particular friends and oldest connexions, when so much was done by them for absolute strangers.

‘The fact is, that for the general accommodation in forming what was called an administration upon a broad bottom, Mr. Burke did cheerfully postpone every pretension of his, whether grounded on connexion or service. He privately forwarded, and he publicly defended, a permanent provision for Colonel Barré and Mr. Dunning. Besides Colonel Barré’s office in possession (as good as Mr. Burke’s), that gentleman obtained a pension of 3000*l.* a-year. Mr. Dunning obtained a peerage with the Duchy for life, made up by a pension to 4000*l.* a-year, although he was possessed of a very ample fortune.

‘Mr. Burke never did solicit the Pay Office. It was offered to him. He held it in all about a year, under two administrations. It is the only place he ever held. During the time he held it, amongst the multiplicity of his other occupations, he employed himself with pains, not easily described, to form a new constitution for that office, and to carry a Bill for that purpose through the House of Commons. He flatters himself that, in that Bill, useful regulations were made; and savings of some importance with regard to public money ensued in consequence of them.

‘Mr. Burke certainly does not mean to compare his abilities with those of the two gentlemen he alludes to. It is allowed to a man to speak of his industry. As for real labour in mind and body, he had even then—that is, so long ago as 1782—worked more in any three months than they had done in their whole lives. Lord Ashburton’s professional industry is put out of the question; it was private; it had no relation to the State, and that kind of toil (whatever its value may be) rewards itself very sufficiently.

‘The arrangement for these two gentlemen was made twelve years ago. During the twelve, Mr. Burke’s exertions have continued—in what way, or with what merit in any of the particulars, it is not for him to judge. It is certain that, notwithstanding his very advanced age, his industry has not been relaxed in any course in which such small abilities as his could possibly employ it. During that period his circumstances have not been improved. Many expenses, more easily felt than calculated, are necessarily attendant on such exertions as his. A total neglect of a man’s private affairs is likewise the inevitable consequence of occupations that engross the whole man. Mr. Barré came into Parliament in 1763, and had his settlement in 1782. Mr. Dunning came into Parliament later than Mr. Burke, and had his at the same time with Mr. Barré. Mr. Burke came in at the end of 1765—near thirty years ago. Many since then have been raised to honours and emoluments, whose labours have not been greater.

‘Lord Auckland is another instance. His figure in Parliament was

never considerable. It may not be perfectly good policy to consider no services as of any high estimation except those done in office. Perhaps the most essential are those done in the House of Commons: and rank there (though not a thing to be exactly defined) ought to stand as high as rank that is official. It is not meant in the least to depreciate Lord Auckland's talents or services. Both are respectable. The services, however, received some part of their recompense as they were performed. Almost ever since he came into Parliament he has been in lucrative situations. He has something in present possession not contemptible. He has something secured. He has a peerage: and all this in the prime and vigour of his life. Mr. Burke does not conceive that whatever His Majesty may be graciously pleased to do for Mr. Burke in the present temper of the public mind would be more unpopular or ill received in the nation than what has been done for any of these gentlemen.\*

This quiet statement of his claims upon the public re-appears in a more rhetorical form in his passionate and pathetic 'Letter to a Noble Lord, on the Attacks made upon him and his Pension by the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale,' which no one can read without emotion, and which will last as long as the English language. We cannot think that in this matter any great advance has been made in the science of government when we consider, that if another Edmund Burke were to appear, with all the genius and all the patriotism of the first; and if with zeal, constancy, and self-denial like his, he were to devote a long life to the public service, and to make contributions to political science which must enter into and become part of the mind of every real statesman in all future time; yet if he did not happen to have held office of a particular class for the period fixed by Statute (and, perhaps, even if he had so held office), it would not be in the power of the Crown to relieve the anxieties and embarrassments of the exhausted statesman and philosopher in his declining years. Poor as we are in high political talent, surely on this point at least we are still poorer in spirit.

The volume before us affords several indications of the conscientious care which Lord Stanhope has taken to arrive at right conclusions upon historical subjects, and shows the candid and liberal spirit in which he conducts his inquiries. It appears that upon one occasion in 1833 he invited Sir Robert Peel's comments upon a sketch which he had prepared of the character of Sir Robert Walpole. The subject had been recently treated of by Mr. Macaulay in the 'Edinburgh Review.' Sir Robert Peel's observations, from which we subjoin an extract, show

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\* 'Miscellanies,' pp. 43-48.

(what we, indeed, previously knew from very special experience) how easily and how well he could wield the critic's pen on historical and political subjects. After discussing the nature and extent of the corruption ascribed to Walpole, Sir Robert Peel proceeds :—

‘ You say that the knowledge of Walpole was incredibly scanty ; and you repeat the story, which appears to rest on the authority of Yorke, the Attorney-General, that in the course of a debate in the House of Commons Walpole heard for the first time of Empson and Dudley.

‘ If this be so, it serves to increase the miracle of the natural powers of Walpole's intellect. But is it credible that he could be so deficient in literature and acquired knowledge ? Is it consistent with the known facts respecting him, and the reports of disinterested and very competent judges ? When Steele was threatened with expulsion, and when Addison was commissioned to write the speech that Steele was to make in his own defence, the speech actually delivered by Steele was not the elaborate composition of Addison, but the extemporaneous suggestion of Walpole, who the next day, says Bishop Newton, on the authority of Pulteney, made another speech, as good or better, on the same subject, but totally different from the former, “ which particulars are mentioned as illustrious proofs of his uncommon eloquence.”

‘ Lord Hardwicke describes him as “ a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country ; ” a character which it is not very easy to reconcile with utter ignorance of the main facts of English history. Walpole's speech on the Peerage Bill is the speech of an accomplished scholar. Speaker Onslow mentions it as a speech of as much natural eloquence and genius as had ever been heard within those walls. Onslow repeats the striking passage in it, “ that the usual path to the Temple of Honour had been through the Temple of Virtue ; but by this Bill it was now to be only through the sepulchre of a dead ancestor ; ” and adds that in this strain Walpole bore down everything before him.

‘ I have no doubt that in the general tenor of his speeches he accommodated himself to the audience which it was his business to convince. He depreciated to his sons the flowing harangues of Pitt, Lyttelton, and Pulteney ; and said to them that when he had answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth he considered that he had concluded the debate.

‘ I presume he found the addresses of Sir John and Lord Polwarth more effective on their side the question than more classical and elaborate harangues. The truth is, that so far as the great majority of his audience was concerned, he had blocks to cut, and he chose a fitter instrument than a razor to cut them with. “ They thought of dining ; ” and he first convinced, and then dined with them ; and in those days no doubt the dinner was a powerful instrument in facilitating the conviction of country gentlemen.

‘ You draw a parallel between the characters of Strafford and Walpole,

pole, manifestly, and, I think, in an undue degree, to the advantage of Strafford.

'... Surely Walpole was a brave man. Surely that man who with stood for twenty years, and maintained his power against the attack of such formidable opponents as those who were arrayed against him who never once quailed before an antagonist; who, when conquered retired fighting alone, with his face towards his enemies,—with all his wounds, like the Roman soldier's, *adverso fronte*,—surely he must have had courage, and resolution, and contempt of danger, which, had circumstances required the romantic exercise of such qualities, would have shone forth with the same lustre which gilded the decline of Strafford.

'You contrast the qualities of Walpole with those of Strafford, in the same spirit with which you contrast the scaffold on which the one died by a violent and unjust death with the bed in which the other, full of years, lay suffering by the stone. You might also contrast the armour of Strafford with the velvet waistcoat of Walpole, or the helmet of one with the full-bottomed wig of the other. No doubt the qualities displayed in the time of fierce civil contention—in the revolution of opinions and forms of government, are much more interesting, much more captivating in description, than the qualities by which a new dynasty is to be gradually confirmed, and by which peace at home and abroad is to be secured. No doubt the cumbrous dress in which a corpulent Minister sweats at a Levee in the dog-days is much worse subject for a picture (particularly when one is by Kneller and the other by Vandyke) than the flashing armour in which a statesman goes to the council in order that he may be ready for the field. But in estimating the characters and conduct of men living in different periods, in apportioning to each their respective merit or blame, justice cannot be done unless due allowance be made for the difference of circumstances imposing different duties, and calling in action different qualities. . . .

'Try Walpole and Strafford by the result of their counsels, by the result to the Monarchs whom they served, and how powerful would the contrast be in favour of Walpole! The test would be an unfair one; but not so unfair as the adventitious circumstances which you have enlisted in aid of Strafford. Desertion in extreme peril by the Prince whom he had faithfully served, an unjust sentence, death on the scaffold, endured with the most becoming and affecting courage—these things naturally attract the sympathies of mankind around the person and the memory of the sufferer. Lips compressed in iron resolution, and glances of fire, are very becoming to a hero; they suit the iron times in which Strafford lived; but why not let Walpole "laugh the heart's laugh, and nod the approving head," if the heart's laugh was not out of place, and if, in spite of his enemies, he kept his head wherewith to nod his approbation?'

So far, then, for statesmen. Not only are their days spent in

\* 'Miscellanies,' pp. 67-75.

trife, but their successors a hundred years later are still at issue as to their merits. It does not appear that warriors are much happier. In the 'Miscellanies' we find a letter from Sir John Moore to Lady Hester Stanhope, which possesses a melancholy interest:—

‘Salamanca, November 23, 1808.

‘I received some time ago your letter of the 24th October. I shall be very glad to receive James, if he wishes to come to me as an *à la suite* aide-de-camp, though I have already too many, and am obliged, I shall be, to take a young Fitzclarence. But I have a sincere regard for James, and, besides, can refuse you nothing, but to follow our advice. He must get the Commander-in-Chief's leave to come to Spain. He may then join me. He will, however, come too late; I shall already be beaten. I am within four marches of the French, with only a third of my force; and as the Spaniards have been dispersed in all quarters, my junction with the other two-thirds is very precarious; and when we all join, we shall be very inferior to the enemy. The Spanish Government is weak and imbecile; their armies have at no time been numerous; and the country is not armed, nor, as far as I can judge, enthusiastic. We have been completely deceived by the contemptible fellows chosen as correspondents to the armies; and now the discovery comes a little too late. Charles is not yet arrived; his was one of the best regiments that left Lisbon, and was not intended to join us, if I in compassion to his melancholy countenance had not found a pretext. We are in a scrape; but I hope we shall have spirit to get out of it. You must, however, be prepared to hear very bad news.

‘The troops are in as good spirits as if things were better; their appearance and good conduct surprise the green Spaniards, who had never before seen any but their own or French soldiers.

‘Farewell, my dear Lady Hester: if I extricate myself and those with me from our present difficulties, and if I can beat the French, I shall return to you with satisfaction; but if not, it will be better that I should never quit Spain.

‘I remain always

‘Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

‘JOHN MOORE.’\*

This letter was written on the 23rd November. On the 16th of the following January he fell in his victorious fight at Corunna; and Lady Hester's name was on his lips in his dying moments. Sir John Moore was a gallant soldier and a skilful commander. His country has appreciated the difficulties he had to surmount, and it holds his memory in honour. But his tone of de-

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\* ‘Miscellanies,’ p. 51.



spondency contrasts painfully with the hopefulness which never deserted the Duke of Wellington. For instance, before dawn on the 18th of June, the very day of the battle of Waterloo, the Duke wrote to Sir C. Stuart:—

‘The Prussians will be ready again in the morning for anything. Pray keep the English [at Brussels] quiet if you can. Let them all prepare to move, but neither be in a hurry nor a fright, as all will yet turn out well.’

In pursuance of the system which we have noticed, of testing his opinions by those of others, Lord Stanhope appears to have reminded the Duke of Wellington of his own saying, that the presence of Napoleon in the field was equivalent to a reinforcement of 40,000 men. The Duke, who was always a little jealous of any reference to his acts or words, writes as if startled at his own energy of expression, and enters into a practical explanation, which is well worth recording:—

*‘Memorandum by the Duke of Wellington.’*

‘Sept. 18, 1836.

‘It is very true that I have often said that I considered Napoleon’s presence in the field to be equal to 40,000 men in the balance.

‘This is a very loose way of talking; but the idea is a very different one from that of his presence at a battle being equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men.

‘I’ll explain my meaning.

‘1. Napoleon was a *grand homme de guerre*, possibly the greatest that ever appeared at the head of a French army.

‘2. He was the Sovereign of the country as well as the Military Chief of the army. That country was constituted upon a military basis. All its institutions were framed for the purpose of forming and maintaining its armies with a view to conquest. All the offices and rewards of the State were reserved in the first instance exclusively for the army. An officer, even a private soldier, of the army might look to the sovereignty of a kingdom as the reward for his services. It is obvious that the presence of the Sovereign with an army so constituted must greatly excite their exertions.

‘3. It was quite certain that all the resources of the French State, civil, political, financial, as well as military, were turned towards the seat of the operations which Napoleon himself should direct.

‘4. Every Sovereign in command of an army enjoys advantages against him who exercises only a delegated power, and who acts under orders and responsibilities. But Napoleon enjoyed more advantages of this description than any other Sovereign that ever appeared. His presence, as stated by me more than once, was likely not only to give to the French army all the advantages above detailed, but to put an  
end

and to all the jealousies of the French Marshals and their counter-action of each other, whether founded upon bad principles and passions, or their fair differences of opinion. The French army thus had a unity of action.

‘These four considerations induced me to say generally that his presence ought to be considered as 40,000 men in the scale. But the idea is obviously very loose, as must be seen by a moment’s reflection.

‘If the two armies opposed to each other were 40,000 men on each side, his presence could not be equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men on the side of the French army; nor even if they were 60,000 men on each side, or possibly even 80,000 men on each side.

‘It is clear, however, that wherever he went he carried with him an obvious advantage. I don’t think that I ought to be quoted as calling that advantage as equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men under all possible circumstances.

‘I quite agree that the Duke of Marlborough is the greatest man that ever appeared at the head of a British army.

‘He had greater difficulties to contend with in respect to his operations and the command of his troops in the field than I had. I had no Dutch Deputies to control my movements or intentions, whether to fight or otherwise. But, on the other hand, I had armies to co-operate with me, upon whose operations I could not reckon, owing to the defective state of their discipline and their equipments, and their deficiencies of all kinds. I could not rely upon ten thousand of them doing what five hundred ought to do, or upon their doing anything, much less upon their doing what ten thousand ought to do. The Duke of Marlborough did not labour under this inconvenience.

‘Then the Duke of Marlborough carried on his operations in countries fully peopled in proportion to their extent. He never experienced any inconveniences from the want of supplies of provisions. It was impossible to move at all in the Peninsula without previously concerted arrangements for the supply of the troops with provisions, means of transport, &c.

‘The Duke of Marlborough’s difficulties were greater than mine in relation to his own operations; mine were greater than his in every other respect.

‘But this is not all.

‘The Duke of Marlborough generally, if not always, commanded an army superior to his enemy in the field. The army commanded by me was always inferior, not only in reference to the description of troops, but even in numbers, to the enemy.

‘But that which I particularly object to is the last paragraph.

‘I have always, in public as well as in private, declared my obligations to the Government for the encouragement and support which they gave me, and the confidence with which they treated me.

‘I was not the Government, as the Duke of Marlborough was; nor were all the resources of this nation at my command to carry on the war

war which I was conducting, as the resources of Great Britain, in time of Queen Anne—military, naval, political, and financial—were at the command of the Duke of Marlborough. The nation at that time were heart-in-hand, bent upon carrying on that war. France was not then so powerful as she was from 1808 to 1814; England was not threatened with invasion; it was not necessary to prosecute Sicily by an army of 20,000 men of the best troops. The United States had not been formed, and it was not necessary to defend vital interests on the Continent of America against their attack. The resources of the country then, instead of being exclusively devoted to carry on the war which I conducted, were unavoidably devoted to other objects.

‘Besides all this, there was a formidable opposition to the Government in Parliament, which opposed itself particularly to the operation of the war in the Peninsula.

‘It would not be fair to compare the conduct of the Government in the Regency in relation to the war which I conducted, with the conduct of the Government in the reign of Queen Anne. I can assure you and never have complained of them; and I should not like to say I “supported the Government more than they supported me.”

‘In one sense it is true.

‘It is quite certain that my opinion alone was the cause of the continuance of the war in the Peninsula. My letters show that I encouraged, nay forced, the Government to persevere in it. The successes of the operations of the army supported them in power. But it is not true that they did not, in every way in their power as individuals, as Ministers, and as a Government, support me.’\*

One of the discussions in the ‘Miscellanies’ relates to the Blue and Buff; and the question, ‘Why were these the Whig colours?’ is asked by Lord Stanhope in vain.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, speaking of the year 1781, says that Mr. Fox in the House of Commons constantly wore a blue frock coat and a buff waistcoat. ‘Nor ought it to be forgotten,’ says Sir Nathaniel, ‘that these colours then constituted the distinguishing badge or uniform of the American insurgents.’

The first witness examined by Lord Stanhope was a very old and steady member of the Whig party, too stanch to trouble himself about reasons—Sir Robert Adair. Sir Robert

‘had worn the colours for years, but never knew why, except that they were worn by Mr. Fox, but had heard that they were the colours of General Washington’s regiment. He had also heard from some of the philosophical Whigs, who find a reason for everything, that the colours were emblematical of the Revolution of 1688. The Blue, he said, was the old Tory true blue; the Buff was a descendant of

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\* ‘Miscellanies,’ pp. 82-86.

Dutch Orange of King William, but by degrees the Orange became Yellow, as harmonising better with the Blue. 'You see,' he continues, 'how fanciful all this is. In the mean time habit goes its course; and here I am, at the end of so many years, to the great annoyance of my valet de chambre, with nothing else in my wardrobe for him when I die.'

Lord Sidney Osborne had heard from the late Earl of Chichester that blue and buff were the colours of the Goodwood Hunt of that day, and were very naturally adopted by the political followers of the Duke of Richmond, and still more so by his nephew, Charles Fox.

Lord Macaulay was inclined to think the selection of these colours fortuitous; that is, that Mr. Fox having, without any particular motive or design, commonly attired himself in a blue coat and buff waistcoat, these colours became the fashion among his followers, merely from attachment to him.

Mr. Jared Sparks writes from Cambridge, Massachusetts: 'It has always been understood here that the American uniform, buff and blue, was adopted from the Whig costume or badges, previously used in England or Scotland.'

Thus far Lord Stanhope and his correspondents. Leaving it to the Whigs to account for their colours and their opinions,—if they can,—we may be permitted to refer to a passage from Sir Walter Scott's notes to the ballad called 'The Battle of Bothwell Bridge,' in the 'Border Minstrelsy,' from which it would appear that the blue was not, as Sir Robert Adair supposed, a Tory colour:—

'Then he set up the flag of red,  
A' set about in bonny blue.'

'Blue was the favourite colour of the Covenanters: hence the vulgar phrase of a true blue Whig. Spalding informs us that when the first army of Covenanters entered Aberdeen, few or none "wanted [*i. e.* were without] a blue ribband; the Lord Gordon and some others of the Marquis [of Huntley's] family had a ribband, when they were dwelling in the town, of a red fresh colour, which they wore in their hats, and called it the *royal ribband*, as a sign of their love and loyalty to the King. In despite and derision thereof, the blue ribband was worn, and called the *Covenanters' ribband*, by the hail [whole] soldiers of the army, who would not hear of the royal ribband, such was their pride and malice." After the departure of this first army, the town was occupied by the barons of the royal party, and they were once more expelled by the Covenanters, who plundered the burgh and country adjacent. "No fowl, cock, or hen (says Spalding) left unkilld, the hail house dogs, messens (*i. e.* lapdogs), and whelps within Aberdeen killed upon the streets; so that neither hound, messen, nor other dog was left alive that they could see. The reason was this: when the first

first army came here, ilk captain and soldier had a blue ribband at his craig [neck]; in despite and derision whereof, when they remo from Aberdeen, some women of Aberdeen, as was alleged, knit 1 ribbands about their messens' craigs, whereat their soldiers t offence, and killed their dogs for this very cause."

Whatever may be thought of Sir Robert Walpole's scho ship, we ought not to forget that his biographer Archdeacon C assures us that his character at Eton was that of an excel scholar, and also that he subsequently passed two years at Kii College, Cambridge, being at the time a younger son, inten for Orders. We have often had occasion to refer to the fact th large proportion of our most distinguished public men have b men of high literary cultivation; and attached especially to literature of the ancient world, from which the northern m can best derive and assimilate high thought and fit diction.¶ I find Lord Stanhope calling into council, on the subject of Hui Sacrifice among the Romans, not a conclave of College dons, Peel and Macaulay, whose minds are accordingly applicd the subject, each according to the laws of its own natu Turning to another recent work,† we find Henry Brougham 1812, on the eve of his great contest for Liverpool, in the m of the severest struggles in law and politics, minutely supe tending Leigh. Hunt's translation of the 'Ode to Pyrrha,' suggesting fresh delicacies for his version of 'Acme and S timius.' Thus, also, Mr. Gladstone has evinced in every poss way his abiding attachment 'to ancient literature; and we b had occasion to notice Lord Derby's very similar tastes, of wh indeed we hear—but have no personal knowledge of the fac that he has recently given additional proofs. Sir George Lew familiarity with antiquity is as well known as his indefatiga industry in the discharge of his official duties; and his j foundly learned elucidation of the Calabrian Inscription, submit to him by his friend Baron Munchausen, has placed him t among the recoverers of lost tongues. Earl Russell, it is cert once produced a tragedy ‡—and a very sad one; also a nov which was still sadder. Lord Palmerston had credit for sev excellent *jeux d'esprit*, which appeared in the 'New Whig Gui when Lord Liverpool was Minister; and among others for well-known lines:—

'For a very small man with the Tories  
Is a very great man with the Whigs.'

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\* 'Miscellanies,' p. 112.

† 'Correspondence of Leigh Hunt.' London, 1862.

‡ 'Don Carlos.'

§ 'The Nun of Arrouca.'

since he became the New Whig Guide himself, we have heard of his pursuing this vein of pleasantry. We wish we had room for a pretty valentine, addressed by Lord Macaulay to Lord Stanhope's youthful daughter. But we have already crowded too largely from the volume before us, although we are behind many papers of the highest interest. Fox, Pitt, and Canning, as well as Macaulay, were authors of charades still extant. We will conclude this desultory paper with an anagram, by the great Lord Chatham, printed from the papers of Chevening, the solution of which we will leave to our readers:—

'To discover the name that my verse would express,  
A letter you'll first from the alphabet guess;  
Which letter by this may be easily known—  
Its shape is the very reverse of your own.  
Say next, if a fair one too rashly exposes  
A beauteous complexion of lilies and roses,  
What the beams of the sun will infallibly do  
To deaden their lustre and sully their hue.  
Add to these, what induces the amorous swain  
To persist in his vows, though received with disdain;  
What comforts the wretch whom his fortunes oppress,  
And arms him with courage to bear his distress.  
These join'd all together will make up the name  
Of a family known in the annals of fame:  
'Tis the name of a Countess, whose portrait in vain  
My Muse would attempt in so humble a strain.  
Should I say she's the fairest of all the fair sex,  
Your judgment it only would serve to perplex:  
For, though known and acknowledged by all to be true,  
Your manners bespeak it a secret to you.' \*

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ART. IX. — *Speeches of Mr. Cobden, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Disraeli, on the Last Night of the Session, August 1, 1862.* Hansard. London, 1862.

FOUR years are in these days a long interval to political observers. History is made rapidly in our time, and it requires a strong effort to carry back the memory to a period so removed from us, if not by the lapse of time, at least by the current of events. If we measured time by the changes that it brings, a whole generation might in that interval have passed

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\* 'Miscellanies,' p. 93.

away. Compare the Italy, the America, the Greece of the present day with those countries as they existed at the commencement of 1859, and we shall be able to estimate the speed at which the history of the world has been progressing. In that short space of time the critical moments of their destiny have passed for the three of the chief factors in the calculations of politicians. It has been no ordinary epoch that in so brief an interval has struck with a fatal blow the young Democracy, the aged Papacy, and the worn-out empire of Islam.

It is, however, upon our own affairs, and on those of other nations only as they concern ourselves, that we are at present concerned to dwell. Happily for us, we manufacture a very uneventful kind of history. Our annals can present no incidents so exciting as the revolutions with which those of other countries have been adorned. But yet, in our own mild way, it has been an eventful period for us. It has been a critical interval for England, so far as the word crisis can be fitly applied to the even tenor of her history. The period in which the Reform delusion has been dissipated is one which future students of our time will examine with curious interest. No great event has marked the turning-point; but a more momentous change in the history of opinion has seldom taken place. Four years ago Mr. Bright was still a power in the State. It was still a matter of orthodox belief that Reform was inevitable, and that even that Reform would be only temporary. Whether they feared it or hoped it, nobody disputed that a constant degradation of the suffrage was to be the inexorable law of our growth; and that as time went on, it would be, not our choice, but our necessity, to consign our national interests more and more to the guidance of the most ignorant amongst us, and to submit at each change to be taxed more and more according to the discretion and at the pleasure of the classes who habitually stand upon the brink of want.

All this dismal prospect has passed away like a summer thunder-cloud. Our statesmen have awoken to the fact that the imagined Reform agitation was nothing but an intrigue among themselves, and that the nation was far too sensible to desire any further approximation to the government of the multitude. Reform is no longer talked of now. Mr. Bright has almost ceased even to excite antipathy; and the general remodelling of all our most valued institutions, which was taken in hand some years ago, has been summarily checked. One relic alone remains of the great Reform delusion. The Ministry that it produced survived its fall, and still retain their offices. Just when it was

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at its height, a practised political tactician took advantage of it to oust his opponents, and seat himself in power. He failed, indeed, to obtain the first place; for he was forced to admit to his councils a cleverer manœuvrer than himself, to whose share the chief spoil of the struggle fell. He came, however, into office pledged to do that which he had ejected his opponents for not doing—namely, to admit to the franchise a lower class of voters in the boroughs. That pledge he never fulfilled. He introduced a measure purporting to redeem it; but that measure, though never defeated in a division, was spontaneously withdrawn. Yet, though guilty of precisely the same fault—so he professed to consider it—for which he procured the dismissal of his opponents, he has continued to hold office up to the present moment. In short, he obtained office upon one pretence, and holds it upon another. It is not the first or the second time in his life that Lord Russell has enjoyed office by the help of this questionable device. In 1835 he ejected Sir Robert Peel, for resisting an Appropriation clause; and he then continued to hold office long after he had ceased from all attempts to pass it himself. In 1846 he ejected Sir Robert Peel, for proposing a Coercion Act; and the very next year proposed one as Prime Minister himself. Yet, though the feat is not a novel one, it is sufficiently remarkable to be worth more attentive study. It would seem to argue no common ingenuity to be able to obtain a continuance of support from a majority that knows it has been deluded. In the two former cases Lord Russell appears to have achieved this triumph of statesmanship by his own unaided genius. But the more remarkable and arduous performance of the last four years seems to be due, in the main, to the finer manipulation of an astuter colleague and chief. Lord Palmerston's management of the Reform question is a perfect study of that lower kind of statesmanship which is held to be necessary for the government of the House of Commons.

Before 1858, he had treated it as a mere plaything. He had often talked of a Reform Bill; but he had never seriously entertained the idea of bringing one in. Not only did he neglect the question, but he ridiculed and flouted those who urged it on. But his sudden fall from the enormous power that the China dissolution had given him, taught him that in the then temper of parties and party leaders in the House of Commons, the Reformers could no longer be safely defied. He felt that he had fallen from his high estate because he had refused to conciliate them. His tastes, his training, his instinctive perception of the nation's real wishes, led him to withstand them as long as he was able. He  
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foiled them upon the China vote, when they believed him to be overthrown, by a dexterous appeal to the nation. But they were too much for him in the long run. Their aim was steady, and their tactics were unscrupulous: and in modern times those who start without principles to fetter them have an enormous advantage over everybody else. They were perfectly indifferent whom they used for tools, or what cry they professed to echo, so long as they succeeded in teaching Lord Palmerston that his official existence depended upon them. The War Amendment to the Conspiracy Bill, proposed by the Peace party in the persons of Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. Bright, was one of the boldest sacrifices of principle to the convenience of the moment that our political history records. But Lord Palmerston learnt his lesson and laid it to heart. That division taught him that two things were essential to a continued tenure of office. One of them was an infusion of Peelites into his Ministry, and the other was an infusion of Radicalism into his policy.

Fate ordained that he should have fifteen months' leisure in the repose of Opposition to meditate upon these salutary truths. He has never been deaf to the teachings of experience, or slow to learn the sweet uses of adversity. During those fifteen months he reviewed his past life, and repented him of his former obstinacy: and when the new Parliament assembled in June, 1859, it found him in a better and softer frame of mind. He was quite prepared to yield all that was demanded of him by the supporters whose rebellion had brought his former government to the ground. Accordingly, at the celebrated meeting in Willis's Rooms, the bargain between the reconciled sections was struck. That part of the compact which involved a new distribution of offices was easily performed. The Peelites, who had joined the Liberal party at the time of the Coalition of 1853, were for the most part powerful speakers and men of great administrative ability. Perhaps Lord Palmerston went beyond the necessities of his bargain when he included Mr. Gladstone in the number: inasmuch as Mr. Gladstone had voted against him in the division which unseated Lord Derby's Administration. No doubt, the thundering eloquence of those speeches in which Mr. Gladstone had denounced the continuance of the Income-tax and the prosecution of hostilities in China still rang in his ears. But if he has been guilty of any excess of liberality, or of precaution, he has since paid an ample penalty in the trouble of managing his gifted but erratic colleague.

One section of his assailants were thus easily disposed of. But the others were more difficult to satisfy. The great obstacle to any

any negotiation between them was, that they were sincere Radicals, and that Lord Palmerston was, in heart, a tolerably sincere Conservative. He was fully resolved that, if he could possibly avoid it, they should not have Reform: but Reform was the thing above all others that they desired. It was for Reform that Mr. Bright had expended so much labour in starring it through the provinces. Reform had been part of the Whig programme for nearly ten years past, and was the stock-promise of every Whig candidate on the hustings. And above all, it was for lack of sufficiently Reforming tendencies, and for no other reason, that Lord Derby's Government had been overthrown. The situation was very awkward. To have obtained a majority by promises which, as the issue proved, he was well inclined to creep through if he could,—to have lured back the allegiance of discontented followers by hopes which in his secret heart he trusted would prove untrue,—and to have to tide over, with the help of a bare majority, the trying moment of disenchantment,—was a difficulty that might well have baffled a less astute strategist. But Lord Palmerston took his measures with his usual sagacity and decision. If it was impossible to give the Radicals that which they desired in the first instance, it might be possible to satisfy them upon secondary points, and so to silence their complaints. There are two points upon which Lord Palmerston entertains a very sincere belief—the danger of invasion and the danger of democracy. He was resolved not to give way in these two points to any pressure that might be put upon him; but he was perfectly willing to sacrifice to the necessities of office any other portion of his policy. These two main points secured, neither the opinions of his colleagues nor the past features of his own policy were to be any bar to concession.

The Radicals, whom it was his task to pacify, may be divided into three classes. There are the Commercial Radicals, the Religious Radicals, and the Sentimental Radicals. They all sympathise to a certain extent with each other, and steadily stand by each other in political action; but the prominent characteristics of their own particular policy differ in each class. Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden are the heads and representatives of the Commercial or Cotton Radicals,—the Manchester School, as they used to be called, in recognition of a supposed sympathy of opinions which Manchester has since pointedly disclaimed. Their objects are not of a very exalted and high-spirited character; but they make up in clearness of definition for whatever they may lack of elevation. Their object is, that every interest and every national aim should be made to bend to the mere further-

ance of trade. They prefer Republicanism to Royalty, because they choose to believe that Republicanism is cheaper; and by lowering the burden of taxation would lower the price of the labor they employ. They desire that all taxation should be levied from fixed property alone; so that trade, divested of every burden might push itself into every district of the earth; and the taxes which are necessary to assure its security at home and abroad should be very comfortably defrayed by those who only derive a very secondary benefit from its operations. They desire to abolish captures at sea, and commercial blockades, in order that trade may be free in time of war as well as of peace; and they are reckless of the result, that England's maritime power would be annihilated by the change. It is only with the hope that some part at least of this programme may be carried out that they desire Parliamentary Reform. By deposing the land from its present share in the government of the country they hope to obtain a ruling class that shall be more blindly devoted to the narrowest interests of commerce. They do not, however, form the rank and file of the Radical party. They furnish its intellectual leaders; but their number is limited. The other two classes are more numerous. The Dissenting Radicals are, of course, merely Radicals because of the existence of the Established Church. They generally form the least intellectual portion of the party. Indeed, a man can hardly rise to any eminence without freeing himself more or less from their trammels. Mr. Bright, from mere habit, speaks the language of their school but it is evident that his heart is set on very different articles of the Radical creed. Though they are weak in talent, they are strong in fanaticism and numbers. Even in the House of Commons they are far the heartiest believers in the votes they give. Their political ambition is seldom directed towards office; and therefore their very invulnerability to ordinary bribes makes them powerful with the Minister they support. Outside the House of Commons they form the main strength and stay of the Radical organisation. In every constituency they furnish the nucleus of a Radical party, and their ministers are habitually the most active Radical agitators. By the side of these two parties stand the Sentimental Radicals. Mr. Stansfield is eminently the exponent of their views. They present a type wholly different from the other two. Their views are founded upon no local or personal grievances. They do not care much about the Established Church, or any other kind of church; nor are they much disturbed by a preference for direct over indirect taxation. They look forward to no millennium of universal peace. On the contrary,

contrary, they are probably more inclined for a spirited policy than their Conservative opponents. They are the truest Radicals; for they are Radical not by accident, but on principle. They are the only English Radicals who entertain a sympathy for the 'party of action' abroad. They are democratic from their admiration of a theoretic ideal. They are the only representatives of Rousseau's numerous progeny we can show on English soil. They are great at declamation rather than argument, and impulsive rather than zealous. They have none of the narrow fanaticism, nor, on the other hand, any of the steady singleness of purpose, that distinguishes the other two classes. They have no clear and definite object to attain, and only profess a vague desire to extend here and everywhere the power of the people. But their sympathies are chiefly foreign; for they like to gaze at the triumph of republicanism abroad better than to risk a shock to their sensibilities by braving its rude touch at home. Their desire for a Reform Bill is sincere, but comparatively lukewarm. No domestic change, however large, gratifies them half so thoroughly as a revolution in some monarchy abroad.

Such was and is the composition of the party whose wavering allegiance Lord Palmerston had secured by liberal promises of Reform, and who, on that understanding, followed him into the Lobby in the beginning of June, 1859. Their numbers were abundantly sufficient to turn the scale, and Lord Palmerston, strong in their support, entered upon the full enjoyment of the sweets of office. But there remained the 'amari aliquid' in the fountain of all his pleasures—there remained the pledges by virtue of which he had won. The mercenaries he had hired must be paid—the question was, in what coin?

To a person who forgot Lord Palmerston's Reform embarrassments, his conduct towards his Radical supporters during the last four years would be an inexplicable puzzle. It has been more like the conduct of a flighty wife to a husband whom she both dreaded and detested, than the course of an experienced statesman. At times—when he had anything to get—nothing could be more devoted than his behaviour. He would abandon his pledges in favour of an eight-pound Reform Bill; he would take Mr. Cobden into his Cabinet; he would appoint him England's special envoy to the first Court in Europe; he would humiliate the House of Lords; he would enable Mr. Bright to make his cheap newspapers pay;—he would do anything if only he could conciliate the confidence of his 'honourable friends' below the gangway. At other times he would heap scorn upon them as if they were his bitterest antagonists—taking pleasure in

wounding their peculiar susceptibilities, ostentatiously professing the opinions they most disliked, and pouring the most sovereign contempt upon Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright, and the Commercial Treaty with France. It was strange to see his instinctive feelings overcome all the dictates of prudence in so veteran a statesman. But he cannot treat them with the calmness which he would show to an antagonist whom he met on equal terms. He cannot forget the fatal covenant which binds him to opinions from which his convictions utterly revolt. He feels to them as a debtor feels towards a creditor whom he knows that he never can pay off. He has mortgaged to them his tenure of office; and though he has been able to put them off from time to time by smaller concessions in financial, or ecclesiastical, or diplomatic questions, he knows that the list of these cannot be prolonged for ever, and that the time must soon come when his pitiless creditors will foreclose.

The greater part of the policy of his Administration, inconsistent and vacillating as it has been, is yet traceable in general to the one persistent effort to find an acceptable substitute for Reform.

The Church was the first victim offered up. She is always the first to suffer on occasions of this kind. She is the standing substitute for the institutions that have been doomed at the hustings, but which the Reformer hesitates to strike in the House of Commons; and in that capacity she has rendered services to the Liberal party, both individually and collectively, for which they are shamefully ungrateful. She is the constant resource of Liberal Ministers who are in want of a policy, and Liberal Members who are at a loss for a pledge. The last fifteen years have been trying times for a large section of politicians, who by early pledges or family connexion are Reformers, but whose convictions have been unable to resist the Conservative teaching of the events which our generation has witnessed. Their opinions are moderate, their value for English institutions is high, and their stake in the country too great to allow them to lend a willing countenance to projects of destructive change. But unfortunately they depend upon constituencies who have been trained from their youth up to shout for certain Shibboleths, and will shout them lustily to the end. In the upper strata of the political world great changes have been going on. The course of events has shifted the dividing line of opinions, so that it no longer coincides with the division of parties. Many of the changes for which the Liberals formerly struggled have been carried; and those changes have become incorporated into the political

political system which it is the function of Conservatives to defend. So long as the great institutions which are essential to our form of Government are preserved, Conservatives are bound by their own principles to uphold as laws, alterations which, as projects, they opposed. The wiser Liberal statesmen, on the other hand, have become satisfied, by the result of partial experiment, that further organic change is inexpedient: they are therefore content to rest from their career of innovation, and repose on the laurels they have already won. By virtue of no inconsistency on either side, but by the natural influence of events, the opinions of both the great historic parties have approximated so closely that the dividing line between them is all but imaginary. But of all this the ten-pounder of a large town is absolutely innocent. He has been brought up to poll for Whig candidates to the cry of 'vote by ballot, and household suffrage,' and he is wholly at a loss to understand why his zealous profession of faith is less encouragingly received by his superiors than it used to be. The reasons which convinced him and his neighbours that Radicalism is the creed for them are as cogent as ever they were before. It commends itself still to his class interests and sympathies. He has been taught by agitators in stormier times to look on politics as a war maintained by his class against the upper class; and he still clamours to his leaders to procure him reinforcements from among the unenfranchised masses who live around him. His views of politics are not sentimental. Something that will lessen the burden of rates and taxes under which he labours, and something that will level the social inequalities that gall him, are the objects which furnish the motive power of his political zeal. The evils which he hears ascribed to democracy do not trouble him very much. If it does unsettle the security of property, he has more to gain than to lose; and if it does paralyze the machine of Government, he hopes it may possibly paralyze the tax-gatherer as well. But this is not the spirit that animates the moderate Whig who seeks his suffrages, and who 'for the sake of uniting the Liberal party' has been accepted by his local leaders. The candidate looks at the whole question from a very different point of view. He has no great desire for any financial changes that shall add largely to the taxation of fixed property; and, belonging to an ancient aristocratic house, he is in no way galled by the existence of social inequalities. He does not contemplate with the same calmness the possibility of any democratic tampering with the laws of property; and a popular triumph that should exclude the old Whig houses from political power, is not at all the kind  
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of popular triumph he desires. Under these circumstances he has no wish to furnish his tenpounder friend with reinforcements from among the unenfranchised masses. This unfortunate divergence of opinion between the Liberal candidate and the Liberal electors does not furnish a favourable point of departure for a successful canvass. But something clearly must be done, or a Conservative will get in; for the Conservatives, whatever their difficulties, have the advantage of being a good deal more homogeneous in their opinions. What is to be done?

The Church furnishes the escape from the difficulty. If there were no Established Church, the Old Whigs would disappear from the face of the political earth. They love their party too well to be Conservatives, and their country too well to be Radicals; and the elector knows no middle term between the two. But the Established Church furnishes a whole magazine of harmless, and yet captivating pledges. The adoption of any of the Dissenting watchwords will secure at once the adhesion of the most active and best organised section of the Radicals, and at the same time will not entail any of those immediate dangers to which the fears of politicians are more acutely sensitive. In the first place it is safe to calculate that in ecclesiastical questions the House of Lords will interfere, which it has a difficulty in doing in questions either of representation or of finance. And, even if the House of Lords does not interfere, a slice may be cut out of the revenues of the Established Church, or the sharp edge of her doctrines may be subjected to the secular file, without disturbing the balance of taxation, or unsettling the rights of property. If tubs must be thrown to the whale, there are none that can be thrown so cheaply. Accordingly the candidate who fences and falters under the application of all the other conventional tests of Liberalism, delivers his Anti-Church pledges with plump, unhesitating frankness. Nor do these hustings pledges share the fate which usually awaits this fragile form of obligation. On the contrary, the opportunity of fulfilling them in the House of Commons is welcomed with alacrity. After the events of recent years, certificates of genuine Liberalism require to be occasionally exhibited, in order to reassure sceptical constituents; and there is no more certain recipe for re-varnishing a Liberal reputation that has grown a little rusty, than a good set speech against the Church.

What Whig Members have to do in a small way, Whig Ministers must imitate upon a larger scale. The Radicals of the House of Commons are not quite so hard to please as an  
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urban constituency, but then, on the other hand, they are not so easy to delude. They require more moderate promises; but then they insist upon something more nearly approximating to a performance of them. But the result is much the same. When the promised Reform Bill was not forthcoming, it was at the expense of the Church that the first substitute was found. In one respect the Whig statesmen were in a worse condition than the Whig candidate. The latter has probably had no reason to pledge himself publicly to the Church's side in any of the controversies that have arisen on ecclesiastical affairs. But the Ministers were not in this fortunate condition; and therefore the sacrifice they offered to their Radical allies was more precious and more meritorious. Upon the most important of the ecclesiastical disputes, the question of Church-rates, the leading Ministers had pledged themselves again and again to the Church's side. The speech of Lord Russell, especially, in which he refused to abandon Church-rates on the ground that he was attached to the aristocracy and to the Throne, was not easily forgiven at the time by his friends, and will not soon be forgotten by his antagonists. But it was not by a pledge more or less that the Administration were to be baulked in their great policy of buying off their Reform creditors in detail. There is an immoral proverb, devised for the benefit of hardened offenders, which reminds them that it is no worse to be hung for a sheep than for a lamb. There was the great pledge of Reform to be broken, evaded, or set at nought in some way; and to the political conscience that was robust enough for such an enterprise, former professions upon mere ecclesiastical questions were but as silken fetters. Accordingly the Ministers, who in former Governments had sided so warmly with the Church that they had thought it necessary to uphold her even against the whole body of their own supporters, now came to the resolution that the time was come to desert *en masse* to the other side. The Dissenters, misled by their own clamour, and believing their own numbers and power to be far greater than they were, imagined that the hour of their adversary was come. Secure, for the first time in their experience, of the support of the Government, and trusting to the large majorities which the apathy of Churchmen had suffered them to snatch, they resolved upon a general assault. They would no longer be satisfied with the old attack on Church-rates, but they would make a simultaneous effort upon every one of the positions which they sought to wrest from her. Sir John Trelawny, as heretofore, took her revenues under his especial charge; Mr. Dillwyn, ably seconded



seconded by Mr. Lowe, volunteered to oust her from her commanding hold of the education of the people; and Sir Morton Peto undertook to lodge a corps of Baptist preachers within the sacred edifices themselves. If this plan of the campaign should have proved successful, and the revenues, the schools, and the temples of the Church should have been simultaneously occupied by the Dissenting forces, they might have safely flattered themselves that the supreme hour of the Establishment was at hand. This prospect naturally filled them with enthusiasm, and it might have been expected that it would have filled all friends of the Established Church, among whom the Government professed to number themselves, with apprehension. There was no longer any doubt about the ultimate objects of the Nonconformist operations. The Lords' Report had been published, and the Liberation Society had made a clean breast of its designs. There was no room for questioning that the end and aim of this combined movement was to loosen that connexion between the Church and State which Lord John Russell had declared to be inseparably bound up with the existence of the aristocracy and the Throne. But when Lord John Russell uttered this remarkable sentiment, he had a large majority at his back. Such high-flown theoretic views were not for men who had a working majority, varying from nothing to fifteen. There were the inexorable Dissenters to be satisfied; there was the terrible Reform mortgage to be bought up. And so, with many protestations of devotion to the Established Church, the four leading Constitutional Whigs filed into the Dissenting lobby.

One of the most distinguished of their colleagues did not follow them. Their newest convert, and ablest orator, Mr. Gladstone, remained true to his old convictions. Another part was assigned to him in the great plan for pacifying the rajoled Reformers. Moreover, he was the representative of the University, which has ever been the chief nursery and stronghold of the English Church. It was impossible, therefore, for his colleagues to have asked, or for him to have assented to the demand that he should send his ecclesiastical convictions to the limbo to which the rest of his youthful creed has been consigned. Yet, even so, his position towards the University and the Church is strange and paradoxical enough. He behaves to the Church much as an unwilling tenant behaves to the candidate for whom his landlord forces him to vote. The 'vote and influence' for which the elector is usually canvassed, in his case are divorced. He gives his vote to one side, and exerts his influence for the other. His vote follows his necessities; his influence follows his inclinations.

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So it is with Mr. Gladstone. His single vote is usually recorded upon the Church's side. In these days of close divisions we are far from despising even a single vote. But Mr. Gladstone is in a position to give to a cause with which he really sympathizes much more than the single vote, which weighs no heavier than that of the most silent denizen of the back benches. What becomes of the influence which as a prominent political personage he exerts? To what cause are devoted his incessant labours, his most powerful speeches, and whatever personal ascendancy he possesses? To what has he, the supposed champion of the Church, sacrificed the principles he once professed, and all the associations of his earlier career? It is to the support of a Ministry more hostile to the Church than any which has sat on the Treasury Bench since Parliamentary government began. Never before, since the days of the elder Cromwell, have the servants of the Crown voted as a body for the direct spoliation of the English Church. To this Government, among all Whig Governments, has been reserved the honour of attempting an enterprise of which Walpole and Fox never dreamed, and from which Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne recoiled. And this is the Government of which, we are informed by the Radical organs, Mr. Gladstone is the brightest ornament, and the chiefest stay. It is certainly the Government which he devotes all the powers of his mind to strengthen and to uphold. But then it presented advantages to which he could not be blind. It might be hostile to the Church; but then it was very favourable to Free Trade. It might vote for the abolition of Church-rates; but then it would also vote for the abolition of 440 Customs duties. A man cannot serve two masters. The alternative was put before him whether he would devote all his influence to the defence of the Church and let the tariff alone, or simplify the tariff and abandon the Church; and he has made his choice accordingly. And thus it has come to pass that the University of Oxford has the honour of being represented by the chief orator and main support of the most spoliating Administration our history records.

The only thing that can be urged in his justification is that the succour which his colleagues brought to their Dissenting friends was more apparent than real. They certainly brought no great accession of numbers to the cause they had joined; and they probably had a share in procuring a large reinforcement to the other side. There is no doubt that their tardy conversion curiously synchronized with the general movement among Churchmen, which has had so striking an influence in opening the eyes of the present House of Commons to Dissenting fallacies.

lacies. Few political movements have been so well organized, so rapid in their operation, or so decisive in their results, as that by which the Archdeacons checkmated Sir John Trelawny. In the presence of the aroused and excited Churchmen, the adhesion of the Government was a very valueless present to the Dissenters.

In one way, however, the Government have been able to do them material service. In the House of Commons their power is very limited, but in their own departments they are, of course, supreme. Within the walls of the Privy Council Office the war against the Church has been waged with no inconsiderable success. It has been carried on with all the strategic ability which distinguishes Mr. Lowe. A portion of his operations, as represented by the Revised Code, has necessarily come under the cognizance of Parliament, and to a certain extent has been foiled by Mr. Walpole; but his most dangerous measures are taken out of sight of Parliament altogether, and are never subjected to the inconvenience of public criticism. A deadlier blow can be struck at the cause of Church education than by the simple shortening of grants. To turn Church schools from Church purposes to other purposes will be a far more conspicuous triumph than can be obtained by simply starving them. This is the enterprise upon which the Vice-President is engaged. By a variety of bribes and threats he is seizing every opportunity that presents itself to drive out the Church Catechism from the regular teaching of the National schools. Whether he will succeed in these efforts or not, will depend upon the vigilance and the firmness with which he is met by the managers of Church schools. If he does succeed in persuading them to abandon that which is their first duty, and ought to be their first object, the teaching of the truth, he will have obtained a deadlier victory than any mere confiscation of Church revenues could achieve. The schools to which we now look to imbue the rising generation of the people with an affection for the Established Church, and for the message of which she is the bearer, will become agencies for proclaiming that shapeless, formless, fibreless mass of platitudes which in official cant is called 'unsectarian religion.' Two views of religion are current in the educated world just now, and are battling for the mastery. One is the theological view, which looks upon religion as a means of obtaining happiness in another world; the other is the official view, which looks upon religion as a means of keeping down the police-rates in this world. According to the one view, the best religion for the use of schools is the religion which the teacher believes to be the truth; according to the other, the best religion

religion is that from which nobody differs, and to which nobody has any objection. To procure such an article it is absolutely necessary to eliminate such Old-world absurdities as catechisms and creeds. The very idea of definite, distinctive truth is fatal to it. In fact, after everything to which everybody has a conscientious aversion has been extracted, the *caput mortuum* that is left will be found mainly to consist of those valuable moral lessons which are conveyed in the pages of an ordinary copybook. Such a mode of educating the people in religion will undoubtedly sweep away the costliness and official inconvenience of the 'denominational system.' What its effect will be upon the Church of England—upon the purity of her creed and the influence of her ministrations—is best indicated by the fact that the Dissenters are the stoutest supporters that Mr. Lowe has in the House of Commons.

Whatever other effect it may have had, the adhesion of the Government to the Dissenting cause has served its immediate purpose: it has gained the affection and the votes of those to whom it was offered. They are grateful, if not for the deed, at all events for the will. It may be that the Government has on the whole done them more harm than good, even taking into account the skilful manœuvres of Mr. Lowe. But yet they are right to be grateful, for it may be long before they find another Government so deeply embarrassed, and therefore so agreeably complaisant. Perhaps they are the more grateful that they have hitherto received little. Political gratitude has often been defined as gratitude for favours that are to come: certain it is that they are the only section of the Radicals from whose lips Reforming indignation has never drawn one bitter reproach. The Government has not been so well treated by others to whom their propitiating gifts have been both more abundant and more substantial.

With the sentimental Radicals the Government have had far fewer difficulties to meet. To conciliate them it was not necessary to abandon any former pledges, or to make any great sacrifice of conviction. The foreign policy pursued by Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell has always been much more Liberal than that which they have pursued at home; and it only needed to strain it very slightly, in order to meet the utmost requirements Mr. Stansfield himself could make. In many points of view we believe it to have been detrimental; but it was pursued at little or no expense of personal consistency. Lord Palmerston has never desired to see the principle of the party of action applied to his own country; but in compensation he  
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has always been eager to foster it within the territories of other nations. There is no doubt that Italy has been of enormous service to him in threading the maze of shoals among which the course of his Administration has lain. Whenever he ran upon a party difficulty, Italy was always at hand to help him off. By the help of that talismanic name he has weathered storms under which any other Government would have foundered. His expenditure might be extravagant; his hatred of Reform might be transparent; his policy might be certainly leading to the utter disorganisation of the Liberal party; the Radicals confessed it all with grief—but then there was Italy. And it told with more than the Radicals. In appealing to the feeling of goodwill towards Italy, Lord Palmerston touched a chord in the breasts, not only of Liberals of every degree, but of the larger number of Conservatives. The sentiment was very natural and just, and was fostered by many causes, wholly extraneous to the merits of the Italians themselves. Classical education went for something. By an intelligible, but not very defensible process of reasoning, the Italians were supposed to possess a special fitness for liberty and a special right to unity, because they inhabited the same soil as that which had been inhabited by a certain number of accomplished writers seventeen or eighteen centuries ago. The art and literature of more modern times went for something also. All connoisseurs of Italian painting and all the admirers of Italian poetry felt themselves bound to be enthusiastic for the political enfranchisement of the Italians of the present day. The polemical motive was naturally more powerful still. The iron of the Papal rule entered deep into the English soul; and the scar that it left bleeds still. In any matter in which the Pope is concerned, the English lose the calmness of judgment which ordinarily characterises them, and become as passionate and impulsive as any people of the South. Combined with these motives, which were more creditable to the feelings than to the logical power of those whom they inspired, there were others of a more legitimate character. The contrast between the old despotism and the new constitutional government was very great. The barbarities of King Ferdinand of Naples, if they did not exceed the barbarities which other despots have committed elsewhere, and are even now committing in the United States of America, had at least had the good fortune to secure a sacred bard of singular power to hand down their evil memory to other times. Mr. Gladstone's eloquent recitals of the horrors which he witnessed, and of which he had heard, came upon the English people at a time when they were yet unhardened

unhardened by war; and left a deep-seated germ of indignation against the Austrian viceroys who then filled the Italian thrones. Accustomed as we have been for the last five years to tales of human suffering from East and West, they would not now move us much. The case of the little Mortara, which filled up to overflowing the wrath that had been accumulating against the Italian Governments, may possibly seem to future historians to have attracted more attention than its intrinsic importance deserved. But no one who knew the character of the English people could have doubted of the outburst of indignation which such a tale would provoke. It enlisted the two strongest forces in English society—all its Protestant earnestness and all its family affection—upon the side of the Italian patriots. To all these revolting stories, the Government of the Piedmontese presented an unmistakable contrast. It might be prodigal of money, and lavish in imposing taxes. It might be fastening round the neck of the people the yoke of the terrible conscription, of which they had hitherto been happily ignorant. It might be reckless of treaty obligations in its foreign policy, and rather too mindful of the gratitude which it owed to the Emperor of the French. But its internal administration, in the north of Italy at least, was mild and just, and presented no such individual cases of oppression as those of Poerio and Mortara. For the sake of this great merit and of the orderly freedom which the Italian Parliament has been successfully working out, men were willing to forget all pettier defects. The enormous changes which have followed each other so rapidly in Italy have naturally been very pleasing *rerum novarum cupidis*. But sympathy with the Italian movement has in no way been limited to them. Even the stern Conservatives of Essex, who are wont to cast out all change as in its nature evil, have hailed with cordial acclamations the return of freedom to Italy.

In this feeling the "Quarterly Review" has always fully joined. But a desire for the happiness of Italy is by no means synonymous with an approval of the means which the Government have taken to secure it. To represent the adversaries of Palmerston and the enemies of Italy as convertible terms, has long been a favourite device with ministerial advocates. But the public in general are beginning to awake to the fallacy of that identification. It is impossible for the most hearty partisan to ignore the fact that the tide of enthusiasm flows more slackly than it did. There is a vague feeling that all is not so easy as it was represented to be. The idea of Italian unity is as beautiful as ever; but there are some stubborn, unmanageable obstacles

obstacles lying across the path that leads to it. The chief of them is that the Catholic world cannot be persuaded to surrender Rome to the government which now rules from Turin. It seems hard upon the Roman people that it should be so, if they are really as anxious to change their allegiance as they are confidently averred to be. But the fact, whatever colour we may put upon it, is a fact of the most stubborn kind. The result is that the Italian revolution, arrested in mid course, possessing neither the traditions which prop up an ancient political structure, nor the success which gives security to a new one, is at present in a most precarious position. The government of Turin is assailed on all sides by dangers which nothing but an amicable arrangement with the Pope can stem. The priests are persistently hostile to it, and if it were to fall would openly rejoice. Since Aspromonte, the party of action to which it owes its conquests have ceased to trust it. Though it is not quite clear what government it is that the rural districts of Southern Italy desire, it is abundantly manifest that they do not desire to be governed from Turin. The Emperor of Austria is becoming stronger every year, and more competent to hold Venetia against all comers; and the Emperor of the French appears to have definitely made up his mind, after many months of wavering, that during his lifetime at least Rome shall not become the capital of United Italy. On every side are dangers, and on no side is there any consoling ray of light. If the enemies of Italy do no more than stand still, they have it in their power to end her revolution, as most other successful revolutions have ended, in disorder worse than the tyranny it shook off. It has become equally impossible to conciliate the Pope, or to overbear him; and without one or the other it is impossible to obtain that crowning triumph for the revolution, which alone can justify to the Italians the enormous war taxation which all the various races are now bearing, and whose only result is to have widened the dominions of the Piedmontese and established the supremacy of Turin.

Who is to blame that so fair an enterprise should have been brought to so perilous a pass? It is clear that the fountain of all the difficulties which threaten to overwhelm the Italian Government, is the impossibility of an agreement between it and the Court of Rome. We cannot assume as a certainty that under any circumstances such an agreement would have been attainable. But, considering the events which marked the opening years of Pio Nono's Pontificate, it would be hardly fair to conclude that his disposition was hopelessly illiberal. There would have been great difficulties in the way, which the diplomats

matists of Turin might, or might not, have been able to surmount. But if these difficulties, already grave, were aggravated by needless elements of irritation, it was clear from the first that they must certainly have become insuperable. Supposing, for instance, that the desire for unity cherished by a certain number of Italians had been favoured by the ceaseless efforts of some foreign diplomatist, of authority in revolutionary movements, so that it became an intense and uncontrollable passion, it is evident that in such a case the Italians would have been far less disposed to a compromise or accommodation, than if the foreign power had never interfered. On the other hand, suppose that intrusive power to be heretical in the Pope's eyes, his natural enemy, interested, for the purposes of its own internal government, in shortening his power; in such a case the Pope, seeing that the Italians were acting wholly under its influence and advice, would shrink naturally from any proposals they might make, as from the will of a deadly foe. He would dread their overtures of reconciliation, even though they might seem to be for his interest, even as Laocoon dreaded the fatal horse. Supposing again, that the Pope had a protector, the natural rival of the heretical power under whose advice the Italians were acting, each ever seeking in every diplomatic encounter to guard against and limit the ambition of the other. Suppose that protector to have power to soften, if he thought fit, the opposition of the Pope to the schemes of the Italians. How would he be affected by finding that the Italians were acting under his rival's advice, and carrying out his rival's schemes? Would the discovery incline him to favour the plans of the Italians? Or would he not rather be disposed to suspect that they were inspired by some interest hostile to his own? And in such a case would the interference of that heretical and rival power have tended to promote or to hinder the indispensable accommodation between the Italians and the Pope?

To question the measures of the Ministry which has so ostentatiously advertised its Italian sympathies is usually held to be treason to the Italian cause. But if any one will dismiss this presumption from his mind, and will examine the question simply from the point of view of one who desires the freedom and peace of the Italian peninsula, and as close a political union among its inhabitants as can be had, he will see fair grounds for a very different judgment. That 'moral support' concerning which there has been so much vaunting has been a deadly gift to the Italians. England's intrusive meddling has embittered every antagonism, and turned every small jealousy into a hopeless quarrel.



quarrel. It is idle to expect that the Pope should look on England as anything else than as the head of the half of Christendom which disowns him. It is ridiculous to imagine that he can see Sir James Hudson occupying in Turin a sort of Ministry *sans portefeuille*, and not look upon every proposal of the Italian Government as a masked attack from his most dangerous antagonist. It is equally impossible to suppose that Napoleon and the French people can watch England urging forward with all her energy the union of Italy *per fas et nefas*, and not suspect that a United Italy must be very much in the interest of England, and very much to the detriment of France. If the Emperor and the Pope were two powerless individuals whose objections might safely be despised, of course the policy of the English Government would have been intelligible. We do not enter into the question of its rectitude; but it could have been prosecuted with a fair probability of success. But they are not powerless. They could only be over-ridden at the risk of a quarrel with the whole Catholic world, and the master of the French army at their head. The devotion of the English people to the Italian cause does not go the length of a willingness to go to war on their behalf. The Pope, therefore, so long as he is backed by the Emperor, is arbiter absolutely and without appeal of the question whether Rome should or should not be brought into any kind of political union with the rest of Italy. It was important above all things that his natural bias against any change in the traditional position of his throne should not have been needlessly intensified. That the Emperor of the French could have been accessible to any similar causes of irritation, it might be hazardous to affirm: but that his subjects are not superior to such influences is evident from the prompt notice which he took of the Garibaldi meetings in England. And even if the Emperor be impassible, Popes, at all events, are men, and Empresses are women. An English Minister who had been a true friend of Italy, if he was not prepared to fight for her, would have taken every precaution against creating a needless prejudice against her claims in the minds of those in whose hands her destiny lay. His first care would have been to avert by absolute and genuine neutrality the suspicions which England's active interference must excite. He would not have given to the Catholics reason to imagine that the Unity of Italy was a no-Popery contrivance; he would not have allowed the French to suspect that it was an English scheme for planting a new and formidable rival upon the south-eastern frontier of France. He would have known that the truest friendship to Italy in such a crisis was to avoid making her national cause, in  
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appearance or in reality, the catspaw either of English politics or Protestant polemics. Complete abstinence from any part, however masked, in such a controversy was the truest and most effective aid that England could give to Italy.

But it is conceivable that a very different view of the case could be taken by a Minister who had political reasons for desiring that his friendship for Italy should not be put under a shiel. So sensible a course would have seemed heartless and mosaic to the fervid imaginations of the Sentimental Radicals. They seem to have had a vague belief that noisy claptrap would blow the spirit of the priests and paralyse the arm of France. Accordingly they called for a policy of defiance, and their demand was promptly granted. To Lord Palmerston their wish upon such a subject, so far as mere words went, was law. The prosperity of the Italian Peninsula might be abstractedly desirable; but the first thing necessary was that the great Liberal party should not be broken up by any inconvenient mention of Reform. The louder, therefore, they shouted defiance to France, and denunciations to the Pope, the louder he echoed their shouts. The zeal with which the Government were spurring on the Italian leaders to a full realization of the Mazzinian programme, and the antipathy with which they regarded the very existence of the Pope as a European potentate, were openly avowed in the House of Commons. Scarcely any pains was taken to conceal the joy with which they looked to the coming overthrow of Bonapartism, and the establishment of a powerful counterpoise to the influence of France upon the Mediterranean shores. The more Lord Palmerston vapoured and bullied, the more the Sentimental Radicals applauded; and the more they applauded, the more reckless became his language, and the more extreme his policy.

But this might have been very well if it had succeeded. We are great admirers of the practice of expropriating sovereigns in the name of *'cause d'utilité publique'*; but still the ends the Government had in view were not incapable of mere argumentative attainment. But it was essential even to a plausible defence that should have been attainable. Their efforts were much less than useless if the end was an impossibility. It was not only clear that the result, if not triumphant, must be partial. If Napoleon and the Pope were not to be bullied into excess, it was quite evident that the attempt to bully them would not leave them in a milder and more malleable mood. The event has proved. Each of the three parties to this contest has taken the most extreme and uncompromising line.—No. 225. T ciliatory

ciliatory view of its own interests. The Italian leaders, harked on by England, have taught their followers to be content with nothing short of the absolute and unconditional surrender of Rome. The Roman Catholic Church, goaded by the defiant language of its opponents and their open alliance with the heretics, has rushed hastily to the conclusion that her spiritual strength depends on the mere accident of a temporal position. And the French Emperor—whose subjects never fully realised the strength which a strong Italian power might give to England in a European war, until the indiscreet eagerness of England impressed it upon their minds—now finds himself forced, both by their national jealousies and by the frantic terror of the Roman Catholics, to impose a veto that cannot be disobeyed upon the aggressive projects of Turin. Such is the ultimate fruit of the ‘moral support’ which we have so liberally and so cheaply lavished upon the Italians. So far as human eye can now discern, there is no escape for them from the labyrinth into which we have led them till France shall have become feeble, or Rome shall have become pliant. No doubt a policy of bluster has its advantages. It administers a pleasant and invigorating cordial to the national self-esteem and produces for the Minister who employs it a temporary popularity which substantial victories have sometimes failed to win. But, like all human triumphs, it has its darker side. It does not impose on rulers who make their way by deeds and not by words, and it sometimes forces them in self-defence to retort phrases of menace by acts of defiance. It is not given to one dog to enjoy the pleasures that fall to the lot of Brag and the pleasures that are peculiar to Holdfast. The happy canine millennium has not yet arrived in which bark shall do the work of bite. At the close of a long life, chiefly passed in experiments in this line, Lord Palmerston is probably fully aware of this melancholy fact. But he has chosen the better part. Italy may be placed in a dilemma from which the wisdom of many statesmen and the devotion of many patriots may fail to extricate her; but Lord Palmerston has achieved the triumph of leading the Sentimental Radicals by the nose.

But these two sections, after all, are only the rank and file of discontent. Scarcely any of their special leaders in the House of Commons can make himself formidable except by his vote. Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, both of them, occasionally do the Dis-senters a good turn. They properly belong to a harder and sterner section, who well know, if any men do upon this earth, how to drive a hard bargain with those whom they employ. No one has had more experience of their capacity in this respect than the members of

of the Government. Of all the Reformers they have been the most liberally paid to forget the hopes of Willis's Rooms, and let bygone pledges be bygone; and of all they are still the most extortionate in their demands. Like a man who knows some fearful secret affecting your fortune or honour, and whose silence you have bought, each payment only confirms their consciousness of power and increases their rapacious exactions. It is in vain that Lord Palmerston has lavished on them donatives such as have never since the Lichfield House compact been paid to buy in mutinous partisans. It is in vain that he has taken one of them into the Cabinet, and would, had Mr. Cobden been willing, have taken two; or that he has given them a Chancellor of the Exchequer after their own heart, who has placed unreservedly at their disposal the small remaining Conservative influence and reputation he still, four years ago, possessed. To no purpose has the taxation of the country been recast in the moulds of their narrow philosophy and adjusted to favour their commercial undertakings. These things only stayed their appetite for the moment, and they are still asking for more. They have not, in their own estimation, yet received the full price for their connivance at the suppression of Reform, and they are loudly demanding to have the expenditure as well as the taxation remodelled according to their own ideal. Of all the bargains the insolvent Ministry have had to make in the course of their private arrangements with their Reform creditors, this has been the hardest both for the country and for themselves. It has bought the smallest conceivable quatum of support at the cost of sacrifices of which for many a year to come the English taxpayer will feel the burden.

So far as inconsistency can be said to be an inconvenience to a modern statesman, Lord Palmerston has endured it bravely for the sake of cementing the allegiance of his newly-reclaimed adherents. It is seldom that a Prime Minister has the opportunity of patronizing within the brief space of four years two diametrically opposite systems of finance. In 1857 Sir Cornewall Lewis, his then Chancellor of the Exchequer, laid down, as the foundation of a sound finance, the principle enunciated by Arthur Young, that taxes, in order to be at once light in their pressure and reliable in their yield, should be laid in small percentages on a vast variety of articles. Mr. Gladstone denounced this doctrine with immeasurable contempt at the time, but Lord Palmerston succeeded in persuading the House of Commons to accept it by a large majority. In 1860 Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister again; but he had changed his Finance Minister

and had changed his finance principles as well. The celebrated Budget of 1860 was the embodiment on an enormous scale of the doctrine which Mr. Gladstone had laid down and Lord Palmerston had defeated in 1857,—that the revenue ought to be raised by heavy taxes upon a few articles of universal consumption. Mr. Gladstone's admirers allege that his object in adopting this system was to make the revenue so insecure as to ensure a speedy reduction of the expenditure. It is difficult to believe that any statesman could have consciously lent himself to so insidious a scheme; but there is no doubt that if he had had such an end in view, he could not have selected means better fitted to attain it. Under his manipulation, the pressure of the indirect taxes has become as galling and their yield as uncertain as it could be made. Falling with enormous weight upon half-a-dozen doomed interests, and sparing altogether all the rest of the commercial community, they are naturally the source of constant discontent, and present the best possible mark for agitation. No oppression is so bitter to a man's soul as that from which his neighbour is exempt. The deficiency which his great financial changes necessarily left behind, he has supplied by nearly doubling the Income-tax; and the Income-tax, in its inquisitorial form, in its profound injustice, and in the harshness of its administration, is the most hateful tax the English people have to bear. There is no doubt that the intentions ascribed to Mr. Gladstone by his friends have triumphantly succeeded. He has made the taxation of the country, in a moment of great necessity, intolerable to those who have to bear it. The cry for a reduction of the Income-tax is one that cannot safely be disregarded. No financier has ever yet succeeded in imposing so rude and galling an instrument of taxation for so many years at such pressure, in time of peace. It is no wonder that we hear of retrenching Committees of the Cabinet and of fierce ministerial conflicts upon the subject of reduction. Whether there is room for any considerable retrenchment in the existing expenditure, is a question which few would care to answer vaguely, until they knew the particular estimate to which the pruning-knife was to be applied. But it is quite clear that there is no room for economy which did not exist a year ago. The state of the world is not so peaceable that we can afford to reduce the defences which were considered indispensable in the January of last year. Crime is not so quiescent, or the protection of life and property so perfect, that we can weaken or mutilate the organisation which has hitherto been considered necessary for its repression. We must assume that the Ministry considered their large expenditure of last year to be no more than needful; and therefore

therefore we must conclude that it is only by hard necessity that they are driven to stint it now. But that is a necessity to which, if our finances were in a sound condition, a great nation ought never to be reduced. That we find ourselves in such a melancholy plight is due to nothing else than Mr. Gladstone's showy theories of finance. If the multitude of small taxes were still in existence, which it is: Mr. Gladstone's pride to have swept away, it would be easy to distribute over them the deficit which the failure of one or two special sources of revenue has caused without relying any longer upon the present enormous rate of Income-tax; and the addition to each would be so slight that no special class would be severely injured. But that resource Mr. Gladstone has flung away. The power of particular interests in our present political condition is so great, that a very exceptional emergency would be required to enable a Minister to reimpose a tax that had once been taken off. Nor is it possible to effect any considerable increase of the few taxes that remain. They are already so large that they are with difficulty borne by the select body of victims on whom they are laid. In the case of the largest of them—the Spirit-duties—it has been ascertained by actual experiment that any further increase in the tariff will not produce any corresponding rise in the revenue. Everything is working at the highest pressure possible in time of peace. We are cut off from all help both from small taxes and from large. The small taxes are all gone; and the large taxes are already too galling by far to bear any increase of weight. We have no financial reserve on which we can fall back.

But, if report speaks true, our financial experiments have brought upon us a humiliation which the nation will feel far more keenly than any mere reduction of its defensive force. Messrs. Cobden and Bright have extorted a more permanent bribe from the necessities of a tottering Administration. It is difficult to credit, what appears to be unquestionably true, that the Cabinet have resolved to relieve the Army Estimates by abandoning the Ionian Islands. It is the golden age of economy come again with a vengeance. This year that is now opening will have to boast a financial exploit which will leave the model year, 1835, far away in the background. Such a triumph of retrenchment has not been heard of since the days of Charles II., nor will be heard of again till Mr. Gladstone's next heroic Budget renders necessary some fresh and more ignominious cession. We now know the exact value of the Paper-duties. If those duties had been retained, we should not have been reduced to the sad necessity of causing the Empire of England to recede. Mr. Gladstone has often been  
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accused of limiting the resources to which an English financier can recur in case of need. He can now boldly meet and refute that charge. He has added one to the list for the use of himself and his successors, such as none of his predecessors have dreamed of proposing. It may be presumed that Gibraltar is the next dependency marked for cession; at least Mr. Bright has done the English the favour of informing them that that possession is his next object of attack. What the people of England will think of this bold gambling with the possessions of the English Crown remains to be seen when Parliament assembles. But for the Cotton School it is a triumph which casts every former triumph into the shade. It was something to have conquered the landlords. It was no small achievement to have recast the taxation of the country to favour their own narrow class. It was a great success to have destroyed the right of search and undermined the maritime power of their country. But to have hauled down the proud English flag from a territory where it has waved for half a century—to have mortified that national ambition which has so often baulked their pedlar's policy—to have balanced in some slender degree the disruption of America by commencing the process of disintegrating the Empire of England—these are victories which may well sweeten the many failures of Democracy. That the proposed cession has been made, after Mr. Lincoln's fashion, in contemptuous forgetfulness of Parliament, and that it has been made to a Government still in the very throes of revolution, will doubtless only give it an additional relish to their tastes.

It may be doubted whether these two accompanying circumstances will tend to make the measure more acceptable to the House of Commons. That body has not hitherto been found destitute of a corporate spirit, and has always been quick to resent any real or imagined slight. Yet we should have to go back some distance in our history before we should find a parallel to the contempt with which it has been treated in this unfortunate transaction. It must of course frequently happen that important steps require to be taken in the recess. There are exigencies which will bear no delay. But no ingenuity of reasoning could bring the cession of the Ionian Islands within that category. Their continuance in their present condition of dependence upon us for a few months more would not have exercised the faintest influence upon the course of events in Europe. They are neither more nor less important than they have been at any moment during the last forty years. Their utility, like that of all fortresses, is latent in time of peace. But beyond

beyond the money that they cost, they were neither doing nor suffering any harm. No diplomatic reclamations had been raised in their behalf. No question of European interest hung upon their fate. The proposal to cede them was unprovoked by any pressing need. It might have been made just as profitably or as unprofitably in March as in December. The mode in which it has been carried out is not less remarkable than the time that was selected for it. No hint had been previously given that such a step was in the contemplation of the Ministers. When Parliament separated no man dreamed that when it met again, England's Empire would have been narrowed in the mean time, and one of the prizes that rewarded the valour of our fathers surrendered without a blow. The project was conceived suddenly, matured in secrecy and haste, and carried into effect with such rapidity that the public scarcely knew of it before it was done. And all this took place but six weeks before the meeting of the Parliament in which the cession would have been discussed, sifted, and probably condemned, before the fatal act was irrecoverably sealed. It is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that this indecent haste was the result of a foregone determination to escape from the discussion of the House of Commons. The Ministers flatter themselves that they shall be able to take advantage of their own wrong, and escape from censure by pleading that the cession, which they have purposely hurried on, is now irrevocably complete.

If anything could enhance the indecency of this attempt to oust the House of Commons of its right to criticise and to check the acts of the Executive, it is the motive from which this cession is alleged to spring. It is entirely an affair of estimates. The whole object is to save the keep of the garrison of Corfu. Surely this, if anything, was a matter for the consideration of the House of Commons. We have heard a good deal of recent years concerning the exclusive financial jurisdiction possessed by the Lower House. It has been made the pretext of transactions not very creditable to modern statesmanship. Just now, however, it appears to have been conveniently forgotten. Of what use is a control over the estimates if there is no control over the policy to which the estimates are due? The House of Commons may, with the Government, think that it is cheaper to weaken the Empire by the loss of one of its most important fortresses. Or, on the other hand, they may prefer a strong Empire to a parsimonious Estimate. But it is absurd to profess that the expenditure of the Empire is in their hands, if the very territories of which the Empire consists, and for whose defence they are to provide,



provide, are to be altered at will without their consent and behind their backs. It may be said that if the House of Commons were to meddle with the cession or the acquisition of territory, it would trench on the prerogative of the Crown. Such an argument would have been in place in Tudor times. If such acts were the personal policy of the Sovereign, at least the nation would have the satisfaction of reflecting that they were done by one who had no need to prolong his tenure of office by insincere compliances, and was not compelled to make accounts square by ruinous sacrifices of territory. We certainly do not prefer the Tudor to the Parliamentary régime. But we most decidedly object to a mixture of the two. It is too much that men whose sole recommendation to the confidence of the Crown is that they are the creatures and nominees of the House of Commons should take upon them to treat that House with contempt, and, under cover of high doctrines of prerogative, force an ignominious policy on both Sovereign and Parliament. It is too much that men whose power has chiefly depended on their skill in sowing division among their opponents—who possess but a bare majority, if it is a majority at all—should assume of their own will, profiting by the absence of Parliament, to reverse the policy of fifty years, to shorten for all generations to come the power of their countrymen, and to strip the Empire of their Sovereign of one of its most important bulwarks.

The reports, apparently authentic, which have made their appearance in the newspapers touching the procedure of our Government in this matter, tax our powers of belief at many points. But the most incredible of all the facts reported is, that they have made an offer of these islands to the nondescript Government of Greece. We can only comment on such a report hypothetically. Until it is officially confirmed, we cannot finally accept the allegation that English statesmen have acted with the precipitation of mere children. In the first place it is by no means clear that the islands, if they are ceded at all, should naturally be incorporated into Greece. The language of the ruling class is not Greek, but Italian; and their race, from whatever mixture of stocks it may be derived, has probably but little in common with the blood of the ancient Hellenes. According to the strictest doctrine of nationality, therefore, it is probable that there are other claimants with a better claim than Greece; nor, according to the more reasonable doctrine of independent election, is it certain that Greece would be preferred. There are those who assert very confidently that the cry for annexation to Greece, like the cry for repeal in Ireland,

Ireland, has never been the sincere aspiration of those who shouted it the loudest, but has only been used as a convenient instrument for the furtherance of personal ambition. Nor is it certain that Greece would willingly accept the gift that we have so prodigally tendered to her. The islands are only valuable as maritime positions, and seaboard is the one possession in which Greece is rich. But this is not the main point. The strategic importance of these islands to Europe at large, is evidenced by the eagerness with which from time to time they have been contested by leaders who assuredly were not ignorant of the art of war. The difficulty of disposing of them satisfactorily, which induced the Congress of Vienna to take refuge in the device of a protectorate, is another testimony to the value which their commanding position gives them. It is evident that whenever the 'sick man' does die, and that Eastern question which statesmen have so long struggled to postpone does present itself for solution at last, the islands which have the command of the Adriatic will play no unimportant part in the eventful drama. To whom are we to consign these formidable implements of political influence if we are too poor to keep them for ourselves? Surely the least the nation can ask of the Ministers is that it shall know who are the assignees to whom, in its necessities, it has made over the pledges which, in days of a less pure economy, it promised to fulfil. But this is a question the Ministry would be incompetent to answer; they have executed a blank conveyance, and they are waiting for chance to fill in the names. The Greek Crown is at present an abstraction; the Greek Government is a Provisional Government. Who will wear the Crown, and what influence will rule the Government, is at the present moment absolutely uncertain. It may be France, or Russia, or Austria, for aught we know. It may be a Republic, with a periodical revolution, or it may be a mere anarchical mob. The future depository of supreme rule in Greece is a matter upon which no one can form even a conjecture. Like the Presidency of Mexico, it may become the prize for rival chiefs of brigands; or it may be grasped by a man who shall be worthy to aspire and to attain to the Byzantine Crown, for which Russia has schemed so long. If the Ionian Islands were to be ceded to Greece, surely it had been better to wait till there was some settled Government to receive the gift and inherit the trust which, half a century ago, united Europe confided to the hands of England. It is impossible to trace the haste and the recklessness with which this measure has been undertaken, without seeing that the only explanation of it lies in the key which we have already applied to other portions of

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of Lord Palmerston's policy. Delay might ascertain to what manner of influence the future possessor of the Ionian Islands might be exposed ; and it might enable the representatives of the nation to discuss and pronounce upon the scheme. But it would have prevented Lord Palmerston from offering a substantial token of his homage to the Cotton Radicals, by whose aid he hopes to ride the Parliamentary storm which his practised eye foresees.

Rumour naturally assigns to Mr. Gladstone the chief share in this unhappy measure. Homeric enthusiasm has prompted him to urge the reunion of so many classic spots to Greece ; and his political reason is as little capable of resisting it as of warning him against the financial fanaticism to which our present intolerable Income-tax is due. Lord Palmerston, however, has no poetical temperament, and no financial fanaticism to excuse him. He has made use of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Gladstone's theories with the specific object of appeasing those who held his dishonoured promises of Reform. His career forbids us to suppose that he was blind to the madness of giving up the Paper-duty at a moment of such extreme necessity, or to the ignominy of surrendering an English dependency in order to round off a Budget. But it was a sacrifice that could not be avoided if the alternative of Reform or Resignation was to be averted. And, looked at from that point of view, the result has hitherto done no discredit to his sagacity. No doubt he would have preferred, had it been possible, to have obtained an operator who would carry out his plan without wounding so many sensitive interests, or revealing so dark and menacing a vista of future change. But a highly poetical eloquence and a prudent temper are qualities that are rarely found together. Whatever was lacking to his subordinate in this respect, Lord Palmerston's own adroitness has as yet been abundantly sufficient to make up.

As a matter of art, nothing could be more beautiful than the elasticity with which, by the help of his own and Mr. Gladstone's reputed conflict of opinion, he has played off the Conservatives and Radicals against each other. It gave a spectator the same kind of pleasure to witness that is felt in watching a skilful and daring pilot handle his ship in a dangerous channel. The triumph of his dexterity was that he contrived to make the Radicals, out of hatred to himself, and the Conservatives, out of distrust of Mr. Gladstone, each give their support at critical moments to the Government to which both Ministers belonged. In the course of four years he has from time to time altered his method of manipulation slightly, as the ever-shifting atoms of the House of  
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Commons crystallized into novel combinations. He would present to public view sometimes the one face of his Ministry, and sometimes the other, according to the changing aspects of the political barometer. Just at first, when the Conservatives were still disorganized, and when many people were willing that the Reform agitation should be bought off at any price, the Ministry leant upon its Gladstone leg. Mr. Gladstone was put forward as the chief exponent of the policy of the Government; and the Cotton School were encouraged to talk of him as the indoor partner of the firm that was doing a roaring trade. The first result was a great success. The intoxication of Mr. Gladstone's eloquence, the noisy applause of a certain number of interested trades, and the still vivid discontent of the Conservatives that their own leaders should ever have appeared in the character of Parliamentary Reformers, all combined to procure for Mr. Gladstone's finance at its first appearance an enthusiastic reception. For a short time he was the saviour of his country, and the chief buttress of a weak Administration. Wise people held up their hands in admiration of Lord Palmerston's wonderful sagacity in securing him for a colleague. But this could not go on long. Elated by popular applause, Mr. Gladstone was rash enough to lift the curtain of his mind, and admit the world to a closer view of his secret wishes and projects. He indicated a 'progressive finance' reaching far beyond his own proposals, which should carry on indefinitely the crusade against indirect taxation which he was opening. He held out hopes of a readjusted and graduated income-tax, in which a heavy and exceptional percentage should be extracted from the wealthier class. He openly and in set terms threatened the House of Commons—assumed to be sentenced to a speedy extinction under the death-warrant of impending Reform—with the awful wrath of their more plebeian successors, if they did not reduce the proportion of indirect taxation. These hints could not fail to produce a deep effect. The popularity of Mr. Gladstone's finance declined almost as rapidly as it had risen. The project of abolishing the Paper-duty at the cost of an extra penny of income-tax barely slipped through the House of Commons, and was indignantly rejected by the House of Lords: and even without that obnoxious adjunct it was only with the extremest difficulty that the ill-advised remission was ultimately passed through. By the time that feat had been accomplished, the last remains of Mr. Gladstone's popularity had ebbed away. But the Ministry were not the weaker on that account. The only effect it had upon them was to force them to lean upon the Palmerston leg instead.

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In 1860 the Government claimed and obtained support on the ground that it was the Ministry of Gladstone, the advanced Financial Reformer. In 1861 and 1862 it has claimed and received the same support on the ground that it was the Ministry of the Conservative, the warlike, and the lavish Palmerston. One of the independent sections in the House supported the Government on the ground that it contained Gladstone, the only man who could keep the extravagant Palmerston within bounds. Another section supported it on the ground that it contained Palmerston, the only man who could clip the claws of the Revolutionary Gladstone. Thus it came to pass that each section alternately found itself walking into the lobby in company with the very Minister against whom its vote was specially levelled. And as one or other of these sections, combined with the regular adherents of the Government, were always sufficient to secure it a majority, Lord Palmerston, either in his own character or in that of Mr. Gladstone's colleague, has contrived to hold his position against all assailants.

There is no question of the extreme cleverness with which this delicate manipulation has been carried out. Many men have held high positions by their adroitness in playing a double part. The present Emperor of the French owes much of the success with which he has clung to his slippery eminence to the skill with which he has appealed to the party of action as the *Élu du peuple*, and to the party of order as the sole bulwark against Revolution. But no man has ever yet had the ingenuity to turn to the account of a Government the hatred with which its members are regarded, by associating with himself in power his own keenest adversary, and relying for his majority alternately upon his colleague's enemies and his own.

But are we content permanently to be governed by this kind of ingenuity? Is the qualification for ruling this mighty empire always to be that of being the best tight-rope dancer that can be found among our public men? It is a pleasant sight to look at while it is going on. It is impossible to refuse our admiration to the shifty and resourceful adroitness by which so many heterogeneous and adverse forces are compelled to serve one man's purposes. We like to see a good player win the trick with bad cards, whether at the whist-table or in the House of Commons. There is something exquisite in the skill with which he throws away his small Church cards at the right time, takes the Reforming lead out of his adversary's hands, and, having lured him into playing out his best Financial card, triumphantly triumphs. But the admiration with which we follow the game is  
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necessarily give way at last to reflections of a different character. So long as it is being actually played, the excitement of looking at the devices of the skilful player, and watching the ingenuity with which he eludes each succeeding peril, may make us forget the stake for which he is playing, or the nature of the cards he holds in his hand. Those cards which he shuffles so merrily, and with which he finesses so deftly, are great principles, to whose overthrow or vindication earnest men have devoted their lives, and upon which the weal or woe of millions of human beings hangs. To contemporaries it may be an admirable exhibition of skill, to have obtained office by a promise of Reform, and then never to have granted it; and yet, by the most reckless sacrifice of the Church and the Exchequer, to have continued to hold office nevertheless. It is justly rewarded by a tenure of power at least as long as the average of the administrations that have been formed since the Reform Bill. Long use has so blunted the edge of our political morality, that such a motive passes current as an ample excuse for any amount of slippery manoeuvre. We have seen so much juggling with pledges upon questions of vital moment, that it seems to us a very venial offence, if it is done to serve a party or to save a Ministry. Will posterity judge it by the same easy rule? When the future historian comes to tell how England's destiny was affected by the issue of the struggle that is now going on between our own true principles of freedom and their democratic counterfeit, in what terms will it designate the statesman who, in that tremendous issue, took the side with which in his heart he had no sympathy, for the sake of the pleasures of office?

There are many newer charges against the Ministry. Assuredly the condition to which it has brought us corresponds but poorly to the bright hopes that heralded its commencement, or the boastful eulogies that have followed its career. For the first time since the Reformation it has exhibited the confidential advisers of the English Crown as ringleaders in the enterprise of stripping the English Church of her endowments. For the first time since the dark days of 'Dunkirk House' it has alienated an English possession, in order to escape from a pecuniary embarrassment. With no O'Connell to contend against, it has brought Ireland into a state of high discontent and disaffection. Its meddlesomeness has stimulated the antagonism of parties in Italy to that point that a solution of Italian difficulties has become almost hopeless. Whatever may have been the merits of its American policy, we have obtained in that quarter simply the hatred of the North, the contempt of the South, and the ruin of  
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the staple industry of England. Of the domestic government of the Ministry it is sufficient to say that under its rule, for the first time within our generation, the chief streets of the metropolis have become unsafe at night to unarmed passengers. But these evils are light and transient compared to the injury which the present system of government inflicts upon the political morality of the country. It is a new system of corruption, less disgraceful than that of Sir Robert Walpole, because more veiled; but on that very account more dangerous, in that it can be practised by men and upon men whose personal honour is without a stain. It is no longer money that is given to purchase support, but the expressions of opinions that are not really held, and empty pledges which are carelessly uttered and recklessly flung aside. It cannot be said that the present Government are exclusively guilty of this insincerity; for it has been the vice of our political system for many years past. But they have carried it to an extent to which no former Government affords a parallel. The Reform juggle was committed with so little disguise, that nobody thought it worth while to ignore the trick that had been played. It is a case absolutely incapable of defence. The pledges that were given in the debates of 1859 *must* have been insincere. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell did not in that year pledge themselves to Reform, only in the event of there being a strong popular pressure from without. No such condition was attached: if it had been, as they knew perfectly well, they would never have secured the votes of their Radical allies. The pledge given was completely unconditional, and on that pledge the majority was furnished by which Lord Derby was turned out. It must have been insincere, or it would not have been abandoned in the succeeding year, without so much as one hostile division for an excuse. It seems a waste of time to elaborate the proof of that which was notorious and almost avowed. When poor simple-minded Mr. Cox rose in the succeeding year to ask if the pledge was to be fulfilled, and a Reform Bill about to be introduced, the question itself, and the contemptuous negative with which it was answered, were received with a shout of laughter. There is always a strong element of the ridiculous in the subsequent complaints of a dupe, especially when the device by which he was taken in was rather coarse.

We have, of course, not a word to say against the immediate result of this bold and effective plan for getting and retaining office. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that the Reform spectre is laid; it is no more than a just retribution that the task of exorcism should have fallen to those who for their own  
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personal objects originally raised the ugly apparition. What we lament is the pernicious conception of Parliamentary Government which it reveals, and the political morality which it sanctioned. The theory of the Constitution requires that power should be confided to those in whose political opinions the majority of the House of Commons coincide. The inference which dishonest politicians deduce from this theory is that, if they wish for power, they must from time to time adapt their convictions, or rather their professions, to those of the majority. Unfortunately this view of the constitutional system has ceased to be confined to dishonest politicians. Under the influence of such examples as that which the present Government are furnishing, it is becoming the accepted morality of public life. The ideal model of a Prime Minister in these days is a lightly-hung and very sensitive weathercock. His excellence is no longer held to consist in impressing his own opinions upon the House of Commons and the Nation; or, failing that, in his readiness to retire from powers which he can no longer exercise according to his own convictions. In the present day he must have a more observant eye, and a far more pliable backbone, than the stiffer statesman of an older time. In proportion as he is quick to notice every catpaw of opinion that passes over the public mind, and shifts his helm accordingly—in proportion as, by exhibiting a cleverly tessellated mosaic of contradictory opinions, he can combine the largest number of conflicting sections under his banner, in that proportion he is a successful leader, into whose promising service mercenaries will freely flock. The men who perform these ignoble duties now are old men who were trained in a very different school. But already people are beginning to look forward, and to complain that the growth which is to come after the present statesmen, when they are removed, is unpromising and scanty. With such a code of public morals, illustrated by such examples, is the result to be wondered at? Is the prevalent ideal of a successful statesman likely to be captivating to ardent and powerful minds? Is any man likely to cherish an enthusiastic ambition to become a well-greased vane? A taint of this kind intensifies itself with terrible rapidity. If honourable men, moved by some fancied public need or party duty, stoop to play the game of politics in the spirit of adventurers, the adventurers will soon have it to themselves. Talent of the highest and noblest kind is fastidious of the work it is set to do. It will not, as a general rule, devote itself to studying the sleight-of-hand of political legerdemain. If politics are once made degrading, there are numberless avocations,



tions, more honourable and less repulsive, to which the higher minds of the community will betake themselves. The moral code of our day among highly-educated men is more advanced than it was in the last century, and the profession of politics must either share in the advance or fall hopelessly behind. It may be the part of a lofty patriot to be willing, for his country's welfare, to soil his hands and peril his good fame. But this self-sacrifice cannot safely be attached as an inseparable condition of patriotic service. The low morality and humiliating requirements of political life among the Americans have excluded from its arena everything like high honour or commanding talent; and the result is being worked out before our eyes. Let us look to it in time, lest their fate become our own.

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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1.** *The Progress and Present State of British India; a Manual for General Use, based on Official Documents furnished under the authority of the Secretary of State for India.* By Montgomery Martin, Author of 'History of the British Colonies,' 'Indian Empire,' 'China,' &c. London, 1862.
- 2.** *Rural Life in Bengal, illustrative of Anglo-Indian Suburban Life; more particularly in connexion with the Planters and Peasantry; the varied Produce of the Soil; with copious Details of the Culture and Manufacture of Indigo. Letters from an Artist to his Sisters in England.* By the Author of 'Anglo-Indian Domestic Life,' &c. London, 1860.
- 3.** *Letter to Lord Stanley on the Dearth of Cotton, and the Capability of India to supply the Quantity required.* By W. F. Fergusson, Agent for the Landholders' and Commercial Association of British India. London, 1863.
- 4.** *A Letter to the Lord Stanley, M.P., &c., on the Policy of the Secretary of State for India.* By John Dickinson, F.R.A.S., &c., Chairman of the India Reform Society. London, 1863.

**I**T is impossible to regard our dominions in India from any point of view in which they do not suggest important inquiries. For the present, though not unmindful of the higher duties which are attached to our connexion with that country, nor of the social difficulties which are giving occasion to so much discussion, we propose to glance at it only in its economical aspect, and to notice some portions of the field which it affords for the profitable employment of English capital. That field is indeed a large one. When we remember that from 1853 to 1860 the export from Calcutta of sugar, jute,\* rice, and linseed had doubled; that the trade in gunny-bags was created within this period, and that now Australian wool (and American cotton, when there is any) are packed in Bengal gunny-bags; that between 1834 and 1849 the whole trade of British India doubled itself; that it again more than doubled itself in the five years from 1850 to 1856; and that the succeeding five years have added thirty millions to the

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\* A kind of hemp, and a most valuable object of commerce. Gunny-bags are made of jute, and are used to wrap up nearly every kind of merchandise.

sum: when we remember such facts as these, the vastness of the subject we have broached becomes strikingly apparent, as well as the scantiness of any account we can give of it within the limit of an article. Nor is this all: the great Central Asia trade is subject in itself. It is capable of demonstration that English woollen cloths and Indian grown tea can be sold north of the great chain of mountains at lower prices and of better quality than the produce of Russia and China, which at present alone appear in Thibetian and Tartar marts. We are not quite without means of estimating the nature and the extent of the existing trade, and many think that its course may be turned aside into a channel more conducive to our interests, and that it may also be stimulated into great activity.\*

We consider it certain that the interests of the inhabitant of India can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the judicious application of British skill and money, under a Government knowing how to rule all classes in a spirit of friendly confidence, without fear or favour—neither setting one class over another, nor setting one class against another—but keeping steadily in view the interests of India alone. Where skilful and systematic manipulation has to be combined with production, and indeed wherever firm and unremittent superintendence is required, the landholder of Hindostan is generally found wanting, and the steadier action of the European mind is required. Thus, although indigo had been from time immemorial produced and manufactured in Bengal by natives, yet, when it was thence introduced by European enterprise into the West Indies and tropical America, the result was, that Western indigo, and especially that of Guatemala, drove the produce of Bengal out of the market. After it had been for a hundred years a principal item in the export of the East India Company, they at last brought it to Europe at a loss, and then allowed it to disappear from their lists altogether, until the whole of the European supply was obtained from across the Atlantic, where the new trade had thriven in the hands of skilful Frenchmen and Spaniards. Between the years 1780 and 1790, however, the Company bethought themselves of resuscitating the indigo trade. Skilled Europeans were sent to Bengal, and within ten years the Bengal indigo was superior to all other kinds; and eventually succeeded in underselling, and indeed well nigh destroying, the Western trade. Hindustanis, keenly alive to their own interests, have all along tried to share in the profits of the revived indigo trade. There

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\* We learn that a valuable report upon this subject, by Mr. Davies, the Secretary of the Punjab Government, has been recently published in India.

never has been any secret about the processes of manufacture ; they have all the advantages of capital, and also those which flow from their rights in the land ; all appliances are within their reach : notwithstanding which, the indigo they send to market is worth from 30 to 40 per cent. less than that made by Europeans. Again, the European planters have never succeeded in any of the many attempts which they have made to replace their European assistants by natives, and the ostensible saving effected by employing native agency has always proved itself to be no real economy. Some, indeed, of the most successful of the native proprietors of indigo concerns have employed European subordinates in the actual management of them. While we are upon this subject, let us direct attention to the elegant, amusing, and instructive volume called 'Rural Life in Bengal,' which stands second in our list.

The history of the silk trade would tell us the same tale as that of the indigo trade, were farther evidence needed ; but it is notorious that the intelligent and energetic surveillance of Englishmen, when applied to such objects as these, attains results which seem beyond the reach of Hindustanis, even when the strongest motives of self-interest urge them to effort. Mr. Fergusson, in his clever pamphlet, attributes to the natives almost a mania for the adulteration of everything they produce, and he certainly states very striking facts upon this subject. Would that the English and other Christian nations could be acquitted of blame in such matters !

'It is not only with cotton that this occurs. Ask Durant, the eminent silk broker, if since the East India Company had to give up the manufacture which was entirely in their hands under European superintendence, the raw silk of Bengal has not been so lowered in quality as to be almost driven out of the market, because the natives case each skein with good silk, and fill up the interior with coarse and inferior thread. For the same cause, the silk piece goods have almost entirely lost the European market, being filled with starch and gum, instead of silk. Native manufactured indigo and lacdye are almost always mixed in the chest, the inferior being in the centre, and out of sight. The chief difficulty that the refiners of sugar have had to encounter, and which has made many abandon their works, is the fraudulent admixture with various foreign substances of the inspissated juice or goor, brought to them for sale. Linseed, poppy, and other valuable seeds, are mixed with inferior grains ; and nothing but the strong hand and power of Government, directed by European agents, ensuring prompt punishment, prevents their opium being equally adulterated. Importers of European goods will tell the same tale of adulteration. Crosse and Blackwell know that the labels of their pickles and jams are imitated and struck off in the Presidency towns, and that high prices are given for empty jars with their undamaged labels.'

labels by the native dealers. The value is well known which is put on empty China tea boxes, to be refilled with a mixture of good tea and dried leaves that have once been used. The records of the criminal courts will show how natives will spend their days and live in drilling a hole with a needle in a rupee, and extracting three half pence worth, or six to seven per cent. of silver, which is replaced with lead, in order to make it so little under weight that the fraud is not easily discovered. In fact, fraud seems to be natural, and preferred and its detection is followed by no reprobation on the part of the native public, nor is any shame evinced by the actors.

‘I mention these circumstances, not in any spirit of hostility to the natives, or in ignorance of the fact which rendered necessary the passing last session of the “Merchandise Marks Bill,” but to show that it is only by European superintendence that improvement of the quality of the cotton exported can be expected.’—*Fergusson*, pp. 15, 16

Opium is an important source of revenue to the Government but of it we shall say nothing, as its production affords no field for speculation to Europeans. Tea, coffee, and cotton naturally engage a large portion of the attention of Englishmen. In truth most of the European capital now invested in agriculture in India belongs to persons not severally possessed of large sums and not themselves able or inclined to devote their energies to such pursuits, but who, through the machinery of joint-stock companies, seek to win the profits derivable from these sources. Undoubtedly a company can manage through an agent coffee-gardens in Wynaad, indigo factories in Tirhoot, or tea-plantation in Cachar, with at least fair prospects of success; whereas it is almost certain that nothing but failure could attend an attempt to apply the same system to an estate on the banks of the Ganges or a grant of land in the highlands of Central India.

A species of tea is indigenous in the valley of Assam, and in several of the valleys of the ranges of low hills which form the eastern boundary of Bengal. It was about the year 1825 that Mr. Bruce discovered the wild tea-shrub in Assam; and many years ago, botanists in the Bengal medical service, especially Drs. Wallich, Royle, and Falconer, asserted that Nature had fitted almost the whole of the southern slopes of the Himalayas for the growth of the plant; and that practically a series of tea-gardens, whose produce would be equal to the demand of the whole world, might extend from Upper Assam to Cashmere. The cultivation was introduced by the Indian Government, often stigmatised as lazy and backward; plants, machinery, and skilled labour were imported from China, and experimental cultivation was carried on in several places for years, until the commercial community plucked up courage to undertake and carry on the business. Thus it was that tea-planting began.

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The plant now most extensively cultivated in Assam is a cross between the indigenous and some imported varieties; and we believe that the peculiarities and relative values of several such varieties are now well understood.

The first of the Assam tea companies is about twenty years old; its prosperity has encouraged similar enterprises, and both the upper and lower parts of the valley are now studded over with tea-gardens. The cultivation has likewise spread to the south, and in Cachar and Silchar plantations are now established by companies which have been called into existence by the success of the Assam planters. It is not rash to say that ground equally well adapted to the purpose may be found in abundance on the eastern frontier of Bengal, as well as in many other parts of the country; and there is reason to suppose that the cost of production can be kept down to a rate which will admit of favourable competition with the tea of China. The history of the tea plantations of Assam supplies us with undoubted and important facts, tending to illustrate the difficulties which meet the English agriculturist in India. It would not certainly be supposed *a priori* that labour forms the most serious of these difficulties. Thousands of coolies emigrate from British India—in spite, too, of the notorious dislike which all natives of that country have to enter a ship. Many districts—Lower Bengal, for instance—are most densely populous; millions of the inhabitants of such districts can barely subsist on the produce of their labour; and yet the want of labourers has, on more than one occasion, threatened the very existence of the tea-plantations of Assam, although much higher pay was offered than the Bengal kuli can gain in his village. Many expedients were tried: the planters established villages on their own grounds, giving very favourable terms to their tenants, and trusting to the landlord-influence to induce the latter ultimately to become their paid labourers. In Lower Bengal this generally succeeds—probably because the competition for land keeps its value at a point at which the tenant is obliged to seek every available means of supplementing the produce of his field by his earnings in other ways. But in Assam the villagers were easily able to pay their rents, and to secure a subsistence besides; and no inducement which the planters could offer succeeded in getting them into the tea-gardens. An agency was established similar to those which manage emigration of kulis to the Mauritius, and labourers under contract were sent up the Ganges and Bramaputra in boats. But every time the boat pulled alongside the shore, these men had an opportunity of reconsidering their agreement, with the almost irresistible temptation furnished by the knowledge that, by running away,

away, they swindled some one: many, no doubt, deserted from no other motive than that childish fickleness characteristic of all ignorant and half-savage people; but intentional misrepresentation is said to have been also at work on the part of enemies of the planters, or persons in some way interested in frustrating their endeavours or in keeping up the price of labour in Assam. Serious losses were sustained by the agencies, and the plan was for a long time but meagrely successful. Perseverance, and a courageous and patient determination to succeed, have of late greatly mitigated these difficulties; and it is, we believe, now only in the newer plantations that they are materially felt.

Meanwhile, the tea-planters did not find Assam a desert: without being thickly populated, it was by no means destitute of inhabitants. But nothing will tempt the Assamese to labour save direct necessity: when the rent cannot be paid, and the family is on the eve of being homeless, some member or members will go to the plantation, obtain the required sum as advance, and even work it out subsequently if they find it impossible to evade the fulfilment of their contract. But this source of supply is necessarily uncertain. The frightful extent to which opium is used is one great cause of the inertness of the Assamese, who begin as children to drug themselves with it. The labour difficulty is, at worst, now in a fair way of being overcome in these districts, and it will probably be overcome elsewhere by similar prudence and patience.

Both in Assam and in Cachar the newly-conferred right of purchasing land in fee simple will be received as a valuable boon. The original conditions attached to the Assam grants place the planters under an obligation to clear certain portions of the land within fixed periods, and under penalty of forfeiture of the whole. These conditions would, it is supposed, have seldom been violated, had not the supply of labour failed; and Government had already declared its intention of taking this circumstance into consideration when the time for enforcing the penalties should arrive. It is satisfactory, however, to think that the indulgence which would thus have been then accorded may now be purchased as a right.

In Assam the planters are not particularly favoured in climate. The accounts given of it would seem to show that the valley possesses some advantages over many parts of Bengal, and it has certainly not been found generally insalubrious; but the betwixt climate of the lower spurs of the Himalayas has no doubt exercised a strong influence in attracting English tea-planters to settle there, and will continue to do so.

Darjeeling has already its tea-gardens, and land for the purpose

is anxiously sought in the little territory. Success seems to attend every new undertaking, and there is reason to expect that many an English family may make these hills its permanent home.

In Kumaon, as in Assam, tea was originally introduced by the Government. The experiment was instituted, we believe, at the suggestion of the late Dr. Royle, and was carried out mainly under the superintendence of Dr. Jameson. There are now extensive plantations, and the cultivation is yearly spreading. In a late report Dr. Jameson states that from the Kalee (Gogra) in Kumaon, to the Ravee in the Punjab, tea is everywhere being planted, by natives as well as Europeans, and that he believes it will at no distant period become the great agricultural staple of that country. He also states that land well adapted to the cultivation abounds.

In Kumaon and in Darjeeling the planter resides in a beautiful country and enjoys a delightful climate; his children can grow up about him, and a few schools exist where they can be at least partially educated. The present Bishop of Calcutta has—much to his honour—made great efforts to arrange for the establishment of schools of a better class in some of these hill stations.

We are not of those who desire that a generation may grow up in India who have never seen the white cliffs of their fathers' land; but we believe that such a generation must be, nor does the prospect alarm us, principally because we believe that they will always be a minority, taking their tone from those who have had the advantages denied to themselves, and also because well-conducted schools in the hills will do much to correct the evils of a childhood and youth passed in India, and to supply the advantages now only attainable in Europe. We understand that there is already a good school at Ootacamund, on the Neilgherry Hills.

Westward from Kumaon the valley, called the Dera Dhoon, contains many tea-gardens. The valley lies between the outer spur of the Himalayas on its north side, and the Sevalie range of hills which separate it on the south from the plains of the Upper Doab: it is forty-five miles long from east to west, and more than fifteen broad. The story of English settlers or speculators in the Dera Dhoon would be instructive if we could venture to give it entire. We must, however, confine ourselves to the tea. The cultivation of this plant was first tried about 1853. Of the 430,000 acres in the valley about half was at first supposed to be suited to the plant; but we find Dr. Jameson reporting in 1861 that there seems to be no such limit to the capabilities of the soil. The first planters were, as we say,  
eminently



eminently successful, and now many plantations are in vigorous activity; but a vast extension is evidently still possible.

We shall call attention to one more tea-field. In Kangra and farther on in Kanawar, suitable land is available to great extent. In Kangra there are already 6098 acres held by tea planters, of which about 400 had been actually brought in cultivation within a year of the first beginning of the undertaking; and the fine quality of the produce of the plants experimentally cultivated at Kot Kangra, about 1851, shows that here too the natural conditions are favourable. One of the difficulties which will probably impede the advance of the cultivation here, although it can scarcely be said to have yet done so, is the jealousy of the villagers, who insist on a right which was accorded them by the last revenue settlement to certain waste lands 'common.' Much of such land is, although now covered with useless scrubby jungle, well adapted to tea cultivation: the people will not, however, sell their right to it, nor will they clear it or cultivate it themselves. Those who have had experience in the adjustment of common rights in England will say whether this is much to be wondered at. It is satisfactory to know that in the year 1862 as many as 317 natives were planting tea in Kangra on their own account.

Much has been written in India on the subject of the history and prospects of the tea-plantations. There have been over sanguine calculations, and many grievous disappointments; but we think it clear that all the failures have been due to mismanagement; and that, while associations may net from eight to twelve per cent. on their investments, individuals who manage their own plantations have the fairest prospect of large and increasing profits.

Among the agricultural staples introduced of late years in India, and to the production of which the attention of European settlers has been advantageously directed, coffee comes next after tea. In the Bengal territories, at least, it has not yet quite emerged from the experimental state, although elsewhere, and particularly in Wynaad, coffee-planting is a well-established and thriving business. There were in 1861 about 14,000 acres under coffee in that district, more than 4000 of which were in the hands of natives; and in 1856 duty was paid on 73,915 cwts. of Wynaad coffee. Like Coorg, Wynaad is a hilly district, lying between Mysore and the Malabar coast, the steep escarpments of the Ghats facing west, and the ground sloping more gradually to the east. Many parts reach a height of 4000 feet above the sea; the climate is said to be very salubrious, and the planters already form a numerous as well as a prosperous body, comprising

among their number retired officers of character, and others, whose residence in the country must have a beneficial effect. All along this range, from the Taptee south, to the Neilgherry Hills, there exists an area, vast in the aggregate, ready to furnish sites for flourishing European settlements, and farms capable of yielding ample returns for capital and energy.

The coffee-plant was tried experimentally in Coimbatore, some say, as long ago as 1830; and is supposed to have been introduced in Coorg and Wynaad some fifty years ago, by Maplas in the service of the Rajahs. These men long kept the cultivation in their own hands, by industriously spreading reports that grass which grew on, or water that flowed over, land where coffee had been planted, was poisonous to cattle; and they kept the illusion up by carefully excluding oxen and horses from their own farms. At last, however, the cultivation began to spread, but only to a very slight extent; and it was not until Englishmen took it up that it assumed any real importance. Indeed, so far from interfering with the native trade, the Europeans have greatly extended it; and the area occupied by native coffee-planters is now much larger than it was before the advent of their Western rivals.

Coffee has been within the last few years tried in the Dera Dhoon, and, although still an experiment, it is very favourably spoken of. The same remarks apply to the Hazaribagh plantations, and to some other places where the cultivation is now being attempted. Many localities will doubtless be found as well suited to the growth of the plant as Wynaad and Coorg have proved to be. The still almost unknown regions of Central India will furnish such places. The range of hills running east and west between the Nerbudda and the Taptee, and thence on towards Bengal, includes many a tract (besides Mundla, to be mentioned more fully below), where the conditions of soil and climate, varying, as they do, according to elevation above the sea and other circumstances, will be found to suit the coffee-plant.

Silk is supposed to have been introduced into India from China; at least the worm and the mulberry-tree, which furnish the present silk of commerce, are thought to have been so introduced, although several varieties, both of the grub and of the plant, are known to be indigenous. The history of the trade is somewhat curious. Up to the year 1770 the silk which had always formed an item in the imports of the East India Company was of a very inferior quality—inferior both to the produce of the Mediterranean countries and to that of China; but as it was confidently stated that inferiority was owing only to the bad system of reeling and winding, the Company determined to send out some Europeans skilled in French and Italian methods and processes,

processes, in order to improve, if possible, the character of the Indian produce. By 1775 the experiment had succeeded in so raising the character of Bengal silk in the market that it came next in price to that of North Italy and France, and the quantity exported was at the same time greatly augmented. In 1808 Napoleon cut off the supply of silk obtainable by England from the latter countries, and fresh exertions were at once made still farther to improve the quality and to increase the quantity of the Bengal silk. Up to 1830 the Government continued, by various means, to give an artificial stimulus to the Bengal silk-trade. We are not, however, told that any material success attended their efforts, nor do we believe that Bengal silk ever equalled the finest Italian and French produce. Since 1830, indeed, the silk-trade, although profitably carried on, has not expanded to any perceptible extent. We have already been told by Mr. Fergusson \* how much it has suffered from adulteration; and although the export has not in the aggregate declined, the silk of Bengal has never excluded that of China from the looms of Lahore and Mooltan; and the great mart of Umritsur still annually receives supplies from that country, as well as from Cashmere and Bengal. But it has of late been confidently asserted that the great silk-growing districts of China are unlike Bengal in every particular of soil and climate; and the belief, hitherto unquestioned, that in British India Bengal alone is suited to the worm, is stated to be erroneous. Already experiments made in the Punjab, both by Europeans and by natives, are announced as successful; and this new branch of industry is believed by many to offer excellent prospects to speculators.

Success in materially extending the area of silk production is still doubtful; but there is fortunately no question as to the possibility of growing flax and hemp in many places where they have hitherto not been produced. Many years ago Dr. Roxburgh bestowed great care on the investigation of the qualities of Indian fibres. Since his time many of the kinds which he first brought to notice have been introduced into the market, and have richly rewarded those who initiated the trade. The Crimean war, which interrupted our commercial intercourse with Russia, greatly stimulated the demand for fibres and oil-seeds. Many fibres, however, still remain unnoticed, which there is reason to suppose possess all the requisite qualities. Flax for the seed, and hemp principally for the sake of the intoxicating drug which it yields, have been long cultivated all over India; but the fibre was found to be coarse

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\* *Supra*, p. 291.

and brittle. Experiment has proved that this is partly due to ineffective preparation, partly to careless cultivation, and partly to the climate of the place where the plant may be grown. Flax and hemp of excellent fibre have been obtained from a considerable number of localities where the natural conditions favour the development of that portion of the plant which yields the desired substance; and by the application to the cultivation, and to the subsequent processes, of the care and skill which alone have secured success in Europe, excellent results have also been obtained in India. In the Punjab much attention has been paid to the subject, and in many parts of that province, as well as in Gurhwal, Kumaon, and other sub-Himalayan districts, substantial success has already attended the introduction of improvements, and the trade only awaits certain still wanting conditions to spread and establish itself widely. We may here observe that the Rhea and other species of nettle which produce the grass-cloth of China are indigenous to the Himalayas, and are now being cultivated.

It has, unfortunately, been now proved by actual experience that India is unable to meet at once the demand for cotton caused by the sudden cessation of the supply from America. From the first, no one who possessed sound information on the subject supposed it possible that anything more than a slight mitigation of the famine could be reasonably hoped for, even from the most strenuous exertions of the Eastern traders: and less has, in fact, been done than many well-informed persons had anticipated.

We shall not trouble our readers with even a short résumé of what is called the 'Cotton-question.' Suffice it to say, that the cotton manufacture of India was long ago deliberately destroyed for the sake of those of Manchester, not by the East India Company, but by the King's Government, which retained in its own hands the regulation of the duties imposed on the importation of English piece-goods into India, and took care that they should be imported duty free, or nearly so; while at the same time a series of oppressive duties was imposed on cotton cloth imported into England. On the other hand, the exportation of raw cotton from India to England has not kept pace with the requirements of the European market. The reasons why it has not done so are well known, but we cannot here reproduce them: the question which immediately concerns us in this paper is, not whether Indian cotton can ever become the staple of the Manchester spinners, but whether Englishmen in India can make the production profitable to themselves.

It is notorious that the East India Company expended large sums of money at different times on the experimental cultivation of

of cotton in various parts of their Eastern possessions. Those who would admit the results of these experiments to be evidence as to the possibility of profitably cultivating the finer varieties of cotton in British India, would do well to proceed carefully in estimating the various disturbing influences brought to bear on the progress and management of the experiments themselves. All that ever was required, in order to obtain from India the very best cotton which can be profitably grown there, was to pay for it. But somehow it was expected that the Government could work wonders; and, under the influence of an over-sanguine spirit, plans were not happily arranged. The well-digested scheme of the Governor-General was peremptorily put aside: the remonstrances offered by Mr. Prinsep and other members of Council were ignored—the offered suggestions of the Agricultural Society of India were taken no notice of—and the advice and the cautions of scientific botanists were alike treated as of no importance. A batch of practical American planters were sent out, and permitted to do as they pleased: they were liberally supplied with public money, which they ignorantly squandered, in trying to make Indian villagers work with their American tilling implements; and they were not long in realising the anticipations of all well-informed men, by utterly failing in everything they attempted.

But if we insist that the possibility of cotton being profitably *grown by Englishmen* in India is not disproved by anything that experience has recorded, we must also admit that there is little to advance in favour of the other side of the question. Further experiment is absolutely indispensable before it can be considered as determined what varieties of the plant are best suited to each soil and climate.

Mr. Landon informed the 'Colonisation Committee' of the House of Commons, in 1858, that he had cotton gins and screws set up in one of the cotton-growing districts of India. He purchased the raw cotton from the growers, discriminating between the good and bad qualities, rejecting the worst, and paying a better price for the best. He ginned this cotton, packed it in his own establishment, and shipped it on his own account. He stated that he carried on this business profitably. It is perfectly well known that there are many districts in India where such a plan would meet with a like success. With regard to the trade generally, we may here remark that the fact seems to be pretty nearly this:—Cotton obtained and prepared as above stated is of a quality suited to 75 per cent. of the demand of Manchester; that is to say, it is good enough to supply the material of three-fourths of what she manufactures. At the

same

same time those best informed on the subject believe that the remaining 25 per cent., the one-fourth part of the supply needed by Manchester, which consists of Sea-island and other fine varieties of cotton, cannot be derived from India; although it is possible that the application of European skill and capital to the processes of cultivation may in time produce results not now expected.

We have perfect confidence that India can very soon send abundance of cotton to Liverpool of the required quality, that is, a little below the standard 'middling New Orleans' of American growth, and can sell it profitably there at 5*d.* per lb. The required quantity could not be made available in a single year; but in the second, or at farthest in the third year, any possible demand could, we believe, be met; and moreover the quality could be made to rise steadily until it reaches the standard of American 'fair New Orleans.' The state of the Anglo-Indian cotton trade has rendered it hitherto impossible that any such event could take place while the system on which that trade is managed remained unreformed, and reform must begin in this case from above. The great exporting merchants are alone responsible for the present vices of that system. They may, following the example of their Manchester constituents, call on Government, as they have ere now done, to make the adulteration of cotton penal, and petition for laws forcing the ryots to grow only certain varieties of the plant, and to cultivate these only in a certain way. But in truth, if the Bombay merchants want clean cotton of a certain quality, they must cease to buy dirty cotton of inferior kinds, or must give higher prices for better kinds. It has been proved by trial that this simple expedient is alone sufficient to secure what it attempts; but to do this on a really extensive scale—that is, to an extent at all commensurate with the European demand—Englishmen must be scattered over the country, either working for themselves, or as agents for others. Within the last two years several such agencies have been established, but the field is wide indeed. That they can be made successful and remunerative has been proved by experiment; and we have no doubt that, if Englishmen flock to India, and exercise those energies which have made Australia what she is, Indian cotton will, ten years hence, be to Manchester in most respects what American cotton has been. Under such circumstances existing prices could not long maintain their ground. There is reason for believing that not a penny of the increased prices caused by the American war has ever reached the grower in India. The export merchants and the middlemen, whom their system necessarily fosters and debauches, have reaped all the profit:

profit: hence the fact that the existence and prospect of this advance in price did not perceptibly extend the area of the crop of 1861. This area can only be extended by the presence in the cotton-growing districts of men who will stimulate the production by giving a fair price to the ryots; and by graduating that price according to the quality of the cotton offered, such men could at once raise the standard of quality.

But although of great present importance, cotton is only one of many sources of profit which invite the attention of Englishmen to the country trade in India. For instance, many kinds of fibres might be profitably grown besides those which are now exported, and the quality of those already known might be improved. While English landholders might cultivate novelties, as they are now doing with flax in the Punjab, English traders might, either by effecting their purchases in the bazars, or by dealing directly with the growers themselves, effect improvement in the quality, and great increase in the quantity, of the hemp, jute, &c., now grown throughout the country. The production of the oil-seeds, already so extensively grown and exported, may be increased and improved to an extent practically unlimited.

To give one more instance (for to offer an exhaustive catalogue would be beyond our present scope), sugar is already successfully produced, but its cultivation and its manufacture are capable of immense extension and improvement.

Timber, however, must not be omitted. It is notorious that several of the Indian railways have found the obtaining sleepers one of their greatest difficulties; and one of them is at present laying down patent cast-iron sleepers, brought out from England, in consequence of the cost and trouble of procuring suitable timber,\* which would be preferred if obtainable; and still British India is girt along its northern frontier by a zone of forest. The area covered by growing timber in Central India is enormous. Malabar, Canara, Travancore, Gujerat, contain great forests. All the eastern frontier is forest land, from Assam down to the Tenasserim provinces, whose teak is the finest timber in the world. Can it be reasonably questioned that between such a demand, and such a supply, there must be room for profitable trade?

But we must hasten on to a subject which will probably have suggested itself to the reader's mind more than once during the perusal of the foregoing pages—that of inland carriage. Not

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\* Only the teak, sissoo, and lignum vitæ are proof against the ravages of white ants. The Government has latterly been endeavouring to subject the forests to regular superintendence, but the effects of the waste which long prevailed will not be readily obliterated.

ago, cotton grown in the south of the province of t Chinnoor and Chandah, for instance, regularly the Mirzapore bazar. Chinnoor lies near the banks every, by which river this cotton might have reached ch is less than half as far off as Mirzapore. Moreover, : carried to Mirzapore over two ranges of high and , all the way on the backs of bullocks and buffaloes; : got there, it was at least twice as far from a shipping as when it still grew on its parent stem. This is no ance. Sir Robert Hamilton, when Governor-General's lore, saw, within one hundred and fifty miles of the mbay, in south-west Malwa, cotton being loaded on starting for Mirzapore, six hundred miles off; and ggs has stated that of the cost of Nagpore cotton when n Liverpool, not less than one-third consisted of the l deterioration incurred in its conveyance from the : ship. It is true that, in the instance first cited, ansit duties, the final abolition of which the late vidson was in January, 1862, still negotiating with at Hyderabad, had materially distorted the normal ide. But these duties are by no means alone to blame. most influential cause is the absence of roads or other transit, navigable rivers, canals, and railways.

Colonel Baird Smith, when comparing in his Report ient the ravages of the famines which in 1857 and in ted part of the North-west Provinces of India, shows ning of a section of the railway just before the latter ved thousands of lives; and, incredible as it may find it on evidence in another Report, that while at 2s. were paid for 18 lbs. of wheat, 240 lbs. were sold e sum at the distance of only 120 miles. Again, of antity of Indian produce now exported from Calcutta, that at least one-half comes from the eastern portion ince of Lower Bengal alone, and this simply because d channels which intersect the Gangetic Delta afford system of navigable canals, along which carriage is , and rapid.

rogress of Indian railroads we shall say little. We those who anticipate for them a success beyond all icipations, and are well assured that they will exercise erful influence in stimulating the exports of Indian A great deal has already been done.

owing list of railways actually open at this time may ve:—The 'East India' Railway is now open from Benares, and from Allahabad to Agra. The 'Madras'

Railway



Railway is open from Madras completely across the Peninsula to Bepoor on the Malabar coast. 'The Great Indian Peninsula Railway' is open from Bombay, in one direction, to Bhosol; in another, to Sholapore; but there are breaks on each line at the ghats, or passes from the low country to the high tableland, which have not yet been surmounted, though the works for that purpose are far advanced. 'The Great Southern of India' is open from Negapatam to Trichinopoly. 'The Bombay, Baroda, and Central India' is open from Balsa to Ahmedabad. 'The Eastern Bengal' from Calcutta to Khooshtea, opposite Pubna. 'The South Eastern' from Calcutta to the new port on the Mutlah river is also open; as is the 'Scinde' line from Kurrachee to Kotree opposite Hyderabad on the Indus; and 'The Punjab' Railway from Lahore to Umritsur. The line connecting Allahabad with Bombay (*via* Jubbulpore) is in progress, as is the Bellary & North-West line from Madras. The passenger traffic on all the lines is active and increasing. The total number of miles of railway now open for traffic is 2400, and 2000 are in progress.

Whether all that has been done, has been done with unerring judgment and in the manner best adapted to the wants of India is a question which we will not now ask. The present system is Lord Dalhousie's. Late accounts represent Lord Elgin inclining to recommend the adoption, for the subsidiary lines of the American system, of cheaper and less perfect railways. However this may be, we think it certain that when the lines now in progress are open, many branches will be constructed; for instance, one that will run from Cawnpore into Oude, and possibly from Lucknow, on to the foot of the Kumaon hills. But the great want is certainly of roads along which wheel-carriages can travel, and which will serve as feeders to the railways.

The subject of tramways was discussed as long ago as 1835 and again very fully in 1852-53; and it was clearly shown how profitable their construction would be. The first company is now been started, and the line it has undertaken will shortly be open. Other companies are spoken of: some will construct what will be in reality cheap railroads, on which locomotives will travel at slow speed, and passengers as well as goods be carried; others will have no locomotives, and will propel the trains by means of cattle.

But as cheap construction is a primary necessity and indispensable condition of success with the tramways, lines present in any serious physical difficulties must be avoided. There are, too, many parts of the country where no company could venture on the construction of even the cheapest tramway, with a fair prospect of remunerating itself within a reasonably short period.

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On such lines as these the desideratum is a system of cross-country roads, which frequently would have to be carried over difficult and hilly countries, and should be kept in such a state as to admit of the passage of wheel-carts at all seasons. Roads such as these Government must make, if they are to be made at all. Great difficulty exists in determining where such roads ought to be made. It would be easy to squander the contents of the public purse by making a road to a place, or through a country, which should after all never yield the materials for a traffic sufficiently great to warrant the outlay. The Government, therefore, may reasonably hesitate to undertake many of them. During the last two years of Lord Canning's administration a considerable number of roads such as we mean were undertaken, principally with the intention of opening up districts likely to yield cotton, either at once or a little later. Their construction was ordered under the pressure of the cotton crisis, and some of them must, we fear, be considered as belonging to the class of speculative expenditure.

But there is in the case of roads of this kind a difficulty which exists in India, although not easily realised by the dwellers in Western Europe. The Government must not only decide that a road is desirable in some particular place, must not only provide the funds for its construction, but must actually carry out the work in every minute detail. The machinery by which all this is effected is supplied by the department of Public Works, which is not yet organised on a satisfactory footing. In his last annual Report the late Secretary to the Government in this department states that the cost of the administration is excessive: from that able officer himself down to the overseer of a batch of stone-breakers, the machinery is cumbrous and costly; the charges for superintendence constitute formidable percentage on the total outlay. No contractors come forward to compete for parcels of the work to be done: the engineer officer must, after surveying the line, make arrangements for the excavation of every little cutting, and the throwing up of every little embankment; he must make out drawings, estimates for every culvert; and these, before a brick can be laid, must run the gauntlet of checking and revision in the offices of his superiors; he must burn his bricks, cart his ballast, watch his masons, and pay every labourer—that is to say, he is individually responsible for the doing of all this, and for every penny spent. The system of accounts defeats our object: the highly-paid officer has to spend five days a week in devising and manipulating contrivances whereby to check his numerous subordinates in the management of the large sums which he is compelled to

let pass through their hands ; and the professional skill for which he is himself paid by the public is lost in the irksome and unworthy business of a pay-clerk, to which he, in fact, devotes nearly all his time.

The circumstances of the country have created the present system, and it would, no doubt, be difficult to devise a remedy. Meanwhile, the enormous expense of all works undertaken by the department forms a serious obstacle to the rapid development of the internal trade. In some cases the civil authorities of a district are entrusted with the duty of road-making, especially in the non-regulation districts ; but the public service has hitherto gained little by such an arrangement.

We must remember that the Government of India has not like that of England, been the supreme power in the country for centuries, but only for a few decades ; that in the matter of roads it is met by many difficulties and obstacles, and that in regard to many roads now unmade the necessity for them must be absolutely felt before their construction can be commenced. In the case of Wynaad, for instance, the planters complain of the want of certain roads ; we have no doubt that they have sustained serious loss and inconvenience from the occurrence of delays which were avoidable. This is greatly to be regretted, but we must remember that it would have been absolutely inexcusable in Government to have spent public money in anticipation of those wants. We believe that the settlers, whether of the trading or of the purely agricultural class, must be content for the present to meet, in the want of proper means of communication, one of those difficulties which he must, indeed, struggle against himself, but in overcoming which he will find the Government anxious to afford him every practicable assistance.

It is difficult to over-estimate the effects of the rapid and wide extension of those means of internal communication now actually in vigorous progress. The opening of the great trunk line of railway from Calcutta to the Punjab will, we confidently believe, be soon followed by a great increase in the traffic of the Gangetic valley. Still greater will be the increase, as the tramway feeders or common roads radiating from different points along that line gradually bring the markets throughout the country within the influence of steam-carriage.

The navigation of the great rivers is a subject intimately connected with the railway system ; but it is of too much importance to be dismissed with a cursory discussion in this place. We have already referred to the advantages derivable from a system of navigable canals, and we believe that in the delta of the Godavery great activity prevails upon the short canals, which

which bring produce down to the coast. Whether there will ever be a sustained and regular traffic upon long lines of canal, constructed mainly for irrigation, and situated at a distance from the sea and from any great marts of commerce, we are not yet in a position to judge. In the late famine in the north-west provinces the Ganges Canal was of great service in bringing grain from the lower provinces.

The providing of irrigation is another mode in which European skill and money may be employed. Any enterprise of this kind must of course depend for success upon the science and judgment of its projectors and managers. But it is certain that the Government is conferring great benefits on the country by the irrigation works which it is carrying on steadily, though not so rapidly as to satisfy Mr. Dickinson. It must be premised that whenever an increase of revenue takes place in a district, more causes than one are sure to be assigned for the fact. But as a considerable increase of revenue is the universal concomitant of well-devised irrigation works, we take the liberty to assume that it is mainly caused by them, although other circumstances also, especially the reduction in the value of silver, may contribute to it. The cause we have last mentioned of course cannot operate to give irrigated districts any advantage over other districts.

The Ganges Canal has cost the Government about 1,500,000*l.*, and in the years 1859-60 it still fell short by nearly 16,000*l.* of paying its working expenses. But the deficiency was less by 14,000*l.* than in the previous year, and was expected to disappear entirely in the succeeding year. On the other hand, it has covered the land with grain, and in the year of famine it was the cause of the production of grain enough to feed 1,400,000 persons for four years; and saved Government the necessity of remitting 60,000*l.* in water rates, and 180,000*l.* or 200,000*l.* in land revenue alone for the first year. The effect of irrigation works is well set forth in a Report by the Collector of a district in the Presidency of Madras, in which famine prevailed in 1855. The document is quoted by Mr. Dickinson in the appendix to his pamphlet:—

'But no estimates of the quantities of food which have been produced through improved irrigation, no mere return of increase of revenue realised in an irrigated district in a year when such heavy remissions of taxes have been found necessary in other less favoured tracts, can convey any idea of the benefit which has accrued both to the Government and the people at all to be compared with that derived from actual observation of the effects in travelling through the district. No one could have witnessed, as I did, the wretched condition of the people

people and crops on the Kistnah side of the district, the difficulty of obtaining even the smallest supply of only moderately impure water, and then have passed to the Godavery side, and witnessed with delight the contrast, the abundance of pure water, the splendid crops, and the comfort of the people, without being deeply sensible that no figure can at all convey a true idea of the priceless blessing which the waters of the Godavery, brought by means of the weir and channels through such an extent of the Delta, have conferred upon the people. In May I was encamped in Avenguddah, on the banks of a large branch of the Kistnah, then a sheet of sand. The cattle were dying by numbers of starvation; no signs of vegetation were apparent; the water was wretched; and I hope I may never again see so much poverty and wretchedness. The month of June was passed by me at Akeed, more than thirty miles from the nearest point of the Godavery; but there fresh water and forage were abundant. The water of the Godavery which had passed through the head-slucice more than fifty miles up the channel flowed past my tent; and numerous boats, laden with the produce of the neighbouring lands, daily passed to and fro. Grain was far lower in price than in any other district, and I do not doubt that the price of transit has been reduced to one-third of what it was before.'—*Dickinson*, p. 30.

The works on the Kistnah, in their present imperfect state, pay upwards of 12 per cent. per annum on an outlay of less than 200,000*l.*, though little more than one-eighth of the irrigable land—120,000 acres out of 900,000—has yet been irrigated by means of them; and it is certain that on the Godavery also immense tracts of land must speedily be brought within the range of irrigation. The works on the Cauvery and Coleroon rivers in the Madras Presidency have for sixteen years returned 118 per cent. per annum on the cost of construction, in augmentation of revenue, doubling the price of land in the district irrigated by them, and greatly improving the condition of the working classes.

Although we may not be prepared to adopt unreservedly Colonel Baird Smith's opinion that, in the districts best known to him, the demand for Manchester goods might easily be doubled, we may safely assert that the increased number and activity of Englishmen engaged in the internal traffic will powerfully influence this branch of trade. Also Manchester could manufacture many kinds of cloth suited to the tastes and wants of the local markets, were those wants better understood. However justice may suggest a regret at the destruction of the ancient indigenous manufactures of India, yet, now that they have been ruined, it is worse than useless to attempt to galvanize them into a spurious vitality; and all such protective arrangements, and those which render  
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the existence of the new spinning and weaving establishments at Bombay possible, are, we venture to assert, founded on a mistaken policy. Many years ago a cotton-mill was established near Calcutta, at Fort Gloucester, avowedly as an experiment to determine whether English machinery and appliances could be made to compete successfully on Indian soil with the home establishments. It has existed, and has enjoyed, it is said, a moderate prosperity; but its operations have never been extended, nor has it found imitators until lately, when the experiment has been renewed at Bombay, under exceptional circumstances.

But we must hasten on to another branch of our subject. No source of profitable trade presented by India to the English adventurer is surrounded by a brighter halo of brilliant hopes than that which lies in the mineral wealth of the country. The barbaric splendour of the princes of the land,—the fact that in ancient times India was a principal source of the supply of gold known to Europe,—the enormous quantities of the precious metals which the successive conquerors of Hindustan either carried off out of the country, or accumulated and hoarded within it,—vague rumour, also, from the legendary Ophir down to the ‘pagoda tree,’ so vigorously shaken by the nabobs of the Company’s earlier days,—all have tended to foster an impression that the mineral wealth of British India must be immense.

Besides all this, almost all the metals of commercial value are actually known to exist. Many of them are still worked here and there, so that even now any announcement of a mineral discovery, provided only the freest use of expletives and superlatives be made, is certain to attract an amount of attention and confidence, even in India, which is truly surprising when we remember the long list of ruinous failures, of which all the past history of mining enterprise in that country consists.

Gold is known to exist in a vast number of places. Quite recently the Malabar coast was announced as an Indian California. From time immemorial the sands of many of its rivers, and the older alluvia of several of its drainage basins, have been washed for the precious dust by a wretched population, which seems to exist just above starvation point on the proceeds of this precarious calling. It is, however, still supposed by some that large profits might be secured by a company, who should set up on a large scale such machinery as modern ingenuity has adapted to the apparently simple processes of gold-washing, and should employ the present gold-seekers in working it. Besides the alluvial gold, the Malabar coast yields a granite, a mica-schist, and an ochreous sandstone, all auriferous; and the existence of veins of quartz and of copper pyrites, also containing .

containing gold, has been recorded. Assam is a great gold country; the sands of almost all its rivers are now washed for gold, although the profits are supposed to be miserably small. In Oude many of the streams are known to carry down gold dust. The Gunttee and the Sarjoo are still frequented by gold-seekers. It is indeed asserted that all the streams draining the Indian slopes of the Himalayas deposited gold, in ancient times, with the alluvium through which their present channels are cut, and near their first exit from the hills. In Singrowli and Sumbulpore gold-washing is still carried on. Burmah, too, yields gold. In short, it may almost be said that every stream brings down gold, but the washers have very small success.

The only silver commercially known as of Indian origin comes from Burmah and the Shan country; but the metal has been discovered in Dharwar; and Ajmere too is argentiferous.

Copper is of common occurrence. In the Tenasserim provinces and Burmah it is known to exist; on the flanks of the Himalayas it has been mined at Darjeeling, in Nepal, near Gurhwal, and in Kumaon.

The ancient workings visible in more than one part of Rajputana show that mining was long and keenly pursued there, although it has for a long time been neglected, and even in places completely abandoned. In the south Mahratta country the remains of still more extensive workings have been traced. Near Vellore and Cuddapah, hills covered with vegetable mould, and long supposed to be the result of those natural causes which have determined the general contour of the country, are now known to be formed of copper slags; and the chemical examination of these has shown, by the small percentage of the metal which they contain, that metallurgic processes were better understood, or at all events more carefully practised, in former times than now. But as with gold, so with copper, a list even of the localities where it is known to exist would extend over pages. In Behar there are several such localities; and in Chota Nagpore, the districts of Dholboom, Singboom, and Maunboom all yield copper.

Lead is also found in many places, but does not seem to have attracted so much attention in past times as copper had done. Its ores are known to occur (principally galena) in Rajputana, in Gurhwal and Nepal, in Nagpore and Chota Nagpore, in Behar and in Martaban, Moulmein and Tenasserim.

Manganese, zinc, and antimony may be added to the list of metals, unfortunately without adding to the available mineral wealth of India. The non-metallic minerals are but little better off; the several diamond-mines are supposed to yield a very meagre

meagre profit after paying their small working expenses; and many have been abandoned, while others are kept in work at a loss by the gambling spirit of their owners. The corundum trade of Saleen and Vellore can scarcely be considered as a thriving business; and the chrome of the same districts has, we believe, long ceased to be exported, although for a few years after its discovery it yielded very handsome profits.

It would be of course gratuitous to conjecture what discoveries may yet be made. Long, and apparently carefully made, calculations are extant which are intended to prove that a better management of the mines now known would render them highly profitable; but if experience be taken as a safe guide in such matters, we may confidently assert that, so far as all practical results are concerned, India is mineralogically one of the poorest countries of which we have any knowledge.

We have designedly left for separate consideration one metal really more precious than all the others put together, and one non-metallic mineral whose importance might, without exaggeration, be said to outweigh that of all the rest of the natural kingdom to which it belongs. Iron and coal abound in India; and whole libraries have been written in description of them. Notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence of, this abundance of material, a succinct and at the same time accurate statement of the most important and most generally interesting points is not easily extracted from the mass.

First of all there seems the fullest and safest evidence to prove that as regards good workable iron ores, there are many places in India to which the reporter's stereotyped form of eulogy—'inexhaustible supplies of the richest ores'—may without exaggeration be applied. As regards the equally important matter of fuel, however, we do not think that so satisfactory a statement is warranted. Captain Presgrave many years ago erected a fine iron bridge over the Beas River, near Sagur; and this seems at least to show that the Nerbudda valley—whence the materials for this bridge were obtained—is capable of supplying first-rate iron in considerable quantities and at low prices, even when the native methods alone are employed.

Undoubtedly more is to be learnt as to the profit-and-loss aspect of iron-making in India from the history of the Porto Novo Works than from any other source. That history is, unhappily, far too exciting and dramatic as a narrative to be the record of a prosperous commercial career. Although we cannot follow it through all its mistakes, struggles, calamities, and disappointments, the iron-master may study it with the greatest advantage; and he may learn from it to avoid certainly most of the



the misfortunes of which Porto Novo was the victim. One encouraging fact was prominent from the first, namely, that the quality of the iron always came up to what was promised of it.

It will no doubt surprise any one who knows how great a proportion of the surface of British India is covered by forest-jungle and is also aware that all existing iron-works are situated in, or at least close to, jungled tracts, to hear that want of fuel has always been a great difficulty. It has, however, proved so even in the case of the larger native establishments. We must remember that when every pound of charcoal has to be carried on men's heads and shoulders from the place where it was burned to the furnace, even a slight increase in the distance forms an important element in the cost of the manufactured iron. As long as the furnaces are of the simplest construction, and the ore consists of ferruginous pebbles, picked from the laterite gravel, which spreads over such enormous areas of the surface of India, the inconvenience is not felt; for the smelters abandon one locality and follow the charcoal-burners to another. Their furnaces cost little to erect, and ore is easily found; but when the ore is worked along the outcrop of a vein, as is sometimes the case, or when a more costly and less perishable establishment is set up, and the furnaces become stationary, the distance from which the charcoal has to be fetched increases, until the excessive cost of the carriage checks the manufacture. It would amaze any one who had seen the care bestowed on forest conservation and on charcoal-burning in those parts of Europe where this fuel is still used for metallurgic purposes, to find that the people who in India live by charcoal-making have desolated thousands of square miles of forest-land, by wantonly wasteful treatment of the trees, to their own great loss, and to the serious disadvantage of the native iron trade.

Of course, the difficulty about fuel occurred at Porto Novo as soon as the requirements had become at all considerable and in the more recent case of the Beerbhoom Iron-Works it threatened to form a most serious impediment. Undoubtedly the vigour of a tropical vegetation gives to a forest grown for fuel in India a great advantage over one situated in temperate climate, although this advantage is very much less than would at first sight appear, inasmuch as timber of rapid growth does not furnish a charcoal which develops in combustion as much heat as that made from more slowly-growing trees. Still the advantage is, according to the best authority, if slight, at least decided and tangible; but, were it ten greater than it is, some systematic treatment is absolutely necessary in order to take advantage of it; and it is safe to

that as long as the forests and the charcoal-making are treated as they now are, so long will profitable iron-making on a large scale remain impossible.

In Kumaon a costly experiment in iron-making was for years prosecuted by the Government. In questions of profit and loss, such experiments seldom afford trustworthy evidence. This is true, we believe, even in a case like that of the bridge over the Ganges, where an intelligent and accomplished officer brought a noble work to a prosperous issue, and left a lasting monument of his skill behind him. The Kumaon Iron-Works furnish a contrast in all particulars to Captain Presgrave's successful attempt at Indian iron-making. What is called 'a practical man' was their bane. Many well-informed persons are, however, of opinion that the Kumaon iron can be worked at a profit, and the attempt is now being made in several places. The district has many advantages, and may yet furnish the rails for a railroad in the neighbouring province of Oude.

Up to the present time, no iron has been made in India as an article of trade, in the manufacture of which coal has been used. Experiments on record fairly establish the possibility of smelting Indian iron-ores with Indian coal; but, although we have the strongest conviction of the feasibility of the operation on the great scale, still the fact is, that in the only case where a fair experiment has been practically made, the use of coal has not yet been made to pay. We refer to the Beerbhoom Iron-Works, and we quote an official report made by an officer deputed by the Government for that purpose at the request of the proprietor. We must restrict ourselves to enumerating a few of the principal points which it appears to us this very instructive report establishes.

First of all, in order to be remunerative, any work conducted on the European plan must be kept up on what is for India a large scale, in order that the cost of the highly-paid superintendence may be spread over a larger quantity of saleable output; on the other hand, the fuel difficulty, and in this particular case the extent to which the ore is scattered, appear to limit the producing power of any one establishment to 2000 tons per week. With such an out-turn the establishment can be made to pay, and probably yield handsome profits. The quality of the metal is very fine; excellent castings have been run direct from the furnace, and the demand for this kind of work will greatly increase the profits of the undertaking.

It also appears that, in regard to charcoal, although the difficulties are undoubtedly serious, they are by no means insurmountable; that skilful management can secure all that is required

required from the forests over which the proprietor has control; and that proper attention paid to the processes of burning will both reduce the cost and render the supply more certain.

But the Beerbhoom Iron-Works may yet be supplied with coal; for, although their position was fixed with special regard to the proximity of ore, it *may* be found worth while to bring coal from the nearest coal-pits, distant as they are. This is, however, a question on which the experience of the establishment is not competent to decide. Moreover, the qualities of the coal, considered as a smelting fuel, have still to be decided by experiment on the large scale; although the results of the small trials are encouraging. We may add, that the impression left on our minds, after a careful perusal of the report, is that, if these works could be considerably enlarged, the undertaking possesses all the elements of success.

The tramways now and soon to be in course of construction will furnish a great stimulus to iron manufacture, and it is not, we believe, rash to assert that the example of the Beerbhoom Iron-Works proves that iron can be made in India according to English methods. Of Kumaon we have already spoken; the Porto Novo Works are not extinct; and the Nerbudda Coal and Iron Company announce their intention of exercising the mining rights which they possess, and ere long working the iron on their valuable property. For ourselves we look forward with a firm confidence to a general success being attained, wherever sound judgment, temper, and energy characterise the management; and exceptional cases may occur, where shrewd intelligence, by detecting special qualities or peculiarities in an ore, a fuel, or in fluxes, and by successfully adapting these to the other conditions which may at the same time obtain, will secure brilliant success.

The only coal which has been hitherto profitably worked, and regularly bought and sold, is dug in the Damooda, otherwise called the Burdwan, or the Raneegunge coal-country, and in three smaller fields, namely that of Palamow (Chota Nagpore), Kururbari (Behar), and in a few places in the Rajmahal hills.

The Damooda coal-field is, taken with all its advantages and defects, as yet quite unapproached in India; property has a very high value there; money invested yields a large profit; coal is sent out in considerable quantities, and these quantities may be perhaps doubled within the next few years by the extension of the railway which now stops short near the southern extremity of the district. The supply is practically inexhaustible, and the quality of the mineral is such as, at all events, meets a ready sale at remunerative rates. A very large

large proportion of the coal serves excellently all ordinary purposes; its heat-giving power, as measured relatively to its bulk, is not very high; its ash is greater than in the good kinds of European coal—that is to say, the bituminous matter was originally mixed with sand or clay, &c.; and this renders the coal unfit for sea-going steamers. Another disadvantage which also unfits it for such a use, is found in its tendency to crumble; but, worst of all, in the presence of iron pyrites, which, as is well known, is apt to ignite under certain conditions, or, as the phenomenon is usually described, is liable to spontaneous combustion.

With all these disadvantages, the Damooda coal has been sometimes used in sea-going steamers; and although it cannot be expected that this employment of it can prove permanent, there are many others which will furnish it with a brisk demand: all internal navigation, all railways in Eastern India, depend on it; although it cannot be coked, the coal is successfully used on all the lines now open in the east and north of India. Iron, too, has been made with the Damooda coal, although it is probable that if this comes to be done on a large scale, the impurities of the fuel may cause some trouble and expense. This coal-field is being vigorously worked, greatly to the advantage of the owners and of the public at large.

The coal of Palamow and of the Rajmahal district is certainly inferior to that of the Damooda field. In neither case, however, have the capabilities of seams been so fully ascertained, and in both it is stated that such coal as they yield has met a remunerative sale for brick-making and other purposes in which great purity is not necessary. At Kururbari the quality of the fuel is certainly excellent, at least equal to the best obtained from the Damooda field, and there can be no doubt but that the railway now being constructed in the direction of this little field will bring the coal into vigorous working. At present the excessive cost of carriage restricts all mining operations there within very narrow limits. Still narrower limits are by the same cause assigned to the coal of Cherra Poonji, on the eastern frontier of Bengal; indeed, its geographical position, and the physical difficulties which impede its carriage, preclude its ever being profitably worked, unless it is to be applied to some local purpose. Still, it is in quality very decidedly superior to any other Indian coal which has up to this time been thoroughly examined. Next among the coal localities of which we can confidently speak, comes that of the Nerbudda Valley. There are now seams opened on the property of a coal company there, which in thickness, ease of working, &c., are scarcely surpassed by anything

thing in the Damooda field, while the quality of the mineral is equal to the very best beds of that field. The future of this company depends entirely on the railway, which will furnish the only means of reaching a market—first by taking advantage of the coal in the construction of the line itself, and subsequently by carrying it down to the sea.

It seems strange that a few lines should contain the pi of all that is certainly known on a subject on which so many volumes have been written, but it nevertheless is so. A however, necessarily depends on the meaning we attach to the words *certainly known*: for instance—of the coal in Cutch, many persons would no doubt think themselves warranted in confidently asserting that it is certainly known to be commercially worthless—a conclusion to which we demur, because no satisfactory investigation has yet taken place. We do not, then, certainly know that there is no coal available in Cutch; it is improbable, but still doubtful. Again, in the Punjab hills precisely the same observation applies. We have no doubt that the officers who went into raptures on the discovery of a few stumps of semi-carbonised lignite, were in error; and we readily accept the explanation offered by the scientific men who were subsequently called in; but from the point of view of the public, their evidence must not be taken as finally closing the case. Upon these subjects much ignorance, much vanity, much self-interest, much vindictiveness, are brought into play; and the public cannot too cautiously scrutinise the statements which are so confidently laid before them, awarding praise and blame with equal injustice.

Coal is already known to exist in a great number of places throughout that part of Central India which lies south of the Nerbudda, the northern portion of the Deccan, and eastwards from thence throughout Rewah, Sirguja, Chota Nagpore, and Sambulpore; and it has been discovered in several places along the flank of the Himalayas, from the Darjeeling terai eastwards to the valley of Assam. About these deposits everything, save the existence of the coal, is obscure. Its quality as a mineral, its physical characters, whether it can be easily mined and readily made available for commerce, its position as to the routes of transit and markets, everything is doubtful.

The general conclusion to which all that we know of points is, that the Englishman who now takes his capital to Australia or New Zealand, may apply it far more profitably to India, and that certain branches of mining, as well as of manufacture and trade, offer him an inviting field.

Of agriculture proper, as carried on by individuals,

st hitherto spoken ; and yet this is one of the manifold ways in which the Oriental and the Western races may advance in material comfort and in happiness through intercourse with each other. We will at once lay it down that Englishmen cannot compete in India with natives of India in manual labour of any kind, and that the idea of a British colony in Hindustan, as the word colony is generally understood, cannot be entertained for a moment by those who have practically considered the innumerable obstacles, social, political, and ethnological. But an Englishman undertaking the management of land, and endeavouring to increase the quantity, improve the quality, and extend the varieties of the productions of the soil, would find himself engaged in an enterprise on which none of his neighbours had ever entered, and attempting a task which they have never associated either with their interests or their duties. Difficulties he would have to encounter, no doubt, great and numerous, but certainly not insurmountable, inasmuch as they have been surmounted. His success would be an unmixed advantage to every one below and round him, for he would fill a place which is now practically vacant.

The climate, too, which would be fatal to the poor European, is by no means so unfriendly as has been sometimes supposed to a man whose habits are regular, and who can surround himself with the means of avoiding the effects of its extremes. It is well known that bygone estimates of the value of European life in India, framed when habits were less regular, houses few and bad, and comforts less easily procurable, must be rearranged, and that insurance rates and pension-fund subscriptions are based on conditions which no longer obtain. Our remarks are applicable to the occupation by Europeans of land in any part of British India, even in the most populous districts, but they apply with tenfold force to uncultivated lands in parts of the country not at present thickly inhabited.

The power of purchasing land in fee simple will probably be taken advantage of by wealthy natives as well as by foreigners. That the privilege should be at once seized on was not to be expected, but it will be more and more valued as our influence extends, as confidence increases, and as trade spreads. We are now looking at the subject merely from the planter's point of view, and not discussing the policy of the changes now in contemplation. The necessity of paying the government land revenues due upon each estate on the fixed day, on pain of forfeiture, has produced a sense of insecurity, especially in Europeans, who may be obliged to go away, and are not always able to leave behind them agents whom they can trust to make the

the payments; and every one is agreed that uncertainty of tenure has acted most unfavourably on all branches of agriculture, and in many ways not readily traceable at first sight.

Many believe that the recently accorded privilege will exercise a powerful influence on the indigo trade, will gradually change the system on which the growth of the plant has been managed, and this even in the old indigo districts. At all events, it opens a new field to the business. There are undoubtedly in many districts where lands may now be purchased in fee simple, considerable areas well suited to the crop, but which would never have been used for the purpose under the old system.

But it is in the case of the ordinary holding of land for general farming purposes, that the new rules will effect the greatest and most beneficial changes. At present the landholder (zemindar, whether native or European, as a rule takes no interest whatever in agricultural improvement; he spends neither trouble nor money on the soil; he extracts from his villagers, or still worse from middlemen, who themselves deal with the ryot, the actual cultivator, as much as he can; but he seldom considers it his interest to make improvements at his own cost, for the sake of prospective gain. Even when he clears a patch of jungle which he adds to his estate, the plan followed—at least in Bengal—is to let squatters settle on the parts they clear for themselves, and cultivate for their own benefit for a few years without paying anything, after which the zemindar either resumes the land or claims rent. In the case of the Sunderbunds, the fine islands in the delta of the Ganges, some few of the holders of grants have, we believe, actually invested money in the construction of embankments; but the whole sum thus sunk would be found ludicrously disproportionate to the value of the land and to the rents actually realised from it. We may hope, however, that when men can actually call the land their own, roads will be made through estates by their owners; tanks will be built, or what are called *bunds* erected, for irrigation; jungle will be cleared; the intelligent proprietor will try different modes of cultivating the ordinary crops, and will introduce new ones as experience and an intelligent appreciation of the condition may suggest. In Bengal, oil-seeds and fibres will certainly, when taken up in this way, prove an abundant source of a most profitable trade; tobacco, too, is certainly susceptible of an improvement which may bring it into competition with the choicest varieties in the market; elsewhere cotton and flax. In short, it appears to us that even in the old settled districts the English landholder would find ample room for the profitable exercise of his skill and energy; and that, by applying them to the common

common productions of the soil, he could reap large and certain profits. But if he will deal kindly and fairly with natives, and gradually attract labour by offering good terms, he may find perhaps still greater advantage in carrying on agricultural pursuits in some of the wilder and less-thickly inhabited districts.

There are many places among the highlands of Hindustan where elevation above the sea gives the climate a character, not, it is true, European, but radically different from that of the plains of India. We do not now speak of the ridges and valleys of the Himalayan range, where our Sanitaria are perched at an elevation of from 5000 to 8000 feet above the sea, but of those parts of the peninsula south of that range, which rise to heights of 2000 feet and upwards.

Let us take as an example the Mundla country, premising that many like it exist elsewhere. This district lies as nearly as may be in the very centre of the peninsula; it is a little nearer to the mouths of the Ganges on the east than to that of the Nerbudda on the west, and a straight line drawn from the most northerly point of the Bay of Bengal to the extreme north of the Gulf of Cambay will pass through it. It forms what may fairly be considered as the culminating point of Central India, although higher levels are reached in many other parts of the country; and the head waters of three great rivers, the Nerbudda, the Mahanuddi, and the Soane, start from the highest part of the plateau, and flow to the west, the south-east, and the east, respectively. The ground rises on all sides by a series of steps, each forming a plateau, and separated from that below it by a line of escarpment. The slopes of these escarpments, and the valleys formed by the irregularities of their outlines, are mostly covered with noble forests, diversified here and there by rocky bluffs.

The plateaux themselves are open prairies, covered with grass interspersed with patches of fine forest, and watered by numerous streams. Nor are they absolutely flat. Their surface is varied by picturesque undulations, and the landscape presents the most charming combination of hill and dale, running water and well-grown timber. The deep gorges and ravines leading down to the lower levels offer again special beauties, and the view from some parts of the edges of the highest plateau is, in its way, unequalled. Looking down the dark-wooded ravine at his feet, the eye of the traveller follows the grassy undulation of the lower plateaux, broken by green woods and rocky hills, until it rests on the distant plain, on which a white thread marks



marks the sandy course of some far-off tributary of the Mahanuddi or the Ganges.

There are here about 4000 square miles of this kind of country, less than half of which is occupied by the choicest soil, at the highest level. This highest level is 3600 feet on the Amarkantac table-land. A few of the hills rise higher, but this is about the level of the country to which our remarks apply.

Here the rich black soil is covered with grass, which grows green all the year round, and is never parched up by the hot blasts of May; the nights are always cool, and light breezes prevent the heat from being at any time oppressive. Herds of cattle are driven up here from the plains, when fodder fails them there, to enjoy the supply perennial in this favoured locality. The place has been reported on as a site for a sanitarium and for a military colony: wheat, barley, and many of the crops of Upper India grow luxuriantly in the very few spots where anything of the kind has been tried; tea, it is supposed, would certainly succeed, cotton most probably, and perhaps coffee; horse-breeding, cattle-feeding, and even sheep, might be made profitable by the European settler: the forests of part of the district are a source of the best lac known in the market. There are hundreds of square miles of such land absolutely without even a titular proprietor, and thinly inhabited by a few savages so utterly low in the scale of humanity that they will not cultivate crops of corn on a soil rich to profusion, but prefer to burn a patch of jungle on the steep slopes, where a wretched seed called *koothee* (*Panicum miliare*), and closely resembling what is known as a 'bird-seed,' grows without any further trouble to them, needing neither spade nor plough; and on such portions of this as the wild creatures of the forest cannot eat up they are contented to eke out a miserable existence.

The prospects and labours of the European settler in a place like this would, of course, be very different from those of the purchaser of an estate in a populous and long-settled part of the country: he might probably need less capital; his life would be more like that in the bush or the backwoods; the difficulties against which he would have to contend would be of a totally different nature; but he would have many advantages. The climate is fine, the country beautiful, his European habits and tastes might be much more closely followed, and he might much more easily come to look on the place as a home.

The three great districts of Chittagong, Sumbulpore, and the Sunderbunds are also well deserving of mention in connexion with our subject. In the first we are offered a fine climate,  
extraordinary

extraordinary facilities of carriage, and the certainty that the Kuppas Mehals (cotton province) of former times offer all the physical conditions suitable to the growth of what is now so much required in Europe. There are no proprietors to interfere with, and labour is easily obtained from the neighbouring province of Tipperah.

Sumbulpore, again, in the valley of the Mahanuddi, is 120 miles long, by 50 to 60 in width. Its soil is fertile, and well suited for many kinds of Bengal crops, oil-seeds, safflower, lac, timber. The land can, it is stated, be obtained on easy terms; the river is navigable for a considerable distance; roads are now under construction; and labour, although scarce, can certainly be secured.

Then the Sunderbunds, once certainly populous and cultivated, are now again being partially brought under the power of man. What the future of that great tract may be, it is perhaps useless to attempt to forecast; but it can scarcely be without interest to any one thinking of India as a field for his labour and capital, even though he may fix his hopes more directly on the hops, vines, tea-gardens, and mountain breezes of the Kanawur valley.

The best evidence short of demonstration exists to show that parts of the coast line of the Sunderbunds are well suited to the growth of the fine varieties of long-stapled cotton. We do not believe that the question is vitally material to the fate of the cotton-trade of India generally, which must turn on other considerations; but it will no doubt exercise considerable influence on the prospects of the Lower Delta itself, as an improvable and reclaimable district.

Besides all these, Arracan exports prodigious quantities of rice to Europe, and British Burmah offers advantages of many different kinds, which may fairly compare with those of most parts of India. In the Delta of the Irrawady almost every variety of tropical produce can be raised: the soil is rich, and vegetation luxuriant. Between the Sittang and the Salween lies a very large tract of country, with a minimum elevation of 2000 feet above the sea, once highly cultivated and populous, and which a powerful and just Government will, we believe, succeed in restoring to its former state of prosperity. Here Englishmen can live in a fine climate, and do for the general agriculture of the country what we have attempted to describe in speaking of other parts of our territories; and vast tracts of the upper part of the great valley are well adapted to the growth of cotton, indigo, sugar, &c. The main difficulty for the present is the scantiness of the population. Excluding the hill country, this is estimated at no more than

twenty-eight to the square mile, and scarcely one-thirtieth of the culturable ground is supposed to be now occupied. Let us hope that it may be granted to us so to rule these fine territories that they may be filled with a prosperous and contented peasantry.

- ART. II.—1. *My Diary North and South.* By William Howard Russell. 2 vols.
2. *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States — showing the various channels through which the People of the United States have risen from a British Colony to their present National Importance, &c. &c.* 2 vols. New York. Worcester, Mass. London.
3. *Our Whole Country; or, the Past and Present of the United States, Historical and Descriptive; containing General and Local Histories of each of the States, &c.; also Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Persons, &c.; with a large and varied Collection of interesting and valuable Information, &c.* Illustrated by 600 engravings. By John Warner Barber, Author of 'Historical Collections of Connecticut and Massachusetts,' &c.; and Henry Howe, Author of 'Hist. Coll. of Virginia, Ohio, and the Great West.' 2 vols. Cincinnati. London.
4. *The National Almanac and Annual Record for the Year 1863.* Philadelphia: J. W. Childs. London: Trübner.
5. *The South Vindicated.* By the Hon. James Williams, late American Minister to Turkey. With an Introduction by John Baker Hopkins. London.
6. *The Second War of Independence in America.* By E. M. Hudson, late Acting Secretary of Legation to the American Mission to the Court of Prussia, &c., &c. Translated by the Author from the Second enlarged and revised German Edition. With an Introduction by Bolling A. Pope. London.
7. *The Rebellion Record: a Diary of American Events.* Edited by Frank Moore, Author of 'Diary of the American Revolution.' New York. London.
8. *Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army: being a Narrative of Personal Adventures in the Infantry, Ordnance, Cavalry, Courier, and Hospital Services; with an Exhibition of the Power, Purposes, Earnestness, Military Despotism, and Demoralisation of the South.* By an Impressed New Yorker. London.

'THE Carolinians and Georgians "protest too much." The flame is too sudden and too violent to last long. . . . A strong-minded President like Jackson would probably not hesitate

hesitate to put down the Carolinians by force. It is evident, indeed, on the smallest reflection, that the South, even if united, could never resist for three months the greatly preponderating strength of the North. A few hundred slaveowners, trembling nightly with visions of murder and pillage, backed by a dissolute population of "poor whites," are no match for the hardy and resolute populations of the Free States. The Northerners have hitherto treated the South like a petulant child, and given in to all its ways; but if ever the day of conflict should come, it would be shown that the South is but a child in its weakness as well as in its frowardness.'

So wrote the 'Times' on the 26th November, 1860. On the 13th December, 1862, the fourth attack upon the Southern capital was hurled back from before the heights of Fredericksburg, and the fourth great army of invasion subjected to the most crushing defeat of a disastrous war. It is not often that the slow march of history presents to us, in so brief a space, so marvellous a change. We purpose now to trace, as fully as our narrow limits will allow, the experience of those two short years in which it has been wrought.

In commencing this article with the passage above quoted, we do not at all attribute to the 'Times' any special responsibility for the delusions it displays. They probably represent the opinions of the majority at the moment. Nor do we purpose here to speculate how far, with a people so open to Press influence and so specially sensitive to the opinion of the 'Old Country,' such language may have tended to precipitate the catastrophe now so universally deplored. We wish but to clear away certain errors of fact that have hitherto obstructed the English view of American affairs, and we have selected the passage in question simply as embodying those errors in an unusually concise and dogmatic form.

They may be classed briefly thus:—1. As to the political relations of North, West, and South; 2. As to the latter's firm purpose to secede in certain contingencies long since clearly defined; 3. As to the military and other resources of the seceding States; and 4. As to the real relation between master and slave, and the bearing of this 'peculiar institution' on Southern powers of self-defence.

With the first and second of these we do not propose at present to deal. The question now before us is that of military resources; and if, in its examination, a passing glance at the fourth source of error—slavery—is forced upon us, it will be simply in its bearing upon these.

There are perhaps few more baffling studies than that of con-

temporary history. The present case, too, presents a special difficulty in the enforced silence of one belligerent, and the unusually audacious mendacity of the other. It has not been merely the newspaper press of the North that has systematically disregarded truth when a lie might gloss over defeat or magnify a doubtful victory. Generals in the field have vied in misrepresentation with the War Department at home; and Pope's 10,000 prisoners, Grant's 'victory' of Shiloh, and M'Clellan's immortal 'strategic movement' are but samples of the difficulties by which an inquirer is confronted even in official statements of officers in the highest command.

We cannot say that we have derived much solid information from Mr. Russell's amusing 'Diary,' notwithstanding his activity and the advantages which he enjoyed. Indeed we have been compelled to trust entirely to our own power of collating the various conflicting documents on either side. Among these, Mr. Williams's volume, though ably and not altogether intemperately written, bears on the question chiefly in its political aspect. The Introduction, however, affords statistical information of considerable value—the more so, as being derived almost entirely from Northern sources. Unfortunately, the proof-sheets have hardly been revised with sufficient care, and the oversight has resulted in more than one apparently arithmetical blunder, in some cases of considerable importance. Mr. Hudson's 'Second War of Independence' is also an avowedly partisan book, and, like the 'South Vindicated,' deals chiefly with political considerations.

From 'Eighty Years' Progress,' and its bulky companion 'Our Whole Country,' may be gathered much geographical and statistical information, though it is to be regretted that the mass of really valuable matter contained in the former should not have been collated with a little more care.

The publication to which we are most indebted is the 'Rebellion Record.' This work has, of course—as its very name denotes—a strong Northern bias, never even according the title of 'General,' &c., to Confederate officers but under protest of inverted commas. But its partisanship is chiefly vented in harmless little demonstrations of this kind. It gives the statements on both sides with very tolerable fairness, and, including in its pages a large collection of official documents, Confederate as well as Federal, affords to a great extent the means of checking statements otherwise wanting in authority.

The last book on our list is professedly the work of an unwilling 'Volunteer,' who, after thirteen months of service in almost every conceivable capacity, succeeds in deserting from the Confederate ranks. It has an air of *vraisemblance* that in  
great

great measure carries off its otherwise extreme improbability, and may be taken, at all events, in corroboration of such facts as may have been previously gathered from other sources. Its testimony in this respect is the stronger for the evident, and indeed avowed, animus with which it is written. Apologising with amusing *naïveté* for 'seeming to speak too favourably of individuals and occurrences in the South,' and taking credit for at least the purpose 'to refrain from abusive and denunciatory epithets,' the writer proceeds to indulge in a full sufficiency of those amenities without which American opinion could not apparently be expressed. 'Graceless scoundrels,' 'diabolical deeds,' 'infamous and causeless rebellion,' Baltimore's 'murderous rebels,' 'this Hell upon earth,' 'that stupendous thief Floyd,' and the like, may not—in America—be considered epithets 'abusive or denunciatory,' but they are pretty strong evidence of the writer's bias. Nor need we have much hesitation in accepting whatever testimony may be given in favour of his enemy by a gentleman who cannot even record the kindness of Southern ladies to their wounded compatriots without a sneering allusion to their endeavouring to cheer the long hours of pain 'with the *Marseillaise*, Dixie, and like patriotic songs, interspersing occasionally something about "moonlight walks in Southern bowers" which [his] modesty would not allow [him] to suppose had any reference to,—his own personal attractions!

The 'South' of popular belief is a half-exhausted wilderness, devoted exclusively to the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. She is supposed to depend not only on the North for manufactures, but on the West for food; and seclusion from these has ever been looked upon as a ready means of starving her into submission. The scheme was as simple as the theory from which it sprang. To be effective, however, it required absolutely two conditions. The seclusion must be complete; the articles excluded, actual necessities of war. These necessities are but three. With clothing, food, and arms, a nation fairly bent on fighting need have little fear of a blockade.

In respect of clothing, the South has, in truth, been a heavy sufferer. Occupied almost entirely in agricultural pursuits, she had neglected, if not, indeed, despised, those arts of manufacture so much in favour in the North, and the war found her dependent on her enemy for the very uniforms in which her soldiers were to fight. An effective seclusion would have told here with terrible effect. But the condition of efficiency was unfulfilled. For months the blockade existed only upon paper, and during those months every effort was made to introduce the needful supplies. Cotton was there in only too great abundance, and machinery

machinery for working it was eagerly hurried in. Universal enthusiasm supplemented from a thousand sources the shortcomings of an infant trade. From drawing-room and cottage parlour came the aid of handwheel and of loom. The great house brought forth its stores of blankets and table-linen; carpets and rich hangings were stripped from the luxurious church; and delicate fingers that had hardly deigned to trifle time away in the mock employment of embroidery flew eagerly over the coarse materials that were to form for brother, lover, husband, an uniform, perhaps a shroud. Nor did assistance come only from such friendly hands. The contributions of the enemy himself were as large as they were reluctant; and whole regiments and divisions fought for the Confederacy in the blue and scarlet of the United States. And if all these sources failed—as they certainly did fail—to produce an adequate supply, the lack was fortunately for the South, not one of vital importance. A regiment ragged as Falstaff's own might yet do no discredit to their commanders in the field.

The second question was of more serious import. A country dependent upon her enemy for food would be indeed in evil case. But the whole theory of this dependence proves on examination the merest delusion. The South is, in truth, as we have said, an agricultural country. Relatively to population, her general produce was, by the last census, no less than 25 per cent. above that of North and West combined. Of cattle, her stock was large; whilst in her perennial grass she possesses an incalculable advantage over her enemy, whose cattle must be fed through her long winter on artificial food. The import of Northern manufactures was checked, but the produce that would have paid for them was thus only made available for use at home. The great staple cotton-trade was destroyed, but its destruction set free vast tracts of plantation for more profitable crops of grain. With a once a reduced expenditure and an increased production of necessary food, she could well afford to face the deprivation of less needful supplies. Tea might be scarce, and ice a luxury unknown; but bread and beef serve well enough to fight upon.

One terrible want, however, remained. Incredulous to the last of impending war, its advent found the infant Confederacy unarmed and unprepared. The alleged supply of Federal arms to States meditating secession has indeed formed the subject of vehement charges against the administration of Mr. Buchanan; but, at all events, there were neither public nor private preparations on a formidable scale. Alabama and Georgia had made some small purchases, but apparently without much view to the exigencies of approaching war; and when the struggle

struggle came, it found the South still dependent for arms and ammunition of every kind on the people with whom they were engaged in a deadly and desperate contest. Fortunate was it for them that the early inefficiency of the blockade gave time to develop their resources. Throughout the majority of the Southern States runs the great iron-belt, Tennessee and Missouri being in this respect among the most richly endowed of all the States of the late Union. Of coal, too, there was no lack, the two States of Missouri and Arkansas alone possessing more than twice as much as the whole of Europe. But when war broke out the whole South had in operation but 134 furnaces, and these small and scattered. Time was of the first necessity, and for this time arms must be procured elsewhere. But in this respect, as in that of clothing, means were found to make good all deficiencies. To the useful but costly importations effected during the first year the vicissitudes of actual warfare soon added a supply at once cheaper and more abundant. The very first general action at Bull Run added largely to the Confederate stock of arms. As the war progressed, supplies from this source grew more and more abundant. The reckless profusion with which stores of every kind were lavished upon the Union troops added greatly to the facility with which they were permitted to fall into the enemy's hands. It is a common boast of the South that whole regiments would go into action with 'Brown Bess' or the old flint lock, and fall in, when the muster-roll was called, armed to a man with the latest pattern rifle of the United States. Meanwhile the most active measures were taken to ensure a more permanent supply. As communication with the outer world was gradually more and more cut off, the factories, the machinery for which had come in while the ports were as yet but partially closed, became more and more active. The industry that had formerly found a vent in the vast export trade was forced by its extinction into a new channel. Mines that might have lain for centuries unworked whilst a readier and more certain profit lay on the surface of the soil sprang suddenly into a forced activity; and we believe that the South can at length furnish from her own resources considerable supplies of the munitions of war.

So much, then, for the material resources of the South. We turn now to its *personnel*. And here again we will take for our starting point the popular idea, as expressed in the concise phraseology of the popular organ:—'A few hundred slave-owners, trembling nightly with visions of murder and pillage, backed by a dissolute population of "poor whites," are no match for the hardy and resolute populations of the Free States.'

The description is, in truth, almost equally unfair to either side.



side. The 'hardy Northman,' who seems to have sat for the portrait of the one, is as little like the Northerner of New England or the Middle States as the ideal slaveowner of sensation novels resembles the flesh-and-blood planter of the South. The life of great cities, the wear and tear and manifold exhaustion of commercial pursuits, the habit of 'liquoring,' of driving in buggies, of dislike to exercise on foot or on horseback, are not the conditions to produce a 'hardy and resolute' race. It is otherwise, indeed, in the agricultural West; and the difference has told with unmistakable effect in the different issues of the Western campaigns. But it was not on the West that the great bulk of the war-burden could fall. It is from the classes that suffer by war that its ranks are recruited; and at such a time it is agriculture that flourishes at the expense of trade. And if the Northern portrait is thus erroneous, the painter is certainly no less at fault in his representation of the South. A glance at the Census-tables expands the 'few hundreds' into nearly 400,000 *families* owning slaves, and considerably more than half a million holding separate farms. Of a total adult free male population of some two millions, nearly half are engaged in agricultural pursuits; and more than half of these are farming on their own account. These two millions represent the fighting strength of the country; and it is from them that armies must be drawn.

And this brings us to what is at once the peculiar strength and the peculiar weakness of the South. It is almost needless to point out that under ordinary circumstances the rank and file of an army must necessarily be recruited from the labouring population. For all practical purposes we may consider that the labour of the South is carried on by slaves. If disaffected towards the dominant race, the slaves would be a fearful clog upon their movements. But let us suppose for a moment that the slave are contented with their lot, and even fond of their masters. They could not, indeed, be used as soldiers themselves, but they would set their masters free to serve; and the half-military habits in which the slaveholder has from the very necessity of his position been nurtured from his youth fit him for service.

Of the popularity of the present contest there can now at least be little doubt. The war was popular in the North with a majority powerful enough to crush all internal opposition; resolute to do so in a cause it valued next to life: the unanimity of the South left no minority to crush, for all knew that with them the struggle was for life itself.

It was so from the first. Until the actual conflict came, there was still, indeed, a strong Union feeling in the seceding States

In some it was even powerful enough to avert secession until the contest had already begun. But with the first blow all consideration of politics or party vanished before the one great necessity of self-preservation. The old ancestral hate blazed up with the added fury of long years of mutual distrust. Each incident of the progressing war gave fuel to the flame. The sufferings of New Orleans, the horrors of the sack of Athens, were at once a warning against defeat and a stimulus to victory and revenge. It was no longer a question of politics for the men. The whole indignant womanhood of the South took fire at the outrages upon their sex; and poor spirited, indeed, must be the man who could not better face the cannon of the foe than the shafts of a woman's scorn.

Our 'New Yorker' gives us an anecdote of one of the young ladies of Selma:—

'A gentleman,' he tells us, 'was known to be engaged for an early marriage, and hence declined to volunteer. When his betrothed, a charming girl and a devoted lover, heard of his refusal, she sent him, by the hand of a slave, a packet enclosing a note. The package contained a lady's skirt and crinoline, and the note these terse words, "Wear these or volunteer." He volunteered.'

But in truth the spur so unflinchingly applied, was for that very reason but seldom needed. The levies of the North were met in the South by a general rush to arms; and on either side the forces brought into the field were precisely such as the nature of their respective populations should have led the observer to expect:—

'If any man,' says Mr. Jay, in an anniversary speech at Mount Kisco in 1861, 'has regarded our large foreign element as one that threatened danger to the perpetuity of popular institutions, let him glance at the regiments now gathering to battle in their behalf. He will find among them men who have fought for freedom in other lands, and who have pined for their love of it in continental dungeons. He will find scholars from far-famed universities and graduates of the military schools of Europe, who have emerged from positions in which they were gaining an independency to proffer to their country their dear-bought experience, and guide and instruct the military ardour that sweeps like a whirlwind over the land. Call the roll of nationalities, and you will have responses from England and Ireland, Scotland and Wales—from natives of Catholic France and Protestant Germany. You will have replies from Poles, who yet dream of an independent Poland; from Hungarians in whose ears still lingers the eloquence of Kossuth; from Italians rejoicing in a renovated Italy, and who are fresh from executing the policy of the lamented Cavour and fighting by the side of Garibaldi.'

Stripped of its eloquent verbiage, and viewed by the light of  
bounties

bounties and conscriptions, we have here a vivid picture of the vast armies of the North. It is a picture from which the veriest novice might foretell the story of their unsuccess. The roll-call of nationalities, the gathering of Catholic and Protestant, of Royalist and Republican, of Englishman, German, Hungarian, Italian, and Pole, ring grandly through the rushing periods of the orator, but fall with a far different sound upon the soldier's ear. To him they tell only of an heterogeneous and discordant mass; of distrusts and jealousies, national, religious, political, social, by which the solitary bond of an ideal Union must soon be worn away; of orders misinterpreted, and temperaments misunderstood; of discipline varying in each different corps, and disregarded alike by all; of confusion in the council, and disaster in the field; in a word, of work done by deputy, and of all its errors and failures.

Very different is the companion picture of the rival host, as painted in equally glowing colours by a no less friendly hand. We quote from some interesting papers contributed to one of the London weekly journals by a 'private' in a Mobile company of Volunteers, the following sketch of the corps to which he belonged:—

'Two hundred young men,' he says, 'occupy a small space numerically in the population of a large commercial city, but among them young men almost every family of wealth and social standing had its near and dear representative. Most of them had been raised in affluence. A very large proportion were college bred; many had given promise of distinction at the Bar, in literature, or in the high spheres of commerce. Now they had become common soldiers—mere unthinking machines; whose places, some said, might as well have better have been taken by men less valuable to the community. But the young men thought otherwise. They felt that in the struggle in which their country was engaged every odd was arrayed against it. They felt that in a war for a nation's existence it was a privilege to be allowed to bear the first brunt, and that it became them, sons of wealth and luxury, to set an example of self sacrifice, of cheerful devotion, of patient endurance, of orderly demeanour and true soldierly discipline, to those less favoured by fortune. . . . When the proclamation of President Lincoln destroyed the faint hopes of peace which had sprung up during the month of his hesitation, the company decided by a vast majority to place itself upon a war footing and tender its services in the proper quarter. The small minority whom circumstances prevented from joining their comrades were honourably excused, their places supplied by a most fastidious system of balloting from among a large number of applicants, a simple and serviceable campaign uniform procured, all deficiencies in equipment and accoutrement supplied, daily morning and evening drill instituted; and in less than ten days a troop of young men, originally

originally united for purposes of amusement, had been transformed into a well-officered, well-disciplined company of soldiers. In Mobile, and in other cities of the Cotton States, as well as in the rural districts, companies similarly situated acted in a similar manner without awaiting each other's example. There was at first some doubt whether the authorities would receive this class of volunteers, and many weighty objections were raised against it, chiefly on the ground that these young men could be more useful to the State in less humble capacities. But the necessity of promptly pouring upon the exposed frontier of Virginia, then but a few days previously acquired to the Confederacy, troops having at least the elements of effective organisation, and a certain proficiency of drill, prevailed over all other reasons; and thus on the 23rd April, five days after the secession of Virginia, the Mobile Cadets received their marching orders to the "Old Dominion." The first levies of the South were exclusively among the gentlemen of the South.'

We need not wonder, then, if, with this disparity of *personnel*, the preponderance of numbers told but little in favour of the North. It is indeed an advantage that, unassisted by superior organisation, proves too often a defect. And it was precisely in the want of organisation that the great weakness of the Federalists lay. Few, indeed, even of their bitterest enemies have seriously impugned their courage; and, if the armies of the United States have been foiled, it has not been from any lack of mere fighting qualities in themselves, but from the inherent defects of their organisation and the essential advantages of their opponents. To some of these we have already directed attention: there are some others to which we must give a passing glance.

There are few points on which more general misunderstanding has prevailed than that of the relative influence of the original United States army on either side. It is customary to credit this army as so much capital to the Northern account. We could hardly commit a greater mistake. It is, indeed, true that the rank and file of the little force that had supplied the Republic in its long youth of peace, still followed for the most part the fortunes of the Stars and Stripes. Some were disbanded, and of these a considerable proportion re-enlisted in the Confederate service, but the greater part undoubtedly remained in the Federal ranks. But it is more than questionable how far their adhesion was a gain. Too few to exercise any favourable influence over the organisation or *morale* of the new levies, they were fully sufficient to import into the amalgamated armies all the jealousies and bickerings of regulars, militia, and volunteers, to which the paucity of their numbers but added virulence. Their best officers, too, were no longer

longer by their side. The Southerners had always been fonder of athletic exercises, of riding and of sport, and possessed a degree of military spirit for which the peaceful history of the Republic afforded no adequate development. With the wilder and more reckless this spirit had found vent in the filibustering expeditions in which American story is so rife; among the more stable elements of society it took refuge in such volunteer organisation as that we have already noticed, and in the more limited sphere of the regular service and the great American *Polytechnique* at West Point. To the youth of the mercantile North the military career offered *per se* but few attractions; and, when the crisis came, the flower of the United States officers were consequently almost invariably of Southern extraction, and naturally hastened to proffer allegiance to their respective States.

To these, too, must be added a numerous class of effective officers, to which probably no other country can offer a parallel. The working of the West Point Academy was by no means confined to furnishing officers to the regular army. The advantages of a free education of so superior a quality were eagerly sought, and numbers of American youth had passed through its courses before entering on their ultimate career as lawyers, merchants, or even as priests. In addition to these was a far greater number from similar State institutions on a somewhat smaller scale. Something of a military organisation appears indeed to have been necessary to the very existence of a Southern college. The 'Cumberland University,' though supported by the most eminent talent and the most lavish expenditure, dwindled away until revived by being placed on a military footing. Throughout most of the Southern States, and entirely peculiar to them, there are institutions similar to that at Lexington in Virginia, where from thirty to fifty pupils receive every year gratuitous instruction, on condition of serving for a certain period as military instructors in country districts. These military schools afford also an excellent general education, and are much sought after by all the pupils not on the footing above mentioned paying at the ordinary rate, and being of course relieved from the subsequent obligation of teaching. The result may well be thought worthy of study by all to whom the defence of their country is an object of interest. A little training, at a time when the advantages of education are but slightly affected by the immediate bearing of actual studies, had formed a reserve of military strength and science on which in an emergency the country might with confidence rely. The barrister was none the less able, the merchant none the less acute, that a year or two of youth had been devoted to practical study of

of the military art; but at the first call the West Point graduate or the Lexington student stepped straight from desk or bar, an officer fully trained for service in the field.

And as with her generals, so also with her statesmen, the irresistible force of national character gave the advantage to the South. The military genius of Lee and Johnstone, and Jackson and Beauregard, does not more conspicuously transcend that of M'Clellan and Burnside, and M'Dowell and Pope, than does the administrative talent of President Davis and the Southern Cabinet the pettifogging incapacity of President Lincoln and the attorney Ministers of the North. The Southern leaders were not the mere mediocre tools and puppets of trading politicians; they were men selected for those very qualities of talent and command most dreaded and disliked by the 'wirepullers' of the North. And when the crisis came the difference was felt. It was felt in economized resources and energies exerted to the full; in an unity of design and action by which every element of power was made to tell with multiplied force.

And lastly, in estimating the situation of the South, we must not forget the paramount advantage of her position of self-defence. In the intimate knowledge of every road by which an army could move, and every field on which a battle could be fought; in the increased facility of intercommunication inseparable from operations on an interior line; in the far lighter strain upon an improvised commissariat and an unpractised staff; in the general eagerness to assist the defender, and to mislead and impede the foe; in the very nature and extent of her vast and difficult territory; and most of all, as we have already seen, in the spirit that stirs in the most sluggish heart when fighting for its own honour and its own home; she possessed resources against which it would indeed require a heavy disparity of mere brute numbers to contend.

The war began with the seizure of the Southern forts. As State by State resumed its delegated sovereignty, each not unnaturally claimed the occupation of those fortresses which stood on its own soil. It was not indeed disputed that, from a money point of view, these forts were the property of the Federation by whom they had been built. But the property of the Federation was but another term for the joint property of the States, and when the partnership was dissolved, a division of this property became inevitable. The South accordingly sent a Commission to Washington to arrange with the Federal Government for that portion of the common inheritance which fell naturally to her lot, and which was, indeed, essential to her existence.

Mr. Buchanan, who was then President, temporised with the Southern

Southern Commissioners; Mr. Lincoln, they assert, positively deceived them. At length the long-delayed answer to the Southern request for an audience came in the form of a simple refusal to recognise their existence, and, simultaneously with this refusal to treat, came notice of the President's intention to throw supplies into Fort Sumter; if necessary, by force. Private information assured the Southern authorities that the supplies thus threatened included, not provisions only, but men, and prompt measures were taken to frustrate the design. To the summons to surrender, Major Anderson returned a courteous but decided refusal. Still the Confederate General was anxious, if possible, to avoid the effusion of blood. The provisions in the fort were known to be almost exhausted, and an extension of the time for evacuation until they should be actually spent, was offered on condition that the guns of the fort should not be opened upon the State troops, unless in answer to a previous fire from them. To his acceptance of these conditions Major Anderson added a proviso extending his power of opening fire to the commission by the State troops of 'any hostile act against this fort or the flag of [ his ] Government.' But the war-vessels of the United States were already in sight, and the stipulation was in fact a nullification of the whole proposal. General Beauregard's answer was brief, and in an hour from its despatch the Confederate batteries opened upon the fort.

Up to this moment it does not appear as though either party had realised to itself the approach of war. On each the error told with proportionate effect. The Southern anticipation of a peaceful issue prevented indeed any general measure of preparation, but the warlike spirit of the people was easily roused. At the actual centres of interest around the various disputed fort-works were thrown up, and the State militias called out and partially trained. In the districts less immediately affected, the general excitement yet gave additional impulse to the innate military propensity. The Volunteer organisation received a fresh impetus. The North remained inert. So great was the general indifference, that the final catastrophe of Mr. Lincoln's apparently vacillating policy with respect to Fort Sumter is now openly attributed to a deliberate design of arousing the spirit of the Northern States by the sacrifice of its garrison and the humiliation of its flag.

There is, indeed, strong evidence in favour of such an assumption. General Scott had given a decided opinion as to the futility of any attempt to relieve the forts in the face of opposition, unless backed at once by a numerous fleet and a powerful land army. This opinion was held by almost every military man

of any weight at the North. That the attempt would be opposed was certain—not only from the distinct assurance of the Southern leaders, but from the fact that the 'Star of the West' had already been fired into when engaged in a similar service. Yet not only was the fleet inadequate in itself and altogether unsupported; it did not even attempt to take part in the affray that was raging under its very guns, but saw the flag hauled down, after a bombardment of several hours, without an effort to avert the catastrophe. It is difficult to believe that an expedition so conducted was really undertaken in good faith. The scheme was, indeed, equally bold and unscrupulous. Involving, as it did, the very probable destruction of Major Anderson's little force, it evinced at the very outset that recklessness of human life for which the War Party of the North has been throughout distinguished. But it was successful. Sumter fell, and its fall effectually awaked the North from her torpor.

Yet, even now, the North seems to have had no glimpse of the real nature of the contest. At the commencement of a war the duration of which is still uncertain, and which was soon to absorb such armies as the world had seldom seen, the President's call was for 75,000 men for a service of three months. The immediate reply to this call was the secession of Virginia, and eight of the largest and most powerful States were now arrayed in open hostility to the Union.

But the Northern error did not alone consist in an underestimate of the occasion. Reckless of the lessons of history, the leaders hastened to repeat on a larger scale and with more disastrous results the fatal mistake of the Allies in the earlier campaigns of the French Revolutionary War. From the first the Northern strategy consisted of a series of combined attacks by armies moving in converging lines, until at length it culminated in the celebrated 'anaconda' scheme. A marvellous piece of boastful folly. Not only along the whole Northern frontier of the seceding States, but down the vast Atlantic seaboard, in the far-off wilds of Texas, and northward again along the whole course of the mighty Mississippi, the improvised fleets and armies of the North were to encircle a frontier that can be estimated only in thousands of miles, and crush out the heart of the rebellion by one contraction of its coils. A levy *en masse* of her whole population, well armed, well trained, well provided, and well led, would have been inadequate to the task.

It is impossible to exaggerate the influence of this fatal blunder. It at once aggravated every defect of the Federal armies, and enhanced every advantage of their foes. The North was weak  
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in generals; the division of forces demanded for each separate corps a skilful head. The men were untrained, and their movements slow and uncertain, while all depended on punctuality and despatch. They were fighting on soil whose every inhabitant was a foe, and where each word of information was given only to mislead; each separate line of march was just so much added to dangers such as these. Difficulties of commissariat, of transport, and of communication—all were multiplied by subdivision of the forces to be supplied. And greatest of all, perhaps, in its influence upon the general character of the war was the effect of this encircling attack upon the invaded territory itself. The common jealousy of individual rights by which the several States were linked together was a bond that had in it as much of danger as of union until cemented by a common danger and a common hate. The contingents of the distant States of the Gulf to a war on Virginian soil would have been, at the best, but contingents only—not the whole desperate strength of self-defence. By one system only could that strength be developed, but under that system its development was certain. The anaconda must needs startle, if it could not destroy; failing to crush, its pressure could not but consolidate. South Carolina was warm in the cause; if the Federal troops could not capture Charleston, they could at least ensure that her zeal should not too quickly cool. Louisiana was less enthusiastic, but she sprang beneath the spur struck rowel-deep at New Orleans. The Border States were neutral or divided; a little fighting was wondrously effective in nursing the latent fire to a glow. From Virginia to Texas, from Florida to the far North-West, no single State but has felt the prick of the Northern bayonet, and learned from it, at least, that for her, too, no less than for her sister-States, the struggle is one of life or death.

The first campaign was brief and restricted. The great Border State of Kentucky had as yet managed to preserve intact the neutrality proclaimed at the commencement of the contest, and fully one-third of the disputed frontier was thus rendered unavailable for hostile operations. Already, however, Virginia and Missouri presented each a separate phase of the coming struggle. In the latter was initiated that desultory Border-warfare that in Kentucky, Arkansas, and Tennessee still rages with varying and indecisive fortune. Kentucky had become the grand object of an attack the result of which must in effect decide one main political issue of the war. Space forbids us to attempt any detailed account of operations that, commencing on a line of some 500 miles in extent, ultimately enveloped the whole

whole frontier of the Southern States. Passing by, therefore, the numberless skirmishes and actions of minor importance, we must confine ourselves to tracing the main outlines of the campaign.

In the invasion of Virginia the great anaconda scheme received its first development. On the 21st June Major-General M'Clellan assumed command of the Army of Western Virginia. Starting from his head-quarters at Grafton, he pushed on by Clarksburg and Beverly in the direction of Richmond, driving before him General Garnett, who, with about 7000 men, was finally defeated at the battle of Rich Mountain, Colonel Pegram with nearly 1000 men being cut off and compelled to surrender. M'Clellan's advance was followed by that of Patterson. The head-quarters of this General were at Hagerstown, in Maryland, where he had collected an army of about 20,000 men. Passing by Harper's Ferry, the arsenal of which had been destroyed and abandoned by the Federal troops, he also pushed on towards Richmond, General A. S. Johnstone with about half his force retreating before him to Winchester. There the latter came to a stand behind the entrenchments already thrown up with a view to such a movement. Meanwhile M'Dowell was at Washington with the main Federal army of about 50,000 men. According to the plan of General Scott, this force was to co-operate with M'Clellan and Patterson, already advancing, as we have seen, towards Richmond, upon converging lines. But now appeared the inherent weakness of this system of strategy, more especially under such circumstances as those of the present struggle. The impatient democracy of the North, urged on by an ignorant and intemperate press, grew clamorous for immediate results. General Scott, himself a Southerner, and already claimed as an adherent by the seceding States, was especially obnoxious to attack on the ground of lukewarmness in the Union cause. Forced on by popular clamour, before the necessary preparations were complete, he was compelled to risk all in a premature advance. The result was, the disaster of Bull Run.

On the 17th July, General M'Dowell commenced operations by the occupation of Fairfax Courthouse. Close in his front lay General Beauregard, with about 17,000 men. As M'Dowell advanced, the little army of the Confederates retired slowly upon their previously-selected position on the southern bank of Bull Run, a small stream taking its rise in the mountain of that name, and running in a westerly direction to the Potomac river, near Occoquan. About three miles in the rear of this stream is the Manassas Junction Station, where the main line from Alexandria to Gordonsville and Richmond is joined by the branch from Winchester and Harper's Ferry. The two Confederate armies were

thus one at each end of a short railroad line. And now the immense superiority of Southern over Northern tactics became strikingly manifest. The joint forces of M'Clellan, Patterson, and M'Dowell outnumbered their opponents by nearly three to one. Both armies were hastily raised, and but partially disciplined; but every advantage of arms and equipment was on the side of the North. With them, too, was all the excitement of the advance, whilst their enemy was fighting under the disadvantage of a retreat, so especially depressing to young troops; but every advantage was neutralised by superior skill. The retiring troops had reached the positions marked out for them from the first; and now the retreat ceased, and they turned to bay. M'Clellan was away beyond the main range of the Alleghany Mountains, and altogether out of the game. The issue lay with M'Dowell and Patterson, and each was now face to face with his foe. But the retreat, too, had been on converging lines; and while the Northern Generals were still separated by some sixty miles of hostile country, the Southern forces stood, as it were, back to back, their strength fully doubled by the facility of mutual support.

Nor was this the only weak point of the Federal system. To the fatal error of division of force was added a yet more fatal defect in the constitution of the force itself. The three months for which levies had been raised had been exhausted in preparation before a movement could be made. On the very eve of a first decisive engagement, General Patterson found himself on the point of being abandoned by his troops. Their time of service had expired. It was in vain that he implored them to remain in the ranks but for ten days more, until success could be ensured. They complained of hardships, such as an improvised commissariat must always entail—of bad provisions, ragged clothing, bare feet, and short allowance. The first excitement had died away: the contest involved for them no such personal interest as carried the Southern troops through such far severer trials. On the contrary, it is beyond question that many of them heartily disapproved the enterprise in which they were engaged. Summoned ostensibly for defence of the capital, and stimulated by the disgrace that at Sumter had befallen their flag, the Democrats, whose political sympathies were all on the Southern side, had yet come cheerfully forward to resist invasion. But they were not prepared to assume the aggressive against men who were fighting for the very principles that they themselves had most at heart. The ardour of thousands was checked by the feeling that they had been cheated into so distasteful a course. The deliberate marching-off of two Pennsylvanian regiments during

during the actual battle of Bull Run must be mainly attributed to this cause; and it doubtless aided largely in promoting disaffection among Patterson's troops. But whatever the cause, the result was decided. Four regiments only out of the nineteen that composed his force consented to prolong their service for the required ten days. Thus threatened with wholesale desertion, and further disheartened by rumours that exaggerated General Johnstone's little force to upwards of 40,000 men, General Patterson abandoned the attack, and by a flank march to Charlestown endeavoured to make the best of his position by at once covering the approach to Washington, and securing his own line of retreat.

Patterson's withdrawal left his opponent free to hurry to the support of Beauregard. For some days the latter, pressed with his little army of 17,000 men by M'Dowell's overwhelming force, had been urgently importuning the President to order Johnstone to his aid. Hurrying to Manassas with about 8000 men, the latter, with the generosity of which the Confederate service offers so many examples, and which affords a striking contrast to the petty jealousies of Northern commanders, at once placed himself under the orders of his junior officer, and lent his utmost efforts to carry out his plans. With the further small addition of force brought up from Fredericksburg by General Holmes, Beauregard's army now numbered about 27,000 men. Before either of these reinforcements had arrived, however, the contest had already commenced with a sharp engagement on the 18th at Blackburn's Ford, near the centre of the position behind Bull Run. This preliminary action seems to have satisfied the Federalists of the impossibility of forcing the position, and M'Dowell's attention was now therefore directed to the endeavour to turn it.

The right of the Southern army was protected by rough and broken country, traversed only by narrow and difficult roads. Dowell therefore determined to attack on the left, and a flank movement was executed with that object. On the morning of 21st July the fight began. The reinforcements from Winchester were now fast arriving, and, confident of the issue, Beauregard had conceived a plan by which to cut off the Federal retreat. Anticipating the direction of M'Dowell's attack, and strengthening his own left wing to meet it, he sent orders to General Early, on his extreme right, to push forward past the left of the enemy to Centreville, on the Washington road. It might have been the result of so bold a stroke it is impossible now to estimate. The order miscarried; and when the error was discovered, the attack on the left wing had become too late to risk the long delay before the diversion at Centreville.

ville could be made. Changing his plan, therefore, he committed to General Johnstone the task of hurrying up the right wing to the support of his overmatched left; and by their aid the fortune of the day, which had hitherto inclined to the Federal side, was turned. The rest was almost matter of course. It was not without good reason that Beauregard had claimed such high credit for his troops for their retrograde movement of the 17th. Retreat in presence of an enemy is the supreme trial of even veteran troops. The soldier knows that something more than mere courage is required for prompt rally from defeat. Individually the Northern troops were doubtless as courageous as their opponents; but they were not, like them, of the stuff of which soldiers were made. Defeat was fatal. The check became a retreat; the retreat a rout; the rout a panic-stricken *saute qui peut*.

In the first depression of so terrible a disaster the fall of the capital itself was momentarily expected. An attack upon it had already, as we have said, been advocated by some of the more ardent spirits of the South. In the first excitement of the news from Sumter the then Confederate Minister of War, Mr. Walker, had spoken openly of it to the populace of the Southern capital. It seemed almost impossible that the Confederate General, flushed with victory, within a day's march, and with the road open before him, should let slip so tempting a chance. Had the attempt been made, it is by no means improbable that Washington would have fallen; but wiser counsels prevailed. The Southern policy was one not of aggression, but of defence. In that policy lay their strength. To attack the capital, the central point of interest of the whole country, would be to arouse against themselves that very feeling of personal interest and enthusiasm that was now their best ally. The mere rumour of such a design had sufficed to call forth a formidable army. Its execution would at that period have armed the entire people in all the energy of self-defence. Moreover the nature of the Confederate forces peremptorily forbade the needless expenditure of a single life. They were of far too costly material to be unnecessarily exposed.

With the battle of Bull Run then ended for a time all important operations on either side. Each now set to work to organize fresh troops and prepare for a struggle on a far larger scale. As might be expected, the first step of the infuriated North was the disgrace of her unsuccessful Generals. Patterson was promptly, but honourably, dismissed the service; and McDowell superseded by McClellan, whose success at Rich Mountain was the one bright spot in the campaign. Abandoning all idea of an immediate

immediate advance, the new commander commenced, with that slowness and steadiness that seems to characterise all his actions, to re-form the shattered Army of the Potomac, and organise the new levies now beginning to pour in. The Confederates on their part were not idle. From the first they had avoided one great error of the North, and had enlisted almost invariably for five years, or for the war. It is probable that as yet this rule had somewhat checked the influx of recruits, but its wisdom was now apparent. The real magnitude of the occasion was at length forced upon the public mind, and the long period of service, now become an obvious necessity, no longer damped the general eagerness to join the ranks. Nor was the wisdom of the Executive less clearly shown in the organisation of their army. Instead of retaining intact the regiments already in the field, and supplementing them with fresh levies, they now offered every inducement to the higher class of volunteers to take their discharge, and re-enter the service as commissioned officers. A double object was thus gained. The *élite* of the Southern youth were no longer subjected to an exposure that was altogether without equivalent in the service performed; the new levies were provided with officers thoroughly fitted for command, not only by social position, but by actual experience in the field.

Nor was the efficiency of the Confederate system more remarkable than its economy. In nothing have the warring sections been more strongly contrasted than in their respective expenditure. It was not alone that the universal enthusiasm enabled the South to dispense almost entirely with those bounties that soon became so heavy a drain on the exchequers of the North. Every item of expenditure felt its influence. Commissariat expenses were minimized by subscriptions of money, of cotton, of stores of every kind. Food and forage were poured out in profusion for the use of patriot troops. Fine ladies made and mended the soldiers' clothes. Merchants ran costly cargoes through the blockade, and sent their invoices for Generals to select at their own price whatever they might need. Men and officers by thousands refused to touch their hard-earned pay. The very money-market shared in the general enthusiasm; and, while gold disappeared altogether from circulation, the Confederate paper long maintained a factitious value that was also undoubtedly much assisted by the seclusion from foreign intercourse. The dearly-purchased levies of the North must be carefully kept and fed from the first moment they were raised; and in this necessity originated much of that gigantic system of fraud the exposure of which has so lately aroused the general indignation. The services of Southern regiments were not accepted until their numbers

numbers were complete, and till then the burden of their maintenance was left on private hands.

Nearly six months now passed in preparation, but they were by no means devoid of interest to the looker-on. Westward the war, which was now gradually extending its area over Kentucky and Tennessee, raged with varying success. Its general results, however, were unfavourable to the Confederates, who were finally pushed back into Arkansas. In this quarter the year closed gloomily for the Southern cause, and the Federal advance paved the way for still more important successes in the ensuing spring. Along the Virginian frontier numerous unimportant skirmishes took place, but the position of the host forces remained substantially the same. On the Atlantic coast also various gunboat engagements preluded the grand attack now in active preparation, but also without material result. Meanwhile the most active measures were taken to meet the threatened descent. Fortifications were thrown up and manna and preparations everywhere made for destroying the cotton-laying waste the country in the event of any disaster.

At sea, too, neither side was idle. At the very commencement of the war the little 'Sumter,' a small merchant-steamer of about 400 tons, hastily fitted as an *impromptu* man-of-war, had run the blockade at New Orleans, and was committing terrible depredations on Northern commerce. She was now followed by the 'Nashville,' a somewhat larger paddle-steamer; and their exploits with those of several smaller consorts, soon began to exercise palpable influence on Northern rates of assurance. On the part of the Federal Government every exertion was made to put forward the fleet of iron-clad gunboats and floating batteries now in course of construction, and to increase the efficiency of the blockade. In its eager pursuit, indeed, of the latter object somewhat overstepped the legitimate bounds of civilized warfare. Of all the 'Rebel' strongholds none was so utterly obnoxious to the Northern mind as Charleston, in South Carolina. Not only was it one of the most commercially valuable of the Southern ports, but it was the first in which the standard of Secession had been raised, and its name was inseparably connected with the fall of Sumter and the humiliation of the Federal flag. The steps taken to enforce the blockade at this point became thus marked with savage vindictiveness that drew down universal reprehension. A fleet of old whale-ships and other worn-out vessels was purchased in various New England ports, and heavily laden with stores with the avowed purpose of being sunk in the entrance of the port of Charleston, and destroying it as a harbour for ever. Happily for humanity, this barbarous scheme failed of  
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intended effect; indeed, it is said (we know not how truly) to have improved the harbour; but the design went far to fix upon its authors a stigma, since rendered ineffaceable by its wicked attempt to excite a servile insurrection.

But the event which during this period excited the greatest interest was the forcible seizure of the Southern Commissioners on board the British mail-steamer 'Trent.' Whether this was really the irresponsible act of an unscrupulous officer in search of a little cheap distinction, or whether it was deliberately planned in order that a war with the 'Old Country' might reunite North and South against the common enemy, cannot now be determined. The sudden cooling of the war-fever, on the arrival of the message of the English Government, and the universal acquiescence in Mr. Seward's prompt, though not very graceful, submission to Earl Russell's demands, is by no means the least striking incident of a history that has been beyond any other prolific in surprises.

With the commencement of the New Year the 'Anaconda' began to stir. The first movement was made in the West, where Fort Henry in Tennessee was attacked by General Grant on the 6th February, with a strong force of gunboats under Commodore Foote, and captured after a brief but spirited resistance. A powerful land force under General M'Clermand was to have co-operated in the attack, but, owing to the bad state of the roads, did not arrive until the action was over. The garrison, consisting of General Fitzmaurice, eight officers, and about fifty privates, were taken prisoners; but the loss of the fort itself was a far more serious disaster, throwing open in great measure the important State of Tennessee, and preluding yet further successes of the gunboat fleet. It was followed within a very few days by a yet more serious disaster, the history of which is still wrapped in a certain degree of mystery.

Forts Henry and Donnelson are commonly linked together as victims of the superior strength of the Federal gunboats on the river. With regard to the latter, however, this does not appear to have been the case. It was, indeed, assailed by a combined expedition of land and naval forces; but the river attack appears to have been completely foiled, two of the gunboats being put *hors de combat*, the whole flotilla very roughly handled, and Commodore Foote himself compelled to retire to his head-quarters at Cairo, on the junction of the Ohio and Missouri rivers. But though the fleet was thus decidedly repulsed, the fort had been completely invested on the land side by the military force of the expedition under General Grant. These were attacked by the left division under General Floyd, and



and their right wing completely routed and driven back to their left. But at this point they proved too powerful for General Buckner, to whom the attack on the left wing had been entrusted but who seems to have been somewhat tardy in the execution of his movements. The Confederate right was thus in its turn empowered, and a lodgement effected by the enemy within the lines. On this success the Federal force seems to have rallied and shortly recovered the ground they had lost upon their right. The fort was now again completely invested, and, according to General Pillow, was commanded in every part by the enemy's guns. And here commences the mysterious portion of the story. Two armies appear to have been, in point of numbers, very nearly of equal strength; the inequality was, at all events, no greater than should have been compensated by the intrenched position of the weaker force. General Floyd does, indeed, in his subsequent despatch, speak of large reinforcements having been received by the enemy, whose number he finally places at 'eighty-four regiments;' the more moderate estimate of General Pillow puts it at 'fifty-two regiments,' and finally at 'from 20,000 to 30,000 men.' But this supposition is contradicted by the official despatches of General Grant, and the two armies may be reckoned at from 15,000 to 20,000 each.

With forces so nearly equal, the unconditional capitulation of nearly the whole of the Confederate army seems singular; nor is this singularity lessened by the escape of the two commanding Generals at the head of a solitary brigade. The whole history, indeed, of the surrender, as related in the explanatory despatches of General Floyd and Pillow, is most remarkable. On the reinvestment of the fort after the successful *sortie* above mentioned, all idea of attempting to maintain the position appears to have been immediately abandoned. A Council of War was summoned. The opinion was unanimous that the place was untenable, and that further defence could only involve a futile waste of life. Immediate surrender was decided on with almost equal unanimity. General Pillow's proposal to fight their way into the open country towards Nashville being at once abandoned on the opposite side by General Buckner. But, this point settled, General Floyd denounced his own personal determination never to surrender. Admitting fully the necessity of the step, and professing readiness to hand over the command to any of his junior officers who might be less scrupulous upon the point, he declared his resolution to cut his own way out at the head of his brigade rather than himself fall into the enemy's hands. The second day of the command, General Pillow, was of the same mind with his colleagues, and at once 'passed' the command to General Buckner.

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officer, who seems to have taken from the first an especially despondent view of the situation, at once accepted the responsibility, and, his two seniors having made good their escape, proceeded to open negotiations with General Grant. The proposal of an armistice to arrange the capitulation was met by a prompt refusal of any terms but those of immediate and unconditional surrender, and to these General Buckner, whilst denouncing them in a somewhat petulant despatch as 'ungenerous and unchivalrous,' hastened to accede.

Such is the story of Fort Donnelson, as told in the official despatches of General Pillow and General Floyd. We cannot wonder that, in laying these despatches before the Confederate Congress, Mr. Davis should characterise the explanation they afford as defective and unsatisfactory. It is not impossible, however, that the conduct of the commanding General may have been in some degree influenced by the peculiarity of his personal situation. General Floyd had been the War Minister of Mr. Buchanan, and it was against him that had been launched all the furious charges of treachery in the distribution of the Federal stores of arms. 'Thief' and 'traitor' were for him the mildest epithets that Northern hatred could bestow, and instant hanging the gentlest treatment it could propose. Should the ex-Minister be captured, it was not impossible that some such course might in the heat of passion be adopted.

But whatever the true explanation of the story, its result was, beyond all question, most disastrous. Fort Donnelson is the key to the river Cumberland, on the banks of which, a few miles farther to the south, is situated Nashville, the capital of the great State of Tennessee. Besides that its political importance was far from small, this city and its immediate neighbourhood had been made the basis of military operations and the depôt for immense quantities of ammunition and stores of every kind. With the fall of Fort Donnelson that of Nashville became inevitable. But so unexpected was the catastrophe, that scarcely the slightest provision had been made for retreat. The news came like a thunder-clap on the devoted city. Fortifications were hastily commenced, and as hastily abandoned. Specie and valuables of every kind were hurried off to Columbia, Chattanooga, and other places of temporary safety; the gunboats that had been rapidly advancing towards completion were destroyed; immense quantities of provisions shared the same fate, the remainder being distributed gratis among the poorer population; bridges were burned and broken down; public property removed; numbers of the inhabitants fled before the approach of the hated Yankees; and finally, the army itself retired by a weary and painful march

march of some 300 miles of most difficult road to the village of Corinth, in Mississippi, where they again intrenched themselves—General Beauregard, with the ‘Army of the Mississippi,’ being on their left, with his head-quarters at Jackson, not far to the westward of the river Tennessee.

And if in the west Fortune seemed thus to have deserted the Confederate colours, she frowned upon them no less darkly in the east. Here, too, the ‘anaconda’ was stretching out its coils, and as yet its grip appeared indeed deadly. The capture of the island of Roanoke, in North Carolina, followed almost immediately by that of Newbern on the mainland, threw a powerful force into the rear of the Confederate position at Norfolk, and paved the way for the capture of that important post and the subsequent advance of M’Clellan into the peninsula. In South Carolina General Burnside obtained possession of James Island, in the harbour of Charleston, a position from which the capture of that place appeared inevitable. Pensacola was abandoned by the Confederate troops. Fernandina fell before the fleets of the North. The whole eastern coast seemed on the very point of subjugation.

In the South a yet heavier disaster befel the commercial capital of the Confederacy at New Orleans. Profiting by a sudden rise in the waters of the Mississippi, which swept away the obstructions at the mouth of that river, the Northern fleet, under Commodore Farragut, pushed past the batteries, and anchored in front of the defenceless town. Still the inhabitants were eager for resistance, but the threatened bombardment must in a few hours have laid the city in ashes, without affording the slightest chance of an ultimately successful defence. The attempt would have been madness, and the Confederate commander wisely withdrew his scanty force.

The fall of New Orleans threw open the lower portion of the Mississippi. At its opposite extremity the descending flotilla of Commodore Foote had captured the fortifications of Island No. 10 on the Missouri, and was pushing on to effect a junction with the ascending fleet of Commodore Farragut. The little town of Vicksburg, with its hasty and imperfect fortifications, was now the only obstacle to such an union. Thus attacked on both sides, no hope was entertained of a successful defence, whilst its fall would give to the North entire command of this all-important channel of communication.

Nor was the aspect of affairs on the Virginian frontier more encouraging. Along the Shenandoah Valley the Federal armies were steadily advancing under General Banks. M’Clellan, after a brief advance by M’Dowell’s former route of Fairfax and  
Manassas,

anassas, suddenly retraced his steps, and commenced a fresh series of operations along the peninsula of Yorktown. Norfolk fell; the lines of Yorktown were abandoned; and, step by step, the vast army of McClellan, complete in every point of equipment and perfected in organisation by long months of patient training, was pushing on towards the Confederate capital. For the first time the powerful fleet by which it was supported was paralysed by the extraordinary successes of a solitary Confederate rammer. This vessel, the 'Merrimac,' had been taken when the Norfolk navy-yard was abandoned, and had been hastily plated with layers of railway-iron. In the commencement of her new career as the 'Virginia,' she encountered and fairly dispersed the whole Federal fleet—destroying or seriously injuring several vessels, and engaging for several hours in a hand-to-hand fight with the iron-plated 'Monitor,' which seems to have suffered severely in the encounter. But as the Southern armies fell back, she was necessarily destroyed; and the Federal forces were at length established within a few miles of Richmond, the fall of which was expected in the North from day to day.

One solitary ray of success had alone shed its light upon this dark season of defeat and disaster. Undaunted by the long and painful retreat from Nashville, the united armies of Johnston and Beauregard turned once more upon the advancing enemy, and at Pittsburg Landing inflicted on him a decided and serious defeat. But this gleam of success was as brief as it was brilliant. The beaten army of Grant fell back upon its gunboats, and the re of their heavy guns checked the pursuit. The next morning, with the arrival of General Buell with powerful reinforcements, and, after another day of fierce and undecided struggle, the outnumbered Confederates were again compelled to retire to their entrenchments.

The crisis did, indeed, seem imminent. Looking on from a distance, it was for the moment difficult even for those best acquainted with the resources of the South to maintain their faith in the result. But the South herself remained firm under reverses that might well have daunted a less spirited and determined race. Beyond the actual ground on which the victors stood, the successes of the Federal arms had not gained for the invader one foot of Southern soil. Nashville, Norfolk, New Orleans, and other captured cities submitted in sullen silence to their conquerors; but no oppression, no brutality could wring from them one sign of acquiescence in the hated Northern rule. In the districts yet unassailed, the mere rumour of an approaching foe ensured the prompt destruction of cotton, and cane, and every article by which the invader might profit. Measures for  
arming

arming and organising the entire population were pushed on with swift but steady energy. The general enthusiasm increased rather than cooled under the pressure of defeat. The very conscription adopted subsequently at Washington, in despair of any other means of obtaining further supplies of recruits, assumed at Richmond the form of a measure for systematising and controlling a too-exuberant zeal:—

‘The vast preparations made by the enemy,’ says President Davis, in the remarkable message in which that measure was introduced, ‘have animated the people with a spirit of resistance, so general, so resolute, and so self sacrificing, that it requires to be regulated rather than to be stimulated. The right of the State to demand and the duty of each citizen to render military service need only to be stated to be admitted. It is not, however, wise or judicious policy to place in active service that portion of the force of a people which experience has shown to be necessary as a reserve. Youths under the age of eighteen years require further instruction. Men of matured experience are needed for maintaining order and good government at home, and supervising preparations for rendering efficient the armies in the field.

‘These two classes constitute the proper reserve for home defence, ready to be called out in case of any emergency, and to be kept in the field only while the emergency exists. But in order to maintain this reserve intact, it is necessary that, in a great war like that in which we are now engaged, all persons of intermediate ages, not legally exempt for good cause, shall pay their debt of military service to the country, that the burden should not fall exclusively on the most ardent and patriotic.’

Defeat thus met, must, sooner or later, turn to victory; and the change was now near at hand. The tide of Federal success had reached its height. For a while it wavered at the flood, then, turning, recoiled with a steadiness and rapidity surpassing that of its transient rise. Once more the superior character of Southern strategy became strikingly apparent. *Reculer pour mieux sauter* had been for months the Confederate motto. And now the spring was made. It struck at the same fatal weakness, of an extended line of operations, which had proved so disastrous to the North in the opening campaign. In removing the main body of his army to the eastern extremity of the peninsula, M'Clellan had in great measure exposed the Northern capital. The Southern leaders at once seized on the advantage. With lightning rapidity a *corps d'armée*, under the now famous ‘Stone-wall’ Jackson, was hurled against the advancing army of Banks, and drove it headlong from the Valley of the Shenandoah. Alarmed for the safety of Washington, the Northern President hurriedly recalled M'Dowell to its defence, and at the critical moment

ment of his attack M'Clellan was deprived of the support on which he had relied. The rest followed of course. The remarkable 'raid' of General Stewart, which first aroused the South to a sense of the insecurity of the Federal position, produced the inevitable result. Dashing round the entire circuit of the enemy's lines, the Confederate commander marked the weakness of his defence, and traced out the attack that was to come. Burning with the energy so long repressed, animated by the presence of their own President within their ranks, and standing upon the very threshold of their capital, the Confederates at length advanced upon the foe. Step by step the invader was driven backwards over the ground that had been won with slow and painful effort. The right wing of the Federal army on which fell the main brunt of the engagement, was pushed back, and compelled to seek refuge in rear of the nearly less shattered left. Seven days of desperate fighting left the remains of that once splendid army forced back on the north of its gunboats more than twenty miles from the position which for so many weeks it had threatened the Confederate capital. The second invasion of Virginia ended in a defeat perhaps even more disastrous than that which had so speedily annulled the first.

The action of the great drama now hurried on with breathless intensity. To the almost inexhaustible resources of the Union the annihilation of one great army was but a signal for the rebirth of another. Scarcely was M'Clellan driven from the field ere Pope with another gigantic force was marching upon him from the north. But once more the advantage of standing upon an interior line compensated the inferior numbers of the threatened force. Leaving M'Clellan to withdraw at his leisure the dispirited remnants of his army, the Confederates hurried to meet the new invader. The first collision took place on the banks of the Rapidan, where, at the battle of Cedar Run, the army of General Pope was brought to a standstill. A brief interval ensued, during which the Federal General retired to Aquia Creek, on the bank of the Potomac, to effect a junction with the force with which M'Clellan was hurrying from the Peninsula to his support. But the time had been yet more usefully employed by his indefatigable foe. Pushing past the Federal right, Jackson fell unexpectedly on their rear, capturing General Pope's head-quarters, with all his papers and personal baggage, and compelling him to face round and fight another desperate battle to restore his interrupted communications with the capital. The field of Bull Run again became the scene of a final defeat. The united armies of the North were rolled back

across

across the Potomac. The victorious Confederates rapidly followed up their advantage; and the collapse of the third invasion of Virginia brought the Southern armies into Maryland.

In the excitement occasioned by this unexpected step, its significance was not unnaturally overrated. It is now very generally understood that the Southern Generals were well aware of the inadequacy of their force for an attack on either Baltimore or Washington, or even for the maintenance of a permanent footing in the State. The true object of the movement was in fact to cover the assault on Harper's Ferry, and in this it was entirely successful. This important station again fell into the enemy's hands, and its enormous stores of every kind were a prize well worthy the bold stroke by which they had been secured. Meanwhile a panic seized upon the capital. Pope, whose boastful professions had come to so lame and sudden a conclusion, was ignominiously dismissed to a distant command against the Indian tribes of the North-West. All hopes again centred on M'Clellan, and for awhile it seemed as though his name, always beloved by the soldiery, might yet retrieve the fortunes of the day. His return, indeed, restored some semblance of discipline to the disorganised mob that alone remained of the once magnificent armies of Virginia and the Potomac. With a promptness strongly contrasting with his customary deliberation of movement, he led the re-inspirited troops once more to the attack, and four days of desperate fighting, culminating on the 17th September in the now famous battle of Antietam Creek, led to a result which was claimed as a victory by either side. The real advantage, however, rested with the South. Immensely inferior in numbers, but strong in a position chosen with all his usual consummate skill, General Lee had withstood the Northern attack until his object was achieved and his retreat secured. The South may indeed lay claim to even higher honours than those of successful resistance. Preserving through greater part of the fight their attitude of defence, its close saw them assuming the position of assailants. The Federal army, dispirited by the obstinate resistance it had encountered, and broken by the fire from the impregnable heights, was already giving way when the approach of darkness saved it from a decisive defeat. But, though still maintaining its ground, and even able with some show of plausibility to lay claim to a victory, the army of General M'Clellan was effectually disabled from any further movement, and the Confederates withdrew leisurely and without opposition to the other side of the Potomac.

Another act of this sanguinary drama was now fast drawing to a close. Paralysed by the losses of Antietam and Sharpsburg,

burg, M'Clellan was no longer able to prosecute his advance. But delay was ruin. The political exigencies of the Republican party demanded a forward movement. Popular clamour was backed by imperative orders from Washington. Both were alike unavailing to urge the cautious Northern commander upon what he plainly saw to be certain destruction; the fickle breath of popularity changed its tone; and the General who had so lately been hailed as the saviour of the Republic was once more disgraced, and a less cautious or less scrupulous officer entrusted with the transient honours of his command.

General Burnside assumed the leadership of the Northern forces pledged to immediate advance. Into the abstract merits of his plans it is needless now to enter. It does not, indeed, seem probable that the line of attack by Fredericksburg and the north, already so often rejected as impracticable and so lately marked by a disastrous repulse, could in any case have been successfully followed with an army so dispirited and demoralised by losses and defeats. But such chances as might have been afforded by surprise and rapidity of movement were altogether dissipated by the neglect of the War Department. For weeks the invading army lay idly before Fredericksburg on the opposite bank of the Rappahannock, and during that time General Lee had ample opportunity for strengthening his works, and concentrating his forces to oppose their advance. At length the long-expected pontoons arrived, and, after shelling for some hours the deserted and defenceless town, General Burnside threw his army across the river, and commenced a general attack upon the heights by which it was commanded from the rear. The battle was one of the most bloody, and, at the same time, one of the most disastrous of the war. The Confederate Generals, indeed, barely one-third of whose forces were engaged, seem to have been unaware how severely the enemy had been handled, and forbore to push their advantage. Viewed by the light of after-knowledge it seems probable that, had they done so, the Army of the Potomac would have been utterly destroyed. But its salvation proved in fact of little moment. Availing themselves of the friendly cover of a tremendous storm, the remnants of the beaten army crept back silently in the darkness of night to the shelter of their batteries across the stream, and the fourth and last attack on Richmond was at an end. Months have passed, but the Army of the Potomac has given no signs of returning life. M'Clellan might perhaps revive it, but it is certain that the President will not reappoint him. Once, indeed, it has been galvanised into a semblance of vitality, but the spasmodic movement ceased as soon as it began. Disease, desertion, demoralisation of every  
kind



kind, have continued to thin its ranks, until it is now being finally broken up and conveyed in detached fragments to distant scenes of action.

With the battle of Fredericksburg ends one marked phase of the war. The months that witnessed the three last Virginian campaigns had been fruitful also elsewhere of success for the Confederate arms. In South Carolina, General Burnside had been dislodged from the position in James Island, the possession of which had excited such buoyant hopes; and Charleston was now fortified more strongly than before. At New Orleans the North still held her ground; but at Port Hudson fortifications had arisen which barred the upward progress of the fleet, when the rising waters of the Mississippi would have again set them free to move. Vicksburg still held out, and with powerful reinforcements and carefully-strengthened defences seemed able to bid defiance to the utmost force that could be brought against her. In the Western States the varying fortunes of the war had inclined for the most part to the Southern side, and Nashville itself had been more than once on the eve of recapture. At almost every point of the vast beleaguering line the recoil was beginning to be strongly felt, and no substantial advantage had been gained in any quarter to balance the long list of defeats.

The action now pauses for awhile. The final collapse of the Virginian invasion has removed the interest of the war elsewhere and it now centres at Vicksburg and Charleston, and on the two great armies of Jackson and Rosecranz, which are still facing each other in Tennessee; the Federals apparently losing ground. It had hitherto seemed possible that even yet some unlooked-for success in either of these quarters might revive the dying embers of the war; but it now seems pretty clear that the operations against Vicksburg have been quite unsuccessful, and that the troops intended for the siege of Charleston are almost in a state of mutiny. A change is coming rapidly over the position of affairs. The curtain has fallen on another act, and we hear for a time only a distant rumbling of preparations behind the scenes. When next it rises, it will most probably be on an entirely new development of the great plot; perhaps on a total change of scene and actors. There are many and striking signs that the North is growing weary of the war, and despairing of the object for which it has been waged. It would appear that the last exploit of the Northern arms has been the submersion (by cutting the bars of the Mississippi) of two vast regions, one of them as large as Scotland! The infliction of so savage an injury demonstrates at once that the Union feels herself to have neither part nor lot henceforth in the Southern States.

*But*

t the termination of the present contest will not necessarily  
re the return of peace. The South, indeed, has fairly con-  
d her freedom, and may fairly look to a period of rest. The  
gle has been long and arduous, and the final victory is,  
ps, one of the least valuable of its fruits. It is in such a  
s this that the character of a nation is formed. The South,  
ng with its own hands, and pouring out its own blood for  
y and honour, is strengthened and united by the struggle.  
North, intent only on its own sordid ends, seeking its own  
in the sufferings and the subjugation of others, and making  
r only a more violent and unscrupulous pursuit of trade, has  
astened the dissolution to which mere selfish interests must  
s tend. Already the partition of the Northern Confederacy  
egun. The West is fast growing weary of a war of which  
rief burden has been hers, the chief profit to the States of  
orth-East. New England, whose selfishness mainly caused,  
whose violence and fanaticism have ultimately gained almost  
tire guidance of the war, is more than ever bent on turning  
ends altogether abhorrent to her sister-States. With every  
he breach grows wider and more irreparable. It needs,  
d, but little discernment to see that the tide of revolution is  
g rapidly northward, and that the remnant of the Union  
oon be tossing on its stormy waves.

at the end may be none can yet foretell. Three Confe-  
ies at least, of Eastern, Western, and Middle States, seem at  
it the most probable result. But in truth the revolution has  
ut scarce begun, and years must pass before the troubles  
subside, and the new configuration of the land appears.  
he present our task is done. We have endeavoured, as  
and clearly as our limits will allow, to recount the history  
it phase of the great struggle which is now fast passing

In it we have in truth traced out the story of a nation's

It is a story full of interest and instruction; and, whilst  
y perhaps lessen in some degree the marvel with which our  
ance of her resources has hitherto invested her success, it  
assuredly not diminish our respect for her valour and her  
ancy.

ART. III.—*The English Cyclopædia: a New Dictionary of Universal Knowledge.* Conducted by Charles Knight. 22 Vols 4to. London, 1861.

IN a work which is not yet a quarter so well known as it deserves to be—the ‘Nouveau Manuel de Bibliographie Universelle’ of MM. Denis, Pinçon, and De Martonne, which forms one of the series of the ‘Manuels-Roret’—a list is attempted of all the encyclopædias which have left the press since the invention of printing, and the number of which the names are given amounts to a hundred and eighty-nine. Among them, however we find the ‘Novum Organon’ of Bacon, and the ‘Essai sur l’Origine des Connaissances Humaines’ of Condillac; to say nothing of an Essay on Nomenclature, extracted from the work of Jeremy Bentham, and a volume entitled ‘Studies of the Historic Muse,’ published at Dublin in 1820. These have surely no valid claim to be put on the register. The ‘Novum Organon’ magnificent as it is, must be considered as a grammar only of the sciences: a cyclopædia is not a grammar, but a dictionary, and to confound the meanings of grammar and dictionary is to lose the benefit of a distinction which it is fortunate that terms have been coined to convey.

In the case of languages, indeed, there is another valuable but more subtle distinction, which has found its way to expression in words,—the difference between a ‘dictionary’ and a ‘vocabulary.’ A ‘dictionary’ is now generally taken to be a collection of all the words of a language, arranged in alphabetical order; and a ‘vocabulary’ a collection of words not necessarily arranged in alphabetical order, though often on some other system. The notion of an ordinary dictionary—such as of French and English, for instance—with two alphabets, first of one language, then of the other, is now so familiar to us, and seems so much in the natural order of things, that some surprise is occasioned by the reflection how many centuries had rolled over the heads of teachers and pupils before the idea was ever thought of. The Romans studied Greek through all the classical ages without the assistance of a Greek and Latin dictionary; nor, indeed, did such a work come into existence till both of the languages were dead. The earliest is the production of Crastoni, an Italian monk of the fifteenth century, who was contemporary with the fall of Constantinople, and the introduction of printing. The fact is the more singular that the invention had been all but hit upon more than a thousand years before. The Greeks had begun, towards the close of the classical ages, to make partial collections of obscure and difficult words, and to arrange them with their explanations in the order

order of the alphabet. The alphabetical arrangement of the subject matter of a book of any kind was in itself no small achievement. That idea was the germ of all books of reference, of volumes for occasional consultation, instead of continuous reading; and the man who originated these was almost as great a benefactor to literary mankind as he who invented an index. The distinction between a cyclopædia in the order of the alphabet and one in any other order is as great as that between a 'dictionary' and a 'vocabulary,' and as deserving of being embodied in set terms whenever such terms can be agreed upon. At present there are two rival words, 'cyclopædia' and 'encyclopædia,' which have long carried on a contest for preference to represent the same meaning; and of the two great undertakings which have recently divided the attention and the patronage of the English public—the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' and the 'English Cyclopædia'—one bears the shorter and the other the longer title, though the alphabetical arrangement is happily common to both.

Under the trifling variety of designation to which we have referred, the two cyclopædias equally illustrate the character now attached to the name by the almost unlimited variety of their contents. A modern cyclopædia is a whole library in epitome, with almost the single exception of the literature of the imagination. It is not a dictionary of the arts and sciences only, but of history, geography, antiquities, biography, of general knowledge and miscellaneous information. The inhabitant of a lone house in the country who places in his bookcase the two-and-twenty volumes of the 'English Cyclopædia' expects, and not without reason, to find in them, on occasion, the essence of the twenty thousand volumes of reference that line the walls of the British Museum Reading Room.

This meaning of the term, however unhesitatingly accepted now, is very different from that which it bore a century ago, and the progress of the change is a curious point in literary history. The first work that bore the name in England was the famous 'Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences,' by Ephraim Chambers, published in 1728, the remarkable success of which, both at home and abroad, led to its imitation and expansion, about twenty years afterwards, in the still more famous 'Encyclopédie' of Diderot and D'Alembert, which was the first that bore the name in France. But Chambers's 'Cyclopædia' was, as the second part of the title distinctly stated, a 'Dictionary of Arts and Sciences' only; and it retained that character in all its numerous subsequent editions till its metamorphosis into 'Rees's Cyclopædia,' when its original pair of volumes expanded into five and forty, and its character

expanded with its bulk. Chambers made no claim to having invented a new species of publication. 'I come,' he says in his Preface, 'like an heir to a large patrimony gradually acquired by the industry and endeavours of a long race of ancestors. What the French and Italian academists, the Abbé Furetière, the editors of *Trevoux*, Savary, Chauvin, Harris, Wolfius, Daviler, and others have done, has been subservient to my purpose.'

The name of Harris—the only English one that appears in this list—is that of the author whose work no doubt directly suggested Chambers's own. In the List of Subscribers prefixed to Harris's volume occurs the name of 'Mr. John Senex,' the bookseller to whom Chambers was an apprentice, and on whose counter he is said to have written during his apprenticeship some of the articles in his *Cyclopædia*. The '*Lexicon Technicum*' of Harris was, in fact, the work which was in possession of the field that Chambers proposed to occupy; and its author claimed, as we shall see, the original invention of the plan which Chambers adopted.

The full title of Harris's work is '*Lexicon Technicum, or an Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, explaining not only all the Terms of Art, but the Arts themselves.*' The plan is developed at length in his Preface:—

'The best Account I can give of the following Work,' he says, 'will be to lay before you in a short View what it contains, wherein it differs from other Books which may seem to be of the same Nature, and from whence I have collected the Substance of it. That which I have aimed at is to make it a Dictionary not only of bare Words but Things, and that the reader may not only find here an Explication of the Technical Words or the Terms of Art made use of in all the Liberal Sciences and such as border nearly upon them, but also those Arts themselves and especially such and such Parts of them as are most Useful and Advantageous to Mankind. In this which was the chief of my Design, I found much less help from Dictionaries already published than one would have expected from their Titles: *Chauvin's Lexicon Rationale* or *Thesaurus Philosophicus* is a well Printed Book and the Figures are finely Graved, but 'tis too much filled with the School Terms to be usefully instructive, and is as defective in the Modern Improvements of Mathematical and Physical Learning, as it abounds with a Cant which was once mistaken for Science.

'The *Grand Dictionnaire des Arts et Sciences, par M. de l'Académie Francoise* hath no Cuts or Figures at all, and is only a bare Explication of Terms of Art, and it seems rather to have been design'd to improve and propagate the French Language than to inform and instruct the Humane Mind in general. And, which I have often wonder'd at, 'tis filled everywhere with Simple Terms, so that you are told what a Dog, a Cat, a Horse, and a Sheep is, which though it may be useful to some Persons who did not know that before and may shew very well that  
such

such Descriptions can be given in *French*; yet how the bare Names of Animals and Vegetables, of Metals and Minerals, can be reckoned as *Terms of Art*, and consequently make the greatest part of a *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, I confess I cannot see. And therefore though this and Mr. *Furetiere's Dictionary* may be Books very well done in their way and are certainly very useful for those who would be perfectly acquainted with the *French Tongue*, yet I did not find much assistance from them, with regard to my Design.'

The work to which this is a Preface is one that would apparently reward a more minute examination than it has yet received. The '*Lexicon Technicum*' first appeared in one folio volume, in 1704—not as has been sometimes stated in 1706 or in 1708—and among its list of subscribers there is one name beside which all the others sink into the shade, that of 'Mr. Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint.' The name of Newton is cited with striking frequency in the volume; and in the Supplement published in 1710 there is an article '*De Acido*,' by Sir Isaac himself, inserted with the permission, as Dr. Harris informs us, of its 'illustrious author.' In the same year, 1710, Dr. Harris became a secretary of the Royal Society, under the presidency of Sir Isaac. His fellow secretary, appointed at the same time, was Sir Hans Sloane; but the subsequent fortunes of the two colleagues were remarkably different: while Sir Hans was elected to the presidential chair in succession to Newton, and at his death, full of years and honours, left the will which gave birth to the British Museum, the unfortunate Harris was dismissed from his post before the close of his first year of office, apparently for some now unknown misconduct, struggled with poverty for the remainder of his life, and at his death, in 1719, was buried at the expense of a charitable friend, who had known him in better times.

The most cursory examination of the '*Lexicon Technicum*' shows that, as the author claims, it is not a mere explanation of words, but of things. Under the head of '*Engine*,' for instance, he gives a full description, illustrated with plates, of two engines of no slight importance, which are described as 'the invention of one of our own Nation, Captain Thomas Savery, a Gentleman very skilful in all Things of this Nature.' The first is for rowing ships by means of paddles; the other 'for raising Water by the force of Fire,' in which, says Dr. Harris, 'he hath shewed as great Ingenuity, depth of Thought, and true Mechanick Skill as ever discovered itself in any design of this Nature.' Savery's engine is in fact, as is well known, one of the steps or strides in the progressive invention of the steam-engine.

To return to Dr. Harris's Preface: it appears, on an examination

tion of the French works to which he refers as likely to be compared with his own, that the Dictionary of Thomas Corneille,—that of 'M. de l'Académie Française,'—bears the nearest resemblance to it. In the 'Biographie Universelle' it is indeed expressly advanced, that 'Corneille's work may be regarded as the first basis of the Encyclopædias of Chambers and Diderot.' But the plan of Corneille's Dictionary appears to have been the mere result of accident—the outgrowth of a singular combination of circumstances, of some interest in literary history. Among the Forty of the French Academy engaged in compiling the famous Dictionary of the French Language, the Abbé Furetière was one. It came to be discovered in 1684 that, while taking part with his colleagues in the 'magnum opus,' he had privately obtained a privilege for printing a dictionary of his own, which he originally styled a 'Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences' only, but afterwards proposed to convert into a dictionary of the language in general. The Academy took the alarm, accused the disloyal member of plagiarism, appealed to its own exclusive privilege for printing a dictionary, and, refusing the plausible offer of the Abbé to allow to be struck out of his manuscript that did not relate to the Arts and Sciences—an offer in which from his previous underhand conduct it not unreasonably suspected an ambush—voted Furetière out of its list of members and obtained the suspension of his privilege. The Abbé answered at them in return a volley of pamphlets in the disguise of pleadings, so full of pungent wit that the whole series was reprinted, with notes and an introduction by M. Charles Asselineau, in 1858, and compared by him, not unjustly, to the famous 'Provincial Letters' of Pascal. Before the end of the conflict the Abbé died, but not before he had brought his work to a conclusion. It was published in Holland; and though it did not appear till 1690, two years after his death, even then it anticipated by some years the publication of the slow labours of the Forty. As the Dictionary of Furetière was particularly rich in terms of art and science, while the Academy had determined to exclude many of such technical terms from the accredited vocabulary to which its stamp was attached, the measure was adopted by the Abbé's opponents of issuing a supplementary Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences not by the French Academy in a body—'MM. de l'Académie Française'—but by a single member; and the member who did duty on the occasion was Thomas Corneille, a brother of the great dramatist, Pierre, and himself a dramatist, some of whose productions still keep possession of the stage. In the Preface to his Dictionary, Corneille did not even name Furetière's; but, without naming it, he attacked it with great

bity, and certainly pointed out a few blunders of a discreditable character, but taken so far apart as to show that the scrutiny for faults had been very searching. The Dictionary of Furetière was, in fact, one of considerable merit, and continued for almost a century to rival the Dictionary of his offended brethren, but with countless alterations and augmentations, not the least important of which was that of its title; for it was known, not as the Dictionary of Furetière, but as the 'Dictionnaire de Trevoux,' the place at which it was published. Trevoux being, under the old *regime*, a town not within French jurisdiction, attained a degree of literary importance as a spot where books might be printed which had not received official sanction; and the 'Journal de Trevoux' and the 'Dictionnaire de Trevoux' were long famous as the organs of the Jesuits before their suppression. The 'Dictionnaire' assumed more and more in its expanded editions the character of a Cyclopædia, till it was finally driven from circulation by the Encyclopedia of Diderot, which was partly aimed against it. On the other hand, the Dictionary of Thomas Corneille seems to have sunk, after a few editions, into the same oblivion as the main body of his dramas, and as a voluminous Gazetteer which he also compiled, and which, though very inaccurate, was for a time the best of existing gazetteers.

The three Dictionaries of Furetière, of Corneille, and of Harris, stand thus in a singular relation to each other; and the plan of that by Harris, the supposed original of our all-embracing Cyclopædias, is evidently the most contracted of the three. While Furetière's volumes aim at comprising the whole stores of a language, Corneille's are restricted to a part, and Harris makes a merit of omitting much that Corneille inserted. But all, in spite of the distinction which Harris affects to draw, are, in a considerable degree, dictionaries of things, not words: neither Furetière nor Corneille confined himself to an explanation of the terms they collected merely as elements of language. By the manner in which Harris speaks of the 'Lexicon Rationale' of Chauvin, it may be supposed that the plan of that work approached his own till more nearly; but we have looked in vain for the opportunity of examining a copy. The real merit of Harris must be sought in the ability of his execution, rather than the originality of his plan, and in this ability his follower Chambers appears to have decidedly surpassed him.

The idea having become popular in England by the success of Harris and Chambers, a swarm of 'Dictionaries of the Arts and Sciences' arose, the production of which was favoured by the new practice of publishing in parts or numbers, which was peculiarly adapted to such works as these. None of them, however,



ver, could dispute pre-eminence with the work of Chambers, which was called by Bowyer, the learned printer, 'the pride of booksellers, and the honour of the English nation.' It even filled a space in the eye of Europe, till the great French Encyclopædia rose to eclipse it, and give its own name to an epoch and an era in the literary history of the eighteenth century.

The leading idea of the French Encyclopædia, so far as the title expressed it, was, that it was to be a Dictionary not only of the Arts and Sciences, but also of Trades and Handicrafts, a 'Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers.' The real distinguishing feature of the publication was that it aimed not only at supplying information, but at directing opinions, its articles being often as distinct in character from those of an ordinary cyclopædia as the leading article in a newspaper from its ordinary paragraphs of news. There have since been published some professed Protestant cyclopædias, and some professed Catholic cyclopædias; the work of Diderot and D'Alembert might have been appropriately styled the 'Cyclopædia of Sceptics.' Originally founded on a translation from the English of Chambers, it still resembled it in many particulars, though the conductors thought fit to speak of their model both in the Preface and in the article 'Encyclopédie' with undisguised disrespect. The main feature of the French publication in which the plan of Chambers was conspicuously departed from, was that the names of places were introduced, though Biography was rigidly excluded. Above all, the scale of the work was that of a modern cyclopædia, instead of the scale of Chambers and Harris. Including the Supplement, which was begun few years after the main work was ended, it occupied twenty-two folio volumes of text, to which were added eleven volumes of plates, making the set thirty-three in all. Its issue from press occupied more than a quarter of a century—from 1751 to 1777. Finally, it is to be noted that it was not the work of an individual, but of a distinguished company of select contributors.

This last important feature in the renowned French Encyclopædia was adopted in the project of an English one, which it ever been carried beyond a project, would doubtless have its mark in the literature of the eighteenth century. Dr. Goldsmith wrote the prospectus of a cyclopædia, of which he proposed to take the editorship, and articles for which were promised by Johnson, Burke, and Reynolds. The plan was checked by unexpected coldness of the booksellers, but only finally ended to by the premature death of Goldsmith in 1774, years before—in 1771—a similar work, destined for celebrity, had appeared in Edinburgh under singularly

auspices. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' professed to be 'by a society of gentlemen in Scotland,' but the 'society of gentlemen' consisted of Mr. William Smellie only; who, according to his biographer Kerr, compiled singlehanded the whole of the first edition, and 'used to say jocularly that he had made a Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences with a pair of scissors.' Between modesty and jocularity Smellie did not do himself justice, for many of the articles were written, and well written, by himself, who, while following the trade of a printer, had a degree of learning which would have qualified him for a professorship, as well as a fund of humour which made him a favourite companion of Robert Burns. The chief ground on which the new cyclopædia appealed to public favour was that it was 'compiled on a new plan, in which the different Arts and Sciences are digested into distinct treatises or systems, and the various technical terms, &c., are explained as they occur in the order of the alphabet.' 'This plan,' we are told in the Preface, 'differs from that of all the Dictionaries of Arts and Sciences hitherto published;' and the writer was so confident of its value, as to add that 'whoever has had occasion to consult Chambers, Owen, &c., or even the voluminous French "Encyclopédie," will have discovered the folly of attempting to communicate science under the various technical terms arranged in alphabetical order.' According to a notice in a subsequent issue of the 'Britannica,' written by its editor, Mr. Macvey Napier, the plan which Smellie adopted was not even novel, but had been used in 1745 by a Mr. De Coetlogon, a Frenchman, naturalized in England, in a cyclopædia entitled 'A Universal History of the Arts and Sciences.' Whether novel or not, its value was more than questionable. Those who 'have occasion to consult' a cyclopædia are in a different stage of progress from those who are commencing the systematic study of a science. If it be really of no advantage to a particular reader to find the information he is in search of in a detached form, he is probably in the position of one who attempts to use a dictionary before mastering a grammar. The arrangement, which is a stumbling-block to him, is the most convenient of stepping-stones to others. There is of course a limit to the utility of dividing, as well as a limit to the utility of bringing together, in a work of the kind, and it is in the judicious distribution of the materials of a cyclopædia that a great part of the work of its editorship consists; but to solve the difficulty by Mr. Smellie's method is to solve it with more loss than gain.

The final success of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' instead of being traceable to Mr. Smellie's device, was owing to the adoption

adoption of a plan which led to his indignant secession. The 'Cyclopædia' of Chambers had been characterised, even in its enlarged editions, by its restriction to scientific and miscellaneous subjects; it contained no article whatever on a proper name, either geographical or biographical. The French 'Encyclopédie' had, as has been already mentioned, innovated on this plan by admitting some geographical names, and in the Supplement a few biographical names were also allowed to slip in. A new edition of the 'Encyclopédie,' which commenced in 1782 under the title of 'Encyclopédie Méthodique,' with great alterations in its plan, which will be touched on more particularly hereafter, contained, in addition to dictionaries of Geography, a 'Dictionary of History,' in which biography was admitted. This important extension was adopted in a second edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' at the instance, it is said, of the then Duke of Buccleuch. Smellie, after opposing it in vain, refused to have anything further to do with the 'Encyclopædia;' and by declining to take a share in the property of it, which was offered him, unwittingly declined a fortune. His place was taken in the second edition by a Mr. James Tytler, whose co-operation is thought to have been of so little advantage to the credit of the work, that those who seek his biography will seek it in vain in the columns of the modern 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' He was, as we learn from Chambers's 'Eminent Scotsmen,' one of those drunken men of letters who were then as common as they have fortunately since been rare, and, lodging at a washerwoman's, it is said he had no other desk on which to write his articles than her inverted tub. But the second edition of the 'Britannica,' under whatever auspices, had a much more brilliant success than the first, and was soon followed by a still more successful third. Its subsequent history was treated at length in an article in the seventieth volume of the 'Quarterly Review;' and a new edition has been lately completed, enriched, chiefly on the more popular subjects, with contributions by many distinguished writers. From the time of the second edition of this work, every cyclopædia of note in England or elsewhere has been a cyclopædia not solely of the arts and sciences, but of the whole wide circle of general learning and miscellaneous information.

It would thus appear that the meaning, or rather the application, of the word cyclopædia has entirely changed. About a century ago, as we have seen, it denoted a dictionary of the arts and sciences exclusively; it now denotes a dictionary of universal information, of which the arts and sciences form but a part, and that not the most important one. Are we hence to conclude that

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the modern cyclopædia was unknown before this course of experiments was begun? If we were to do so, we should fall into error. The thing existed before, but under another name; and the class of work now prevalent is in reality of earlier origin than the class it appears to have superseded. An examination of some of the older books of reference will demonstrate this curious fact.

The 'Historical Dictionary' of Louis Moréri was one of the most indispensable sets of books in a well-appointed library for about a century from the date of its first appearance at Lyons in 1673. It ran in the original French through two-and-twenty editions, the last of which was in ten volumes folio. It was translated, imitated, and enlarged in English, and Dutch, and German, and even in Spanish; and Peter the Great is said to have ordered its translation into Slavonic. The original volume which was the father of so numerous a progeny was mainly a dictionary of the names of persons and places—a gazetteer and biographical dictionary in one; and it is important to remember, in estimating the merits of Moréri, that no such work as a general biographical dictionary was at that time in existence. His was the first book in which a reader would find assembled sketches of the lives of Cæsar and Columbus, Ariosto and Calvin, Charles I. of England and Charles V. of Germany.

The great work of Moréri was projected when he was twenty-five, and produced when he was thirty. He died in 1680, at thirty-seven, worn out by the labour of preparing a second edition, in two volumes, of which he only lived to complete the first in print. The second was issued by other hands; the work was more successful than before; and in 1689 it had already reached a fifth edition at Paris, which was augmented by a third volume of supplement, by the Abbé de Saint-Ussan. The Preface to this supplement is remarkable in many points of view. The real use of this Dictionary,' says the writer, 'is to obtain assistance on all sorts of subjects, of some degree of importance or in history or science, information which is not found elsewhere, or only to be found after a tedious search, and in books which treat of matters at length; besides which it would be necessary to have at one's disposal libraries of great extent to bring out what was wanted to be known. It has now been vowed to complete the subjects which were not treated at length in the first two volumes of M. Moréri, and to include in this Dictionary everything curious and worthy of notice. Many persons of learning and capacity to execute this design have assisted in this labour. Some have composed on the subjects which they have made their principal business, and others have made abstracts from the principal authors, ancient and modern.

ancient and modern, French, Latin, Italian, &c. These abstracts are sometimes from a single author who has treated the subject profoundly, and often from several whose information has been combined in one article.' In place of a single author we find here in full operation the modern system of Editor and Contributors. The Preface also called the attention of the reader to the character and variety of the articles which the work contained. Not only, it was pointed out, did it embrace the names of illustrious personages of all kinds, forming thus what has since been called a Biographical Dictionary; the names of heathen gods and goddesses, forming what now constitutes a Mythological Dictionary; the names of countries, towns, and places, now looked for in a Gazetteer: but the names of dignitaries, such as Pope, Admiral, Baron; of public bodies, such as Parliament and Sanhedrim; of parties in the State, such as Royalists, Agitators, the League; of remarkable buildings, such as Coliseum, Mausoleum; of remarkable books and documents, such as Genesis and the 'Augsburg Confession;' of remarkable objects and actions, such as Crown, Cross, Mummies, Duel, Bed of Justice, &c. &c. In glancing through the volume we come upon articles on Antipodes, Artillery, Canal, Comedy, Greek Fire, Enamel, Medals, Oriflamme, Phosphorus, Banyan-tree, Comets, Meridian, Stars, Zodiac, Printing, Architecture, Painting, Sculpture. 'There are few of these sorts of articles,' the Preface remarks, 'in the first two volumes, but it is easy to perceive that M. Moréri intended to comprise them in his dictionary, or in a work that he designed to add to it; for in the two first volumes we find' a number of articles of various kinds which are enumerated, including 'Cardinal, Parliament, Cabal, Pleiades, Sagittarius,' &c. Moréri said in his Preface of 1673, that one of his friends had told him that the work he was writing was an 'Encyclopædia of History.' In the form to which it was brought by the supplement of 1689, it was already an Encyclopædia of something more. Articles of the kind enumerated do not belong to a modern Biographical Dictionary or Gazetteer: they are found in a modern 'Cyclopædia,' and in no other work of alphabetical arrangement, save, indeed, a Dictionary. The value of these additions seems to have been at once recognised in the manner then usual—in the instantaneous piracy of the work by the booksellers of Holland, at that time the great literary freebooters of Europe. A new edition appeared under their auspices, with the supplement incorporated with the original stock, and numerous corrections, additions, and alterations by the industrious scholar Le Clerc. For many years afterwards the cheap and excellent Dutch

Dutch editions commanded an extensive sale, till the French retaliated by issuing new editions augmented with the spoils of the Dutch. The work was so popular that it attracted a 'parasite,' and the famous 'Critical Dictionary' of Bayle was originally intended to form a running criticism on a book so universally in request.

The statement taken from Moréri's Preface, that a friend had told him his work would be an Encyclopædia of History, shows that the term Encyclopædia was already in common use to describe a work of comprehensive character; and it may be worth while to diverge for a moment to trace the word to its origin. It is well known that it is applied by Pliny and Quintilian—who both treat it as a foreign word, inserting it in the original Greek in the midst of their Latin—to denote the whole circle of instruction or field of learning, but it was never employed by the ancients as the title of a book. Pliny's own work, indeed, which embraces a survey of the whole knowledge of his time, was named by himself 'Historia Naturalis.' The first use of Encyclopædia as a title is now generally, but erroneously, ascribed to the Arabs. It is said in the account of Encyclopædias, by Mr. Macvey Napier, prefixed to the 'Britannica,' and also in many other similar notices, that an Arabic treatise on the Sciences, by Alfarabi, a great Oriental luminary of the tenth century, is described by Casiri, in his catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Escurial, published at Madrid in 1760, and that Casiri mentions that it is inscribed with the title of Encyclopædia. But a reference to the catalogue in question will show that this is a mistake, though a very pardonable one. Casiri does, indeed, describe the book (at vol. I. page 189) as 'Opus in primis eruditum ac perutile *Encyclopædia* inscriptum;' but in a note to the word 'Encyclopædia,' he gives the original Arabic title, احصاء العلوم, Ihsa-el-olūm, 'Description of the Sciences,' which he had aimed at translating by the European term. The work would appear to be of no great extent, for Casiri catalogues it as the third tract in a single manuscript volume; and he afterwards gives a list, taken from an Arabic bibliographer, of sixty works by Alfarabi, among which the 'Ihsa-el-olūm' is not pointed out as of any particular bulk or importance. Another assertion which is current with regard to the title is equally open to correction. 'The first person who conceived the idea of an encyclopædia or universal Dictionary,' we are told in Timperley's 'Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote,' 'was Andrew Matthew Acquaviva, Duke of Atri and Prince of Teramo, in the kingdom of Naples. He was one of the greatest luminaries of the age in which

which he lived. He published a work under this title in two volumes folio, which, though scanty and defective, was sufficient to give some hints for conducting a compilation of that kind. He died in the year 1528.' Timperley probably copied this statement *verbatim*, as was his practice, from some author whose name he does not give; but the statement is inadmissible as it stands. The sole authority for the existence of Acquaviva's book appears to be an ambiguous sentence of the careless and inaccurate Paulus Jovius, the contemporary of the author, who adds to the assertion that no Prince of Italy surpassed Acquaviva in learning, the words 'uti præclare constat ex eo libro nobili pariter ac erudito qui Encyclopædia inscribitur.' Mazzuchelli, the most diligent of Italian bibliographers, says in his '*Scrittori d'Italia*,' that he had not been able to discover such a book; and Afflito, who in his '*Scrittori di Napoli*' has a very full notice of the whole family of Acquaviva, remarks that 'of this book apparently nothing remains to us but the title.' Adelung thinks that the work really meant by Jovius is a volume by Acquaviva, still extant, of Comments on Plutarch, in which we are told in the title that '*omnis divinæ et humanæ sapientiæ arcana patefiunt*.' The conjecture seems very likely to be a correct one.

The first extant work of magnitude which really bears the name we are tracing is the '*Encyclopædia*,' a century later than Acquaviva, of John Henry Alsted, a Protestant clergyman, who was born in 1588 at Herborn, in Nassau, but migrated to Transylvania, where he died in 1638. Alsted's '*Encyclopædia*' saw two editions in his own time—the first in 1620, and the second in 1630; dates which are given from his own statement in the first case, and from the book itself in the second, and which differ from those to be found in several works of some reputation. The second edition, the entire product of his own pen, except where he was guilty of plagiarism (to which Thomasius asserts he was much addicted), runs, in two folio volumes, to two thousand four hundred and forty-four pages of very small type in double columns of eighty lines to a page. This vast mass of matter is drawn up in a manner which peculiarly unfits it for consultation, and was evidently intended by its too-complacent author for continuous reading, the divisions and subdivisions of every subject being carried to an extreme unusual even in that age of pedantry. Alsted seems, indeed, to have been particularly adverse to alphabetical arrangement, except in the case of an index. One of his other works is a '*Compendium Lexici Philosophici*,' published in 1626, and here—even in a dictionary—he avoids in general giving the words which he defines in the order of the alphabet. He lays down as a definition at the beginning of his '*Encyclopædia*:'

: 'Encyclopædia est *methodica* comprehensio rerum in hac vitâ discendarum.' His work had the honour reprinted in 1649 at Lyons; but though his contemporaries complimented his diligence by pointing out that 'Sedus' is the anagram of Alstedius, their opinion of his judgment was probably not heightened by his belief that the germs of knowledge whatever are to be found in the Scriptures, and Millennium would commence in the year 1694. In relation to his 'Cyclopædia' he does not assert that his is the first of its kind; on the contrary, he speaks of authors as having preceded him with works of a similar kind to his own, and particularly mentions Fortius Virgilius and Matthew Martinius as the authors of 'Encyclopædia.' There is a work of Ringelbergius, of which there are two editions, each in a moderate-sized duodecimo volume—first printed at Basil in 1541, bearing the title 'Lucubrationes in absolutissima Κυκλοπαιδεια;' the other, printed at Amsterdam in 1556, bearing the title 'Ringelbergii Opera,' without mention of Cyclopædia—the contents of both being exactly the same. The volume consists of a series of dissertations on logic, metaphysics, dialectics, rhetoric, &c.; and towards the end there is a section called 'Chaos,' into which the author has thrown whatever he could find no fitter place for. The book is composed in a most ambitious vein, and in one passage the author writes: 'I would rather be torn in a thousand pieces (and I wish if I speak otherwise than I feel) than give up the prospect of reaching the very summit of immortal fame.' Such are the aspirations of an unhappy writer, who, if he had really conceived the first plan of a Cyclopædia, might possibly have attained the object of his ambition, but who, as it is, has not even found mention in the 'Biographie Universelle.' The Martinius whom we have just mentioned appears to have published an 'Idea brevis et præliminaria Encyclopædiæ seu Adumbratio Universitatis,' at Alsted, the native town of Alsted, in 1606, when Alsted was 25 years of age, and thus, in all probability, to have first conceived the idea which he afterwards carried out. Before we put aside the obscure and dubious claim of Alsted, it would appear that to Ringelbergius belongs the honour, whether large or small, of having first used the word *encyclopædia* as the title of a book, and to Alsted that of having first used it as the title of a vast system of knowledge which did not originate in the principle of its arrangement from many systems of knowledge which existed before him. The plan of Alsted did not in the slightest degree anticipate that of Moréri, to which we now return.

Only



Only four years after Moréri's first edition, there appeared at Basil, in the Latin language, in two closely-printed folios presenting an enormous mass of reading, the 'Lexicon Universale Historico-Geographico-Chronologico-Poetico-Philologicum' of John Jacob Hofmann, a professor at the University of Basil. This was in 1677; and in 1683, before the appearance of any supplement to Moréri, Hofmann had produced a supplement to his own Lexicon in two more copious folios than the Lexicon itself. The original and the supplement were incorporated, with numerous additions by the author, in an edition issued by the ever-active Dutch booksellers in 1698; but, in this instance, the author was in league with the Dutchmen, and his Swiss publishers commenced an action against him for having assisted the pirates. The Dutch edition of Hofmann continues to this day a valued book of reference. It is a striking proof of the declining fortunes of the Latin language in the eighteenth century, that, while the French Moréri ran through its two-and-twenty editions, its Latin competitor was never reprinted after 1698. The plan of Hofmann is markedly coincident with that of Moréri. The geographical notices are particularly copious; though it is said that Hofmann, in the course of a long life, had never been out of Basil: the biographical comprise a large array of the dead, and even a few of the living, including the contemporary sovereigns Louis XIV. and Charles II. It might have been argued with some plausibility that the same plan must have occurred simultaneously to the Frenchman and the Swiss, since the four years which elapsed between the first appearance of the two dictionaries seem altogether insufficient to the compilation, by one hand, of the mass of curious matter which fills the pages of the first edition of Hofmann; but, as in the six years which followed he undoubtedly added a still larger quantity to the original stock, the objection falls in his case to the ground. It is to Moréri, therefore, that we must award the undivided honour of having struck out a plan, which found so early an imitator, and which has never wanted imitators from that day to this.

The 'Lexicon Universale' of Hofmann was soon followed by the commencement of an 'Universal Library' in a modern language, and on a much more extensive scale. This was the 'Biblioteca Universale, o sia Gran Dizionario Storico, Geografico, Antico, Moderno, Naturale, Poetico, Cronologico, Genealogico, Matematico, Politico, Botanico, Medico, Chimico, Giuridico, Filosofico, Teologico, e Biblico,' of Fra Vincenzo Coronelli, of which the first volume appeared at Venice in 1701. Coronelli's was indeed a 'gigantic genius fit to grapple with' or even to compile whole libraries. In the portrait of him, which is given  
in

the first volume of his Dictionary, he is depicted as sur-  
 rounded with scrolls bearing the titles of his writings; and  
 is stated to have been the author of a hundred and eleven  
 volumes, in various languages, chiefly on matters of  
 geography. He tells us that he had been engaged for more than  
 7 years in collecting in Italy, France, and England the  
 materials of this vast 'farrago,' a date which brings him close to  
 the date of Moréri, who commenced the compilation of his  
 Dictionary in 1668. The 'Biblioteca Universale' was to consist  
 of five-and-forty folio volumes; and Coronelli announced that  
 if Providence were to terminate his life before the comple-  
 tion of his undertaking, he had taken measures to continue it  
 from the grave. 'The materials,' says the Preface, 'are already  
 collected, and several learned persons provided with instructions,  
 will have the power to enforce from the printer the obli-  
 gation he has contracted to continue the printing, and who will  
 have every facility to carry out the plan.' The work had,  
 however, advanced only to its seventh volume, when in 1718  
 Coronelli died, and, after all his precautions, his work died with  
 him.

It forms a monument to his memory on the shelves of  
 libraries, not unlike the broken shaft of a column that is  
 so common in the cemeteries.

the intended five-and-forty folios of Coronelli were surpassed  
 by the actual achievement by the sixty-four of the 'Grosses voll-  
 ständige Universal-Lexikon,' the most colossal of German com-  
 pilations. The work was so enormous and so various, that it  
 required to be edited by nine editors at once, who have the  
 honour of being compared in the Preface to the Nine Muses.  
 The names of all nine have been consigned to oblivion, while  
 the work is generally quoted as 'Zedler's Lexicon,' from the  
 name of the daring bookseller who projected, and who, in a  
 figurative sense, completed it. Commenced in 1732, the work was  
 carried on in about twenty years right through the alphabet; but it  
 was unluckily been announced at the very beginning, that a  
 supplement would be published, and the Supplement stuck fast.  
 The folios carried it no farther than the letter C; and there, in  
 1751, with the sixty-eighth volume in all, the great Lexicon  
 came to a standstill, and remains with less hope of being re-  
 sumed than the great Cathedral of Cologne. The title-page  
 describes it as 'the great Complete Universal Lexicon of all  
 Sciences and Arts which have yet been discovered and improved  
 by human understanding and ingenuity,' in which 'not only the  
 geographical and political description of the globe, and all  
 countries, cities, and ports, the lives of emperors, kings, learned  
 men, &c., are included; but also 'mythology, antiquities, numis-  
 matics,

metics, philosophy, mathematics, theology, jurisprudence, and medicine.' This abridgment of a title-page, which, if given at full length, would occupy two or three pages of the 'Quarterly Review,' is sufficient to show that Zedler's gigantic undertaking was an Encyclopædia in all but the title. Its execution is, as might be expected, very various. The part of it which is most successful is the genealogical and biographical, which contains innumerable notices of families and persons who are found in no other general dictionary. Its value in this respect has been largely recognised of late years, and the long array of substantial folios, which might once have been procured almost at the price of waste paper, are now treated with due respect in booksellers' catalogues.

That the works we have now been passing in review, the Dictionaries of Moréri, Hofmann, Coronelli, and Zedler, are the real and direct ancestors of the great Cyclopædias of our own day, is a proposition that can, we think, hardly be disputed. The Cyclopædia of Ephraim Chambers and the Cyclopædia of Charles Knight are works distinct in character, but alike in name; the Cyclopædia of Charles Knight and the Dictionary of Moréri are works distinct in name, but alike in character. Of the four divisions into which Knight's Cyclopædia is distributed, the geographical and biographical, occupying ten volumes out of twenty-two, have no representatives in Chambers, but are the very marrow of Moréri. In short, in the great work of the Frenchman were first assembled a number of branches of information which were afterwards put asunder and have now been united again, and the union is what bears in modern language the name of Cyclopædia, originally applied to one of its members.

The honour, however, that has hitherto been generally ascribed to Moréri's Dictionary is not that it was the first of cyclopædias, but the first of historical, and therefore, by implication, the first of biographical dictionaries. Moréri himself was so far from laying claim to any invention in the matter, that his own words are the strongest evidence against him. After stating in his Preface that several authors had laboured on such a work as his own 'even before St. Isidore and Suidas, but that their works have not come down to us,' he goes on to say, 'perhaps the curious would wish to hear what has been the fate of historical dictionaries, and who in the last age took the pains to work at one. Erasmus states in some part of his writings that he had the intention to compose one for the purpose of assisting those who are beginning to read the poets. An anonymous writer, who calls himself the friend of Erasmus, published one about the year  
1534.'

1534.' Moréri has here, as was unhappily his custom, fallen into several errors, and the book which he mentions as anonymous is shown by Prosper Marchand to have been a work by Torrentinus, a learned Dutchman, the first edition of which was published with his name long before the date of 1534. But even Prosper Marchand, whose article on Torrentinus, in his Critical Dictionary, is one of the most ingenious pieces of literary research anywhere to be found, has fallen into oversights and errors which those who come a century after him can easily correct by the aid of the more elaborate catalogues of the early literature of Europe which are now in existence. The current ideas on the history of biographical dictionaries abound in mistakes which it would be neither useless nor uninteresting to rectify; but the task is one which our limits will not allow us to pursue. It may suffice to say that while separate gazetteers or geographical dictionaries have existed from the time of Stephanus Byzantinus, who is assigned by the best critics to the fifth century, the earliest exclusively biographical dictionary in European literature is of the eighteenth, and the earliest bearing the name of Biographical Dictionary is the English publication commenced by Osborne, the bookseller, of Johnsonian fame, in 1761,—the same book which in its third edition is still well known as Chalmers's Dictionary, from its editor, Alexander Chalmers. The earliest biographical dictionary sprang from the historical dictionary of Bayle. Bayle, as we have seen, grew out of Moréri; and we believe after examination that in this respect also Moréri was different from all who preceded him, and essentially a founder. It is now time, however, to return to the main subject.

The Cyclopædia might be expected to prosper in Germany, the land of erudition. The legitimate successor to the great work of Zedler is the great work of Ersch and Grüber, the 'Encyclopädie aller Künste und Wissenschaften,' commenced in 1818 and still slowly advancing towards completion. As in some gigantic tunnel, for the execution of which three shafts are obliged to be sunk, operations were till lately carried on at once in this cyclopædia from three different points of the alphabet. The first division, beginning of course at A, has now advanced in 75 volumes to nearly the end of G; the second, beginning at H, in 31 volumes to Junius; and the third, beginning at O, in 25 volumes to Phyzius; making 131 volumes in all. But the number of volumes sounds more formidable than it really is, for the quartos of Ersch and Grüber are particularly thin for German quartos, amounting to less than 500 pages each. The work is solidly, perhaps too solidly, done; for in the case of the four Georges Kings of England the Cyclopædia absolutely gives us

two lives of each individual—one written by an Englishman, the other by a German. Many of the articles would of themselves fill octavos of the usual dimensions. The work will probably surpass in number of volumes and regularity of publication the 'Oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopädie' of Krünitz, which is of itself a marvel. It commenced in 1773, and was completed in 1858, in 242 octavos. It is scarcely a wonder that it is recorded as a fact in its history, that at the time that the volume had been published which closes with the article 'Leiche,'—a corpse,—the original editor, Krünitz, was stretched on his bier.

The great work of Zedler had been preceded in point of time by a small publication, the title of which, 'Conversations-Lexicon,' is now universally familiar. It was in the year 1704 that the 'Reales Staats-Zeitungs und Conversations-Lexicon' was first issued in a single octavo volume at Leipzig, by the firm of Gleditsch, one of those venerable German bookselling firms the history of which can be traced for centuries. According to the practice of the time, an eminent author was applied to to write the preface; and though Johannes Hübner wrote nothing else, the book was usually known from him as Hübner's Lexicon. The contents of the volume are similar to those of Moréri on an abridged scale, except that biography is omitted and Hübner, to show the utility of the new publication in the perusal of newspapers, gave a list of a hundred words, very like those we have quoted from the preface to Moréri's Supplement—Whigs, Tories, Cameronians, &c. The book was so successful that it ran through five editions by 1712, and in 1713 Hübner was called on to write a preface to a second part, 'Curieuse Natur- Kunst- Gewerb- und Handlungs-Lexicon,' intended to form one of a series of 'Real Lexicons' or Cyclopædias, in one volume, each on a different subject, on a very similar plan to those which have been issued within the last forty years by the Messrs. Longman. One of these Lexicons was the famous 'Gelehrten-Lexicon,' or Biographical Dictionary of Authors, first known as Menckenius's, then as Joecher's, the last edition of which, in four quarto volumes, and its incomplete continuation by Adelung and Rotermond, in six other quartos, are known and prized by every literary inquirer. The 'Conversations-Lexicon' of Hübner continued its triumphant course for upwards of a century. The last edition of it we have traced is the thirty-first, in four volumes, at Leipzig, in 1824.

Meanwhile the name had been borrowed for another publication, which has made the name famous and also made an epoch in the annals of cyclopædias. A certain Dr. Loebell projected and commenced in 1796 a cyclopædia for the ladies under

under the title of 'Frauenzimmer-Lexicon,' and, though he died in 1798, the work was carried on and finally completed after many delays in 1810. The stock of the work was then sold to Brockhaus, a bookseller in Amsterdam; the title was altered, the contents improved, and in his hands it prospered so amazingly that before a second edition could be completed, a third and fourth were called for. The leading idea in 'Brockhaus's Conversations-Lexicon,' as it was universally called in honour of its publisher who was also partly its editor, was that it should be a 'Encyclopædia of Modern Times,' much prominence being given to subjects of every kind after the date of the first French revolution, in comparison to those before it. Especial attention was also paid in it to literary matters in preference to scientific. One of the elements of its original success was, no doubt, its conciseness of volumes; but it has gone on increasing and increasing, till it has now assumed the proportions of a full-grown cyclopædia, and the last edition, completed in 1855, nominally consists of fifteen octavo volumes, but really comprises sixteen, the two last being called the first and second divisions of the fifteenth. It has in consequence been deemed advisable to publish an abridgment in four octavos, to suit the convenience of its less affluent patrons.

That the success of the Lexicon of Brockhaus should have called forth numerous or rather innumerable imitations in Germany, is not calculated to excite surprise; but the extent to which it has been made the basis of similar undertakings in other countries is a phenomenon without a parallel. The most prominent fact in the literary aspect of modern Europe is the large number of languages now under cultivation, compared to the number a century ago. That period has witnessed the rise of German literature from obscurity and neglect to the position of one of the three principal literatures of Europe; the revival of Danish and Swedish from a condition of languor; the rapid development of Russian under every circumstance of favour; the steady advance of Polish against every conceivable obstacle; the sudden emancipation of Hungarian and Bohemian from a state in which they were both supposed to be on the verge of extinction. One of the signs of life in many of these languages has been the call for newspapers and periodicals, and latterly for cyclopædias; and by all the other nations the German Conversations-Lexicon has been taken as a model. The 'Dansk Conversations-Lexicon' of Kofod and the 'Dansk Conversations-Lexicon' of Larsen are both founded on the work of Brockhaus; but with substitutions of other matter where Danish interests are in question. Those who look for their information on the affairs  
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of Sleswick and Holstein in the Danish Lexicon will soon perceive that the articles present no German tinge. The articles of Scandinavian biography are also in general re-written, and with much advantage to their fulness and correctness; for, although to Western and Southern Europe the Germans are still the chief authorities on Scandinavian matters, the natives are far from admitting the depth of their information or the justice of their criticism. The Hungarian 'Esmeretek Tara' is also founded on the basis of Brockhaus, with all that relates to Hungary re-written—a process which has the effect of clothing a skeleton with flesh. The Hungarians have, however, of late grown more ambitious; and, in addition to other works of the kind, the St. Stephen's Society, a Catholic literary association, has commenced a new undertaking, the 'Egyetemes Magyar Encyclopædia' or 'Universal Hungarian Cyclopædia,' of which the first three substantial volumes extend no farther in the alphabet than 'Asa.' On all Hungarian matters the information of this cyclopædia is most copious; but on foreign matters, it is of no good augury that they speak in the highest terms of a certain English History of the Reformation, and ascribe it not to Cobbett, but to Cobden. The Russian 'Entsiklopedichesky Lexikon,' commenced by Grech in 1835, was also to be founded in non-Russian articles on the work of Brockhaus; but grew to such an amplitude that, in spite of imperial patronage, it collapsed at the seventeenth volume in the fourth letter of the Russian alphabet, which consists of thirty-six. The succeeding Russian Cyclopædia, of more modest dimensions, was completed by Starchevsky, in twelve volumes, in 1855; and two new competitors in the same walk are now contending for the favour of the Russian public. The Polish Cyclopædia of the bookseller Orgelbrand, the twelfth volume of which has just appeared at Warsaw, bringing it to the letter H, is another offshoot of Brockhaus; but appeals particularly to the sympathies of the Catholic public, which was duly informed in the 'Biblioteka Warszawska' that some masses had been celebrated at the expense of the publisher to inaugurate its commencement. The Bohemian Cyclopædia of Rieger, also largely indebted to Brockhaus, began its course in 1861, and it has been stated that in so limited a country as Bohemia, in which only a portion of the population speaks Bohemian, it has found no less than 7000 subscribers. Literary enthusiasm has seldom at any time blazed higher in any nation than now, fanned by an ardent spirit of nationality, in some of the awakening populations of Eastern Europe.

Even in Western Europe moreover the 'Conversations-Lexikon' has served as the basis for large literary enterprises. The 'Dictionnaire

'*Journal de la Conversation et de la Lecture*,' a successful and meritorious work, which was commenced at Paris in 1832, was avowedly founded upon it, as the title shows; and the '*Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde*,' which was its rival, borrowed also largely from the German prototype. As in so many other cases, the French served as conductors for introducing a new idea to the acquaintance of Southern Europe. Italy, which had until then no general cyclopædia in the modern sense,—that of Coronelli being imperfect, and that of Pivati being of the now obsolete school of Chambers,—was indebted to Pomba, the spirited publisher of Turin, for an '*Enciclopedia Italiana*,' which was brought to a successful termination, and is now passing through a second and improved edition. Spain, which had hitherto made but one abortive attempt, followed with an '*Enciclopedia Moderna*,' from the press of Mellado, who had already given to Spanish literature an '*Historical Dictionary*,' which is a valuable mine of information on the 'things of Spain.' Portugal is the only country of literary antecedents which remains without a cyclopædia.

The '*Conversations-Lexikon*' was first translated into the English language in 1829-32 in the United States by the German, Francis Lieber, under the very inappropriate name of '*Encyclopedia Americana*;' and in 1841 and 1862 it was reprinted at Glasgow, with some additional introductory matter, under the title of the '*Popular Cyclopædia*.' This cyclopædia was less an imitation than a translation of the German work, though it contained several original American articles; and it is scarcely a matter of surprise that it did not take root either in America or England. With all its merit, there is a certain dryness about both the matter and manner of the '*Conversations-Lexikon*' that does not suit the taste of the Anglo-Saxon public on either side of the Atlantic. So much information is often condensed into too small a space, with an effect too nearly approaching that of the contractions in printing, of which the Germans are so fond, and ourselves so much the reverse. A translation of the latest edition is now being published in London and Edinburgh, under the familiar and somewhat confusing name of '*Chambers's Cyclopædia*;' but the Chambers, on this occasion, is not the Ephraim Chambers whom we have had to speak so often, but the Robert Chambers whose name will be memorable as having originated so many valuable literary enterprises in the nineteenth century. The work contains a quantity of original matter, which is at least equal in merit to the translated; but a foreign work appears hardly likely to supplant in England the native cyclopædias. A different plan, which seems sufficiently obvious, might perhaps have



have given the work a claim to attention which it at present lacks. As there are now in existence Danish, Hungarian, Russian, Polish, and Bohemian, French, Spanish, and Italian Cyclopædias on the plan of the German Conversations-Lexicon, but in which the articles on national subjects are re-written by natives, why should not an English edition be produced in which on all these points the native authorities should be referred to, in place of the German, thus producing a genuine 'European Cyclopædia'? We doubt if such a work would ever supersede, for English use, an 'English Cyclopædia'; but it would, at all events, be a standard work of a valuable character,—and indeed we understand that in the biographical part of the 'English Cyclopædia' some approach to this plan has been attempted.

Our island has carried on for many years an extensive manufacture of cyclopædias. England and Scotland have often met in rivalry, and Wales has produced one cyclopædia in Welsh, and is now producing another. It is said that at one time there were no less than six English competitors in the field. The most extensive cyclopædia in our language is that in forty-five volumes, which goes by the name of Rees, but which is a new edition of that of Ephraim Chambers. With many excellent articles it has been generally condemned as on the whole too diffuse and too commonplace. The 'Britannica' stood in public estimation above all its competitors till the appearance of the 'Penny Cyclopædia' in 1832. The 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia' of Brewster, the 'Encyclopædia Perthensis,' and the 'Encyclopædia Edinensis,' the 'Encyclopædia Londinensis' the 'London Encyclopædia,' and the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana' failed to reach the same level. Of the 'Metropolitana' we shall soon have occasion to speak in its character of a 'divisional' cyclopædia. Of the 'Cabinet Cyclopædia' we purposely say nothing, because, not being in alphabetical order, it does not belong—whatever its title—to the class of works which we consider to have been originated by Moréri and Saint-Ussan.

The particulars that have now been given have shown that during the last two hundred years two adverse impulses or principles have been continually in operation in the cyclopedic world, each of which has won its victories, and been hailed as triumphant at different periods. There has been an impulse to bring together the various elements of knowledge, and an impulse to part them asunder. At one time it was considered a point of progress to amalgamate geography and biography; at another, to treat each in a separate form; and at a third to bring them together again with a host of additional ingredients. It is now time to notice the attempts which have also been made at different times to unite  
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the advantages of combination and separation by means of 'divisional' cyclopædias, some of which deserve especial notice.

We have already mentioned the series of 'Real Lexicons,' commenced by the German firm of Gleditsch, but this was hardly more than a foreshadowing of the great enterprise of the same kind to which the French gave the name of the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique.' The project was to issue a new and improved edition of the work of Diderot and D'Alembert, in which the great encyclopædia was to be broken up into a series of small cyclopædias, each embracing in alphabetical order a separate science, and the whole thus covering in combination the field of knowledge. It is obvious that much of the value of this plan would depend on the skilful distribution of its parts, and in this respect the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique' was, we think, particularly unfortunate. There are of special dictionaries or divisions in the whole series not less than forty-eight, which, even if well-chosen, would have been much too numerous, but which are far from being well-chosen. It would, indeed, be cruel to reproach the editors with having assigned one section to the debates of the 'National Assembly,' and proposed to give in the alphabetical order of the subjects the speeches of all the members—a plan which, as may be supposed, was never carried out beyond a single volume, comprising the letter A. It must be remembered that the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique,' begun in 1782, had to make its way through the stormiest days of the French Revolution; and an extravagance of this kind may be forgiven to editors and publishers, whose heads it probably assisted in keeping on their shoulders. But there can be no similar excuse for dividing the Geography into three portions—Ancient Geography, Modern Geography, and Physical Geography; for separating the Natural History into five divisions, and for divorcing the Surgery from the Medicine. On the whole, it is remarkable that in so vast an undertaking all the parts, with the exception of the unlucky 'National Assembly' division, were finally brought to completion. The 'Encyclopédie Méthodique' fills 166 quarto volumes of text and 51 of plates, and it took just half-a-century in publishing—from 1782 to 1832. It is in magnitude the greatest cyclopædia that has yet been completed.

There is, however, another French cyclopædia on much the same plan as the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique,' which, while professing to treat only of a single science, approaches within a few volumes of the same enormous bulk, and yet was completed in fifteen years instead of fifty. The 'Encyclopédie Théologique' of the Abbé Migne, the first series of which consists of 50 volumes, the second of 52, and the third of 57, making in all the

the stupendous amount of 159, is one of the most astonishing of the astonishing publications of the great book-factory of Montrouge. It was issued between 1845 and 1860. The projector, the Abbé Jacques Paul Migne, came to Paris in 1833, at the age of thirty-three, to found the first daily religious newspaper that was ever published—'L'Univers,' afterwards so famous under the editorship of Veuillot. It was probably from the habit of witnessing the wonders of the daily newspaper press that he conceived the idea of organising permanent publications on a more gigantic scale than had ever hitherto been tried. It is evident that if the power which is daily applied in producing the ephemeral sheets of the 'Times' were turned to the production of octavo volumes intended for preservation, the shelves of our libraries might be very soon stocked. The Abbé commenced his series of publications with two 'courses,' as they are called, of Commentaries, the first on Scripture, the second on Theology, both in the Latin language; and it is said that, being priced remarkably cheap, and being suited to the wants of a large class of purchasers, the Roman Catholic clergy, these publications at once found 20,000 subscribers. His next great undertaking, now on the eve of completion, was a series of the Greek and Latin Fathers, extending to 330 volumes, to which he proposes to add a series of 200 indexes, drawn up with a minuteness hitherto unknown, on which a staff of thirty individuals is now employed.\* The dream of his life is to complete a 'Universal Library for the Clergy,' consisting altogether of 2000 volumes, similar to the many hundreds he has already published, of a quarto or rather royal octavo size, closely printed in double columns, each volume comprising about the matter of five usual octavos, so that the whole mass would be equal to a library of about 10,000 ordinary volumes. He has already done so much, and has been so remarkably well supported, that the idea cannot by any means be pronounced chimerical. His publications fill several presses in the reading-room of the British Museum: his establishment at Montrouge is one of the marvels of the environs of Paris. The three sets of his 'Encyclopédie Théologique' embrace altogether more than ninety distinct dictionaries or cyclopædias. As might be expected, some of them are only theological in part or in name, as for instance the valuable 'Dictionnaire de Bibliologie Catholique' of M. Gustave

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\* The Latin Fathers already published, ending with Innocent III., fill 217 volumes, and the Greek Fathers already published, ending with Photius, fill 106 volumes; making a total of 323 volumes. Vol. II. of the Index is out; and a continuation of each series is in preparation, which will bring the Greek down to the Council of Florence, and the Latin to the Council of Trent.

Brunet, which is only 'catholic' in the sense of its containing 'universal' information on book-sales, catalogues, and libraries; or the 'Dictionary of Museums, Religious and Profane,' which comprises a list of the pictures in the London National Gallery. Others are Roman Catholic to a degree which vitiates their utility as books of reference. On the whole, however, though we cannot subscribe to the opinion of the Abbé Migne, expressed in his catalogue, that his triple range of dictionaries is a 'publication sans laquelle on ne saurait parler, lire et écrire utilement, n'importe dans quelle situation de la vie,' we are disposed to concur in the opinion that no library of twenty thousand volumes should be without these one hundred and fifty-nine.

In England it was endeavoured to carry the principle of a 'methodical cyclopædia' still further than in the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique.' The 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana' was to be distributed into divisions, some of which were to be alphabetically and others philosophically arranged. It had, at least, the advantage over its French predecessor that the divisions were fewer—four, instead of forty-eight. The first was of the pure sciences, the second of the moral and applied sciences, the third of biographical and historical matter in chronological order, the fourth of lexicographical and miscellaneous matter in alphabetical order. Philosophy had here not taken a lesson from experience. The biographical and geographical articles which had been so often united in historical dictionaries were not only disjoined, but arranged on different principles; the names of places were considered as belonging to the 'miscellaneous' department, and placed in the order of the alphabet, while the names of persons were inserted in the historical portion in chronological order, and only discoverable by a troublesome search. Principle was thus sacrificed, no less than convenience; for if the biographical names were to be arranged in order of time, the geographical ought, by analogy, to have been arranged in order of place. The plan was the proposal of the poet Coleridge, and it had at least enough of a poetical character to be eminently unpractical. It sufficed to obscure for a time all that was excellent in the execution. Richardson's 'Dictionary of the English Language,' which was part of the miscellaneous department, did not receive its proper meed of reputation till disengaged and re-issued in a separate shape. A great portion of the Cyclopædia was, as it were, dug out of the ruins and re-issued in separate volumes by fresh publishers who acquired the property of the work, and thus distinctly recognised it as a mere quarry of valuable materials. The 'Metropolitana' ran to twenty-nine quarto volumes, and was finished in 1845.

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The 'British Cyclopædia,' published in ten octavo volumes, under the editorship of C. F. Partington, from 1835 to 1838, was also distributed into four divisions—Arts and Sciences, Natural History, Biography, and, lastly, in one division, Literature, History, and Geography. The arrangement of the several divisions was alphabetical throughout. The work was of inferior dimensions compared to the great cyclopædias, and would probably have enjoyed more consideration had it been in twenty volumes instead of ten. A biographical dictionary in two octavo volumes can hardly aspire to a higher character than that of a useful compendium; and biography, which, on a large scale, is as entertaining as instructive, is apt on a small scale to sink into a mere matter of names and dates. The 'British Cyclopædia' met with only moderate success—with less than in our opinion it deserved.

The 'English Cyclopædia,' which is now before us, is thus the third of English 'divisional' cyclopædias, and, like its predecessors, is distributed into four departments only. In making these divisions, its experienced editor, Mr. Charles Knight, so well known for his 'History of England,' and his edition of 'Shakspeare,' appears to have followed an entirely different principle from that which presided over the 'Metropolitana.' He has taken as a guide the voice of the public as shown in the literary history of the past century and a-half. The brilliant success of the 'Biographie Universelle,' and, still more, the partial success of many works of the kind which have no claim to distinguished merit, have stamped the biographical dictionary as a class of work the utility, not to say the necessity, of which is generally felt. One division of the Cyclopædia is, therefore, a biographical dictionary on so liberal a scale that it exceeds even that of Chalmers in extent, and is thus the most copious that has yet appeared in the English language. A Gazetteer is another class of publication the demand for which is incessant, though the supply has never yet produced a work to compare in popularity and attraction with the best on biography. There is, therefore, a separate Geographical Dictionary, embracing, with large additions, the articles on that head from the 'Penny Cyclopædia'—certainly the best that had ever appeared in any work of the kind. The limits of both these divisions are so plainly and strongly marked by nature and custom, that hardly any doubt can be felt as to what they admit and what they exclude. There is still another great distinction which can easily be drawn with sufficient sharpness, and a third division is accordingly made of a Dictionary of Natural History. But then the difficulty comes. The mass of matter that remains is miscellaneous indeed. It here  
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forms one division, under the title of Arts and Sciences ; but attached to it is a sort of table in which some of its contents are distributed into eleven sub-divisions, and the very heading of these sub-divisions shows how easily many of them might be sub-divided. One of them, for instance, is 'Philology, Mental Philosophy, Government, and Political Economy;' and comprises articles on Buddha, Logic, the Sanscrit Language, and the Warehousing System. These are, indeed, 'strange bed-fellows,' yet we judge that Mr. Knight has judged rightly in bringing them together. It is because heterogeneous subjects are brought together in it that a Cyclopædia is in demand, as it is because homogeneous subjects are brought together in it that a Biographical Dictionary is in demand. In what he has done and what he has left undone, Mr. Knight has followed the decisions of the public—has trod in the path that the history of books of reference indicates, but with such deviations, or rather corrections, as logic requires to make the decisions agree. The two most popular species of books of reference are a Cyclopædia including a Biographical Dictionary, and a Biographical Dictionary in a separate shape. Mr. Knight has harmonised the two incompatible requirements by a slight modification of plan, which enables him to avoid presenting the same matter twice over ; while, by a general list of the contents of all four divisions, which has now been issued, he places it in the power of his readers to ascertain by a glance what all the four divisions of the work contain.

The 'Biographical Dictionary of the English Cyclopædia' is one of its most prominent features, being, as we have already said, the most copious Biographical Dictionary in the English language, though, from its compactness of printing, it occupies only six volumes, while Chalmers's extends to thirty-two. It presents an important innovation on the practice of other cyclopædias, which appears also to be founded on a public wish, pretty clearly expressed. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' contains the biography of no living person, and the 'Penny Cyclopædia' was in that respect equally defective. In the 'English Cyclopædia' are given many hundreds of the biographies of the living, some of them of considerable length, many others for the first time in print. On numerous occasions since the publication of the Cyclopædia these memoirs have been transferred, with acknowledgments, to the columns of the newspapers, to accompany the notice of the decease of the subjects. That a degree of reserve and reticence should be observed in writing the biographies of living persons which is unnecessary in the case of the long deceased is a point which hardly requires to be enforced, but that such

such biographies should be left unwritten is a measure for which it is difficult to perceive a reason. To comprehend fully the history of recent politics and recent science it is absolutely necessary to be acquainted with the biography of Napoleon I. a Napoleon III., of Lord Wellington and Lord Brougham, of Humphry Davy and Professor Faraday; and to omit the notice of some of these conspicuous names because the wearers are still alive is only one degree less unreasonable than it would be to omit the recent history of France, of law reform, or of electrical discovery, because they cannot be treated of without mentioning these living names. That the curiosity of the public in this respect is very eager is shown by the favour with which it receives the volumes of 'Men of our Time,' and some others of the same class which followed it. The articles in the Cyclopædia are generally of a far more elaborate character than these; and while much more attention is given to foreign names of importance, insignificant names of all kinds are more carefully excluded—a mark of the watchful superintendence of a judicious editor. With such superintendence the addition of living names seems to us an important addition both to the immediate and permanent value of the 'Biographical Dictionary.' Abroad the practice has been long adopted, and with general approbation. In the German and other 'Conversations-Lexikons' it was one of the main elements of success. In France the 'Biographie des Contemporains,' by Arnault and Jouy, which was commenced in 1818—the same year as the 'Biographie Universelle'—ran to twenty volumes, and a new edition to twenty-five, to say nothing of various rival compilations, many of which contain valuable materials for the history of the time. The 'Biographie Universelle' itself adheres to the old practice of noticing only the deceased, but its formidable competitor, the 'Biographie Générale' is pursuing the opposite plan on a scale which makes it no less important element in a comparison between the advantages offered by the two. The French have also recently commenced a work on a plan entirely novel—the 'Dictionnaire des Contemporains' of Vapereau—which it is intended to publish yearly after the manner of a directory, omitting on each occasion the names of those who have died and inserting the names of those who have emerged into notice during the preceding twelve months. This work is on the gigantic scale which so frequently excites our admiration in recent French enterprises, the first volume being of the largest octavo size, extending to nearly two thousand pages, and comprising about five thousand lives. The interval between one volume and its successor is certainly too brief, and might be advantageously extended to five years, or even to ten  
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but the work is a boon to all who desire not only to read but to understand the newspapers.

It is, however, not only on the plan but on the execution that the utility of a work of reference depends. As a city, to be beautiful, requires not only wide and straight thoroughfares to give effect to the buildings, but magnificent buildings to give effect to the thoroughfares; so without the excellence of individual articles no Cyclopædia can be good. It is no small advantage to the 'English Cyclopædia' that it is in effect a second edition. It is founded on a work that has already been mentioned as the great rival of the 'Britannica,' a work that was fortunate in almost everything but the name,—the 'Penny Cyclopædia' of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, edited by Professor Long. The literary expenditure on this publication was upwards of forty thousand pounds; but the trivial circumstance that it was first issued in weekly penny numbers led to its receiving a title that refers to cheapness only, and thus seems at first sight to imply the confession that it is of an inferior class, while in reality it has long taken rank with the proudest cyclopædias of any age or country. It counted among its contributors not only such English names as Airy, the Astronomer Royal; Professor Key, the philologist; and Professor De Morgan, the mathematician; Broderip, the enterprising naturalist; Ford, the unrivalled traveller in Spain; Sir Charles Eastlake, the President of the Royal Academy; Sir Edmund Head, the acute art critic and Governor of Canada; Sir George Cornewall Lewis, the classical scholar and War Minister; the late Dr. Donaldson, one of our very best scholars; with a host of others, 'our country's honour;' but many foreign names of equal rank, such as Rosen, the Sanscrit scholar; Gayangos, the Spanish Orientalist; and Carl Ritter, the first geographer of Germany. To Ritter, who had devoted years to the study of the geography of Asia, the Cyclopædia was indebted for an article on Asia in which was embodied in a few pages the essence of all his labours. In many other instances a peculiar felicity was displayed in securing for a particular subject the very pen that belonged to it. There was an excellent general article on Weights and Measures by the equally lively and learned Professor De Morgan, but the portion of the article relating to Standard Weights and Measures was by Mr. Sheepshanks, who afterwards superintended the operations for fixing a national standard of measures at the request of a Committee of the House of Commons. It is one of the great advantages of a cyclopædia that it often leads to the composition of treatises like this when probably they would otherwise have remained unwritten. The whole field of knowledge is traversed by



by the telescope of a vigilant editor, who is naturally led to apply in every important case to the best man whom he can influence, and the best man would often not have thought of taking pen in hand but for such an application. We believe that it was in the French *Encyclopédie* that the example was first set of naming the authors of prominent articles, and in the '*Biographie Universelle*' of naming the writers of all. The practice has evidently had a strong effect in the improvement of works of reference, and we are sorry it has only been partially followed in the '*English Cyclopædia*.' A list of the chief contributors and their principal articles is given in the division of Arts and Sciences, but in that division only. It should, we think, have been given in all.

There is sufficient, however, in this list to show that almost all the surviving contributors to the '*Penny Cyclopædia*' of twenty years ago have taken part in its successor, while fresh auxiliaries have been enrolled in almost every branch. We notice, for instance, as the author of the article on 'Pottery,' Mr. Birch of the British Museum, whose two volumes on Ancient Pottery are only part of his numerous contributions to antiquarian learning; as the author of the article on the 'Vedas,' Dr. Goldstücker, Professor of Sanscrit at University College, and editor of the new edition of Wilson's '*Sanscrit Dictionary*;' as the author of the article on 'Cuneiform Characters,' Mr. Edwin Norris of the Foreign Office, the learned coadjutor of Sir Henry Rawlinson. There are many other names which guarantee the high value of the articles to which they are attached, and have no living superiors in the subjects to which they belong. We are sorry not to notice the editor as a frequent contributor, for the pen of Mr. Knight has been very felicitous in those short contributions to the periodicals which have been recently collected in some charming volumes bearing his name; but his assistants in the editorship, to whom he returns thanks in the Preface—Mr. Alexander Ramsay, of the '*Penny Cyclopædia*,' and Mr. James Thorne, of the '*Rambles by Rivers*'—have contributed to the new '*Cyclopædia*' some of the best of its articles.

Though the '*English Cyclopædia*' is, as we have said, in part a reproduction of the '*Penny Cyclopædia*,' it is also in great part original. The skill of the new editorship is shown in a strong light by the difficulty of detecting where the old ends and the new begins. The principal danger in the case of a reprint is that of leaving untouched observations and statements that have become obsolete: and it is a danger that in the new editions of some cyclopædias has not been avoided. There are disadvantages no less than advantages in the uses of stereotype. If there are oversights of this kind in the '*English Cyclopædia*,' they

they are certainly unimportant ones; and the whole of the work, from first to last, leaves the impression of having been produced at a single casting.

The average length of the important articles is that of the articles in a *Quarterly Review*, and in this also Mr. Knight appears to have studied and followed the voice of the public. It is found by experience that forty or fifty pages of an ordinary-sized octavo, pretty closely printed, are enough to contain a general view of the main points of such a subject as the electric telegraph, or photography, or Post-Office statistics; and ten or a dozen of the very compact though clear and legible pages of the '*English Cyclopædia*' contain just about that quantity. At the same time, the error seems to have been avoided of confining editorial attention to the longer and more conspicuous articles, and the briefer ones have evidently received their due proportion of care—one of the points in the editorship of a cyclopædia that has an important bearing on its real value and utility. In short, the '*English Cyclopædia*' is a work that as a whole has no superior and very few equals of its kind; that, taken by itself, supplies the place of a small library; and, used in a large library, is found to present many points of information that are sought in vain in any other cyclopædia in the English language.

We have hitherto spoken in a tone of almost unmixed praise, but it will readily be supposed that in so immense a work there are sure to be shortcomings and inequalities. The whole subject of law appears to be treated throughout in too limited a manner, with too exclusive a reference to English law, and even that only in its present state. With the exception of an admirable article on Roman Law by Professor Long, who is confessedly a master of that branch of learning, we meet with scarcely anything in which the subject is treated from the scientific instead of the professional point of view. Again, in comparison with the German *Conversations-Lexikon*, or even with the new '*American Cyclopædia*,' by Ripley and Dana, the languages and literatures of the different nations of Europe receive too little attention, and are anything but systematically treated. There is, indeed, a long and elaborate article on the Welsh language and literature, but Gaelic is dismissed with a very scanty notice, and under the head of '*Scandinavian Literature*' we are merely referred for the history of its modern development in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway to the notices which will be found in the '*Biographical Dictionary*' under the names of the more eminent authors.

These deficiencies will, we hope, engage the attention of the

editor of some future edition or of some future supplement, both of which we have no doubt will be called for. The French, to whom all Europe is indebted for so many discoveries and inventions in the field of literature, have lately set an admirable example in the matter of supplements to cyclopædias. They have commenced an 'Annuaire Encyclopédique,' a publication to be continued yearly, in which a notice of all that has occurred in the preceding twelvemonth in the world of politics, literature, art, and science is embodied in articles in the usual encyclopædic form, arranged in alphabetical order. The purchaser has thus in his possession a supplement to every preceding cyclopædia, with the intelligence brought up to within the shortest practicable date, and made as easy of reference as possible. The history of the year is given under the names of the different countries, and is thus far more accessible than in an Annual Register; while much is given that no Annual Register has yet afforded. France is at present unprecedentedly rich in annual periodicals: there is in addition to the 'Annuaire des Deux Mondes,' certainly the best Annual Register ever issued, an 'Année Agricole,' 'Année Littéraire,' 'Année Musicale,' for affording annual synopses of the progress of agriculture, literature, and music; but not one of all these publications is, we think, calculated to be so useful as the 'Annuaire Encyclopédique.' We should rejoice to hear that the proprietors of the 'English Cyclopædia' had resolved to issue a similar annual supplement to their own and every similar publication.

Our survey of alphabetical cyclopædias is now brought to a close. A survey of encyclopædias of unalphabetical arrangement would carry us over a much wider expanse of time—from the 'Historia Naturalis' of Pliny, or the lost work of Varro, to the 'Cabinet Cyclopædia' of Dr. Lardner, and the 'Manuels-Roret'—embracing in its course the numerous encyclopædias of the middle ages, of which that of the Englishman Bartholomæus de Glanvillâ was one of the most popular, and that of the Frenchman Vincent of Beauvais one of the most complete. It would comprise many of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish origin, from the Arabic collection of the 'Brothers of Purity,' to the Turkish Mejmua-i-Fenoon, which is stated to be issuing in monthly parts at Constantinople in 1863. It would lead us to compare the enormous folio of George Valla, in 1501, bearing the singularly clumsy title 'De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus,' and the enormous folios, already alluded to in passing, of the industrious Alsted, whose title has had such perennial success. It would extend above all to the numerous works of this class which have  
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been produced by the Chinese, who invented printing, though without an alphabet, and approached as near to the invention of cyclopædias as the want of an alphabet would allow them. Even their ordinary histories exhibit many of the characteristics of an encyclopædia in the variety and compass of their contents; and **Bazin**, the Chinese scholar, in his analysis of the catalogue of the Chinese library, founded by the Emperor Kang He, states that he found among the 10,500 works it contained no less than 303 distinct works of the nature of cyclopædias, some of them of large extent. Almost the only European work that has been spontaneously translated into Chinese by the Chinese themselves, is **Hugh Murray's** 'Encyclopædia of Geography,' one of Longman's series, a version of which was issued in 1844 to the public of Canton as the work of Commissioner Lin, and speedily ran to a second edition, in twenty volumes. No works in the Chinese language are more full of interest to European readers than the native cyclopædias. An analysis of the most celebrated, that of **Ma-Twan-Lin**, first printed in 1322, a more modern edition of which, presented by Queen Victoria, is in the British Museum, was given by **Klaproth** in the *English Asiatic Journal* of 1830. In the eleventh volume of the 'Notices et Extraits' of the manuscripts in the Imperial Library of Paris, an analysis is also given by **Abel Rémusat** of the Japanese translation of the pictorial Chinese encyclopædia 'San-Tsae-Too-Hwuy,' which is much more extensive and valuable than the small Japanese work of the kind in the British Museum, or than that in the Japanese department of the International Exhibition of 1862, which has, we hear, been transferred to the Museum since the close of the Exhibition. To these very curious notices we must refer our readers who are desirous of further information on this branch of the subject; and for much that is valuable on every class of cyclopædia, we may also refer to the article 'Dictionaries' in the *English Cyclopædia itself*, in which, under the heading 'Dictionaries of Things,' will be found an excellent summary of information on their history and bibliography.

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ART. IV.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Salmon Fisheries of England and Wales.* 1861.

2. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire whether, having regard to the rights of property of the Crown and individuals in the Salmon Fishings on the Sea-coasts and in Rivers and Estuaries in Scotland, it is just and expedient that any and what Legislation should take place for the Regulation of such Fishings, &c.* 1860.

3. *The Natural History of the Salmon, as ascertained by the recent experiments in the artificial spawning and hatching of the ova and rearing of the fry at Stormontfield on the Tay.* By William Brown. Glasgow, 1862.

4. *The Natural History and Habits of the Salmon; with reasons for the decline of the Fisheries, &c.* By Andrew Young. London, 1854.

5. *Fish-Culture: a practical Guide to the modern system of Breeding and Rearing Fish.* By Francis Francis. London, 1863.

6. *View of the Salmon Fishery of Scotland; with Observations on the Nature, Habits, and Instincts of the Salmon.* By the late Murdo M'Kenzie, Esq. Edinburgh, 1860.

7. *The Tweed Fisheries Acts, 1857 and 1859.*

8. *The Irish Fishery Laws: a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel.* By William Sinclair. London, 1863.

9. *Some Remarks upon Mr. M'Mahon's Bill.* By Wm. Lysaght. London, 1863.

10. *Second Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries (England).* 1863.

11. *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Vol. ix. Art. 'Fisheries.' Edinburgh, 1855.

ANY exposition of what is called the salmon question must, of necessity, begin by a reference to that period which is thought to have been the golden age of the fisheries—a period dating eighty years back. But notwithstanding occasional draughts like that on the river Thurso, when so many as 2500 fish were taken at one haul, it is questionable if salmon, or indeed any other sea animal, ever were so magically abundant as has been represented. At the time—a rather indefinite time, however, ranging from the beginning to the end of the last century, and often referred to by writers on the salmon question—when farm-servants were compelled to eat of that fish more frequently than seemed good to them, there were few distant markets available; it was only on the Tweed, Tay, Severn, and other salmon streams, that it was really plentiful. No regular commerce was carried on in fresh salmon beyond the sale of a few fish in country market

market towns, where it has been sold at so low a rate as a penny or twopence per pound weight. Most of the fish at the time indicated were boiled in pickle or split up and 'cured' as kippers. In those days there were neither steamboats nor railways to hurry away the produce of the sea or the river to London or Liverpool: it is not surprising, therefore, that at that time fish could almost be had for the taking. Poaching—that is, poaching as a trade—was unknown; when the people resident on the river were allowed to capture as many fish as they pleased, or when they could purchase all they required at a nominal price, there was no necessity for them to catch the foul salmon. Farm-servants on the Tay or the Tweed had usually a few smoked fish or a barrel of pickled salmon for winter use. Men went out on a winter night to 'burn the water,' it is true, but then it was simply by way of having a frolic.

It would serve no good purpose to go minutely over the evidence that the salmon was at one time a very plentiful fish in all parts of the United Kingdom: this fact may be taken for granted. In those halcyon days country gentlemen killed their salmon in the same sense as they killed their own mutton, viz. for household eating; there was no other demand for the fish than that of their own servants and retainers. Farmers kept their smoked or pickled salmon for winter use, in the same way as they did their pickled pork or smoked bacon. The fish were allowed to fulfil the instincts of their nature and breed in peace: those owners, too, of either upper or lower waters who delighted in angling had abundance of attractive sport; and so far as we can glean, both from personal inquiry and much reading, there was during this golden age a rude plenty of home-procured food of the fish kind, which even with the best-regulated fisheries we can never again hope for in these days of steam power.

At present the very opposite of all this prevails. Farmers or cottars cannot now make salmon a portion of their winter's store: permission to angle for it is a favour not easily procured, because even the worst upper waters can now be 'let' at a good figure. Indeed, the salmon has become individually so valuable as to tempt persons to engage extensively in its capture at illegal seasons, and poaching has grown into a regular business. A prime salmon is quite as valuable on the average as a Southdown sheep, and has been known at certain seasons to bring as much as ten shillings per pound weight in a London fish shop! There have been many causes at work to bring about this falling off in our supplies; but ignorance of the natural history of the fish, the want of accord between the upper and the lower proprietors of salmon rivers,

rivers, the use of stake and bag nets, poaching during close time, the consequent capture of thousands of gravid fish, and legal 'overfishing' by the lessees of the fishing stations—are doubtless the chief reasons; and in the course of this paper we shall have a word or two to say on each of these causes of deterioration.

The natural and commercial history of the salmon are so interwoven that it is difficult to separate them. The slaughter of grilse before they have an opportunity of continuing their species, and the millions of parr killed every year when that little fish was thought not to be the young of the salmon, the controversies which have raged from time to time as to the food of salmon, and the rate of growth of that fish, have had important influences on the economic phases of the salmon question, and have given occasion for the publishing of many books, and the issuing of various commissions of inquiry by both branches of the Legislature. The selection of works named at the commencement of this paper represents only a small portion of the books which have been devoted to the discussion of the natural and economic history of the salmon. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say, that during the past quarter of a century there has been a committee of inquiry either in the House of Lords or Commons, a Royal Commission, a blue-book, or an Act of Parliament once a-year on behalf of that fish, besides numerous publications by private individuals. Indeed its natural history has been so minutely investigated during the last twenty-five years as finally to set at rest, in the opinion of those best entitled to judge, most of the hotly-contested questions connected with its growth and multiplication. There are still to be found, no doubt, a few wrong-headed people who will not be convinced, but pridefully maintain all the old salmon theories and prejudices: with them the parr is still a distinct fish, the smolt is the true young of the *Salmo Salar* in its first stage, and a grilse is just a grilse and nothing more. However, these old-world people will in time pass away (there is no hope of convincing them), and then the modern views of salmon history, founded as they are on laborious personal investigation, will ultimately prevail. At any rate, we shall have no more nonsense from Billingsgate naturalists about salmon-eggs coming to maturity in a period of two days and two nights; nor shall we again be told, that as soon as the fish burst from the eggs, they are at once conducted to the sea by their parents. In the case of the salmon truth comes in with stranger stories than fiction can possibly invent. The experiments in artificial hatching, conducted during the last ten years at Stormontfield, on the river Tay, have

have proved this, at the same time disposing of one of the most curious controversies connected with the natural history of the salmon—viz. the Parr Question.

We have now the means of accurately tracing the salmon from the egg to the table; we can view it with convenience in all its stages of parr, smolt, grilse, and salmon. Naturalists have watched the egg into life, have seen the inanimate matter quicken and assume the fish shape, and, after bursting from its fragile prison, have carefully noted its growth day by day till it assumed the blue scales of the smolt—have marked it, so that, when it returned from its voyage of exploration, it would be again known; even after it became a grilse, means were taken to keep it in sight; and when the tiny parr had become a kingly specimen of the salmon tribe, it could be identified as the same fish while it lay on its snowy napkin on a well-graced dinner-table. It has been authoritatively settled that grilse become salmon; and, notwithstanding a recent opening up of this old sore, we hold the experiments conducted by his Grace the Duke of Athole, and Mr. Young of Invershin, to be quite conclusive. The latter gentleman, in his little work on the Salmon, after alluding to various points in the growth of the fish, says:—

‘My next attempt was to ascertain the rate of their growth during their short stay in salt water, and for this purpose we marked spawned grilses, as near as we could get to four pounds weight; these we had no trouble in getting with a net in the pools below the spawning beds, where they had congregated together to rest, after the fatigues of depositing their seed. All the fish above four pounds weight as well as any under that size were returned to the river unmarked, and the others marked by inserting copper wire rings into certain parts of their fins: this was done in a manner so as not to interrupt the fish in their swimming operations nor be troublesome to them any way. After their journey to sea and back again, we found that the four pound grilses had grown into beautiful salmon, varying from nine to fourteen pounds weight. I repeated this experiment for several years, and on the whole found the results the same, and, as in the former markings, found the majority returning in about eight weeks, and we have never among our markings found a marked grilse go to sea and return a grilse, for they have invariably returned salmon.’

The Duke of Athole took a large degree of interest in the Grilse question, and kept a complete record of all the fish that he had caused to be marked; and in his Journal there is a striking instance of rapidity of growth. A fish marked by his Grace was caught at a place forty miles distant from the sea; it travelled to the salt-water, fed, and returned in the short space of thirty-seven days. The following is his entry regarding this particular fish:



fish: 'On referring to my Journal, I find that I caught this fish as a kelt this year, on the 31st of March, with the rod, about two miles above Dunkeld Bridge, at which time it weighed exactly ten pounds; so that, in the short space of five weeks and two days, it had gained the almost incredible increase of eleven pounds and a quarter; for, when weighed here on its arrival, it was twenty-one pounds and a quarter.' There could be no doubt, Mr. Young thinks, of the accuracy of this statement, for his Grace was most correct in his observations, having tickets made for the purpose, and numbered from one upwards, and the number and date registered.

As the fish grew so rapidly during their visit to the salt water, people began to wonder what they fed on, and where they went. A hypothesis was started of their visiting the North Pole; but it was certain, from the short duration of their sea visit, that they could proceed to no great distance from the mouth of the river which admitted them to the sea. Hundreds of fish were dissected in order to ascertain what they fed upon; but, only on very rare occasions, could any traces of food be found in the stomach. What, then, do the salmon live upon? was asked. It is quite clear that salmon obtain in the sea some kind of food for which they have a peculiar liking, and upon which they rapidly grow fat; and it is well known that after they return to the fresh water they begin to lose their flesh and fall off in condition. The rapid growth of the fish seems to imply that its digestion must be rapid, and may perhaps account for there never being food in its stomach when found; although we are bound to mention that one gentleman who writes on this subject accounts for the emptiness of the stomach by asserting that the salmon vomits at the moment of being taken. The codfish again is frequently found with its stomach crowded; in fact, we have seen the stomach of a large cod which formed quite a small museum, having a large variety of articles 'on board,' as the fisherman said who caught it. The same fisherman is our authority for stating that the cod (unlike the salmon) is of comparatively slow growth, taking years to grow into a very large fish. On all these points there has been a great amount of disputation, chiefly carried on in the Transactions of learned societies, and not therefore accessible to the general reader.

None of the controversies concerning the growth of the salmon, however, have been so hotly carried on or have proved so fertile in argument as the parr dispute. At certain seasons of the year, most notably in the months of spring and early summer, our salmon streams and their tributaries become crowded as if by magic with a pretty little fish known in Scotland as the parr,  
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and in England as the brandling, the samlet, &c. The parr was at one time so wonderfully plentiful, that those farmers and cottars who resided near the rivers used not unfrequently, after filling the family frying-pan, to feed their pigs with them! Countless thousands of them were annually killed by juvenile anglers, and it never occurred either to the country gentlemen or their farmers that these parr were young salmon. Indeed, the young of the salmon, as then recognised, was known only as smolt or 'smout.' Parr were thought to be a distinct fish of the minor or dwarf kind. Some long-headed anglers, however, had their doubts about 'the little parrie,' and naturalists found it difficult to procure specimens of the fish with ova or milt. The first person who 'took a thought about the matter' and arrived at any solid conclusion on the matter was James Hogg, the Ettrick shepherd, who, in his usual eccentric way, took some steps to verify his opinions. As an angler he had often caught the parr in its transition state, and had frequently captured smolts with the scales barely covering the bars or finger marks of the parr; wondering at this, he marked a great number of the lesser fish, and offered rewards (characteristically enough, of whisky) to the peasantry to bring him any fish that had evidently undergone the change predicted by him. These crude attempts of the impulsive shepherd of Ettrick were not without their fruit; indeed they were so successful as quite to convince him that the parr were the young of the salmon in their first stage.

It is curious to note the varieties of opinion which were evoked during the parr controversy, which has existed in one shape or another for something like two hundred years. As a proof of the difficulty of arriving at a correct conclusion amidst the conflict of evidence, we may mention that the late Mr. Yarrell held the parr to be a distinct fish. 'That the parr,' he says, 'is not the young of the salmon, or indeed of any other of the larger species of the *Salmonidæ*, as still considered by some, is sufficiently obvious from the circumstance that parr by hundreds may be taken in the rivers all the summer, long after the fry of the year of the larger migratory species have gone down to the sea.' Mr. Yarrell also says, 'The smolt or young salmon is by the fishermen of some rivers called a "laspring;"' and explains, 'The laspring of some rivers is the young of the true salmon; but in others, as I know from having had specimens sent me, the laspring is really only a parr.' Mr. Yarrell farther states the prevalence of an opinion 'that parrs were hybrids and all of them males.' Many of those gentlemen who denied that parr were salmon in their first stage have lived to change their opinion. Mr. Robert Buist, the

the intelligent conservator of the Stormontfield breeding-ponds, was the most ardent opponent of the Ettrick shepherd; and he now lives to see in his own ponds the most perfect realisation of the shepherd's predictions. A very eminent living naturalist, who has now seen all the stages of the question, said at one time that the parr had no connexion whatever with the migratory salmon; and also that 'males are found so far advanced as to have the milt flow on being handled; but at the same time, and indeed all the females which I have examined, had the roe in a backward state, and they have not been discovered spawning in any of the shallow streams or lesser rivulets, like the trout.' Such extracts could be multiplied *ad libitum*, but we only take one more, and it is from the same writer. After minutely describing the anatomy of the fish, he thus sums up: 'In this state, therefore, I have no hesitation in considering the parr not only distinct, but one of the best and most constantly marked species we have.' Mr. John Shaw, residing at Drumlanrig, a retainer of the Duke of Buccleuch, and Mr. Andrew Young of Invershin, a retainer of the Duke of Sutherland, took a warm interest in the parr question, and were the first persons who really established data by which to try the question. As their plan was substantially the same as that afterwards adopted in the Stormontfield experiments, it need not be detailed at length; both gentlemen have made their experiments public, and they differed on one branch of the parr question which is still a mystery, viz., how long the parr continued in its first stage; i. e. at what time did it change to a smolt? \*

By far the most interesting circumstance that has arisen in connexion with the development of the salmon question is the introduction of the artificial rearing system. The Stormontfield experiments—which are interesting to economists as well as naturalists, as they solve two important questions, viz., a point in Natural History and the fact that it is quite as possible to cultivate the waters as the land—have attracted so large a degree of attention as to merit a somewhat lengthened description. It is generally known that modern pisciculture is only the revival of an old art at one time extensively practised in Italy, and at a period in Germany, England, and France.† The most recent

\* See 'Q. R.,' vol. ci. p. 154.

† The greatest fish-hatching establishment on the Continent is at Henrich near Strasburg. We learn from a letter of Mr. Frank Buckland to the effect that that eminent naturalist has taken care to exhibit the process of hatching the public in the aquarium at the Zoological Gardens, where at this time hundreds of the young fish may be seen swimming about, and also in the office of the 'Field' newspaper in the Strand.

iments were inaugurated in Ireland, and continue to be carried on there with great success. The practice of artificial spawning and rearing was begun at the Stormontfield ponds, about five miles from Perth, on the 23rd of November, 1853, and has been continued every alternate year since that period. The reason why a hatching is not achieved annually is, that the ponds are not sufficiently large. There is only one reception-pond for the fry; and as the young fish require two years to arrive at the migratory point—one-half of a brood departing to the sea the first year, the other moiety remaining in the ponds twelve months longer—it is obvious that it would be unsafe to admit the tender, newly-hatched fish into a pond full of strong two-year-old cannibals. The Tay proprietors now regret that they did not construct another reception-pond; the expense would not have been greatly increased, and, once made, the annual cost\* would have been much the same for two ponds as for one. The total sum expended in the construction of the ponds and breeding-boxes at Stormontfield was only a little over 500*l.*; had the proprietors consented to double that amount, a splendid and commodious suite of ponds would have been the result.

The initiatory experiments at the ponds were entrusted to Mr. Ramsbottom in order that he might teach a resident fisherman how to manipulate the fish; and the operations, from the time of laying down the spawn in the breeding-boxes till the departure of the first shoal of smolts, were watched with the greatest possible interest both by naturalists and economists. Frequent visits to Stormontfield have rendered us familiar with all the operations carried on at the ponds, but we prefer to give an account of the manipulation of the salmon in the words of Mr. Ramsbottom: 'So soon as a pair of suitable fish were captured, the ova of the female were immediately discharged into a tub one-fourth full of water, by a gentle pressure of the hands from the thorax downwards. The milt of the male fish was ejected in a similar manner, and the contents of the tub stirred with the hand. After the lapse of a minute the water was poured off; with the exception of sufficient to keep the ova submerged, and fresh water supplied in its place. This also was poured off and fresh substituted, previous to removing the impregnated spawn to the boxes prepared for its reception. The ova were placed in the boxes as nearly similar to what they would be under the ordinary course of natural deposition as possible.' From Mr. Ashworth's paper read to the British

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\* Mr. Buckland states it at 48*l.*

Association in 1855, and from a paper on the same subject read by Sir William Jardine to the Association in the succeeding year, we learn—and we think it better to glean the facts from the observations of these gentlemen, who are both known to be authorities on the question, than to rely on our own observation—that, on the 31st of March, 1854, the first ovum of the spawn deposited in the preceding November and December was observed to be hatched; that in April or May the greater portion had come to life, and were at large in the spawning-boxes. In June they were placed in the reception-pond, and fed daily with boiled liver. They continued healthy through the winter, and in the spring of 1855 were found to have attained the average length of three and four inches. On the 2nd of May it was determined, at a meeting held at the pond, that the fish not being yet in the smolt state should be detained another year; but, ‘seventeen days afterwards, viz. on the 19th of May, a second meeting was held, in consequence of the great numbers of fry having in the interim assumed the migratory dress. On inspection it was found that a considerable portion were actual smolts, and the committee came to the determination to allow them to depart. Accordingly, the sluice communicating with the Tay was opened, and every facility for egress afforded. Contrary to expectation, none of the fry manifested any inclination to leave the pond until the 24th of May, when the larger and more mature of the smolts, after having held themselves detached from the others for several days, went off in a body. A series of similar emigrations took place, until fully one-half of the fry had left the pond and descended the sluice to the Tay.’ The departure of this moiety of the fish settled one side of the parr controversy; but, as the remainder of the brood continued in the ponds for another year, the question was, in effect, left where it was. Various plans have been tried at Stormontfield in order to solve this riddle, but without effect. At different times during the ten years in which these experiments have been carried on were expedients devised to settle this curious phase of salmon life. The roe of salmon was impregnated with the milt of the parr, and the spawn of the salmon and grilse were also intermingled, but without affording any solution. Another old controversy was also settled by an experiment at these breeding-ponds, viz., at what time the roe of the female fish was impregnated by the milt. This question was conclusively settled by the planting of a quantity of eggs which had not been brought into contact with the milt, and which, of course, rotted away, proving emphatically that the  
fishes

fishes come into contact at the time of spawning, and that there is no way of fructifying the eggs unless they are brought in contact with the milt.

The following is a complete summary of what has been achieved at the Stormontfield ponds. On the 23rd November, 1853, the stocking of the boxes commenced, and by the 23rd December 300,000 ova were deposited, being at the rate of 1000 to each box, of which there are 300. These ova were hatched in April, 1854, and the fry were kept in the ponds till May, 1855, when the sluice was opened, and one moiety of the fish departed for the river and the sea. About 1300 of these were marked by cutting off the dead or second dorsal fin. The smolts marked were about one in every hundred, so that about 130,000 must have departed, leaving more than that number in the pond. The return of some of the marked fish as grilse was eagerly looked for, and in about six weeks after the exodus the anxiety of Mr. Buist, the conservator of the river, was rewarded: for on the 7th July the first grilse was caught, returning from the sea at a tributary of the river Tay, a little below Perth. This fish weighed 3 lbs. ! and when it is taken into account that perhaps none of the smolts were above two ounces in weight at leaving the ponds, the rapid growth of the fish will at once be apparent. But some of the fish captured with the Stormontfield mark were greatly heavier, their weight increasing progressively to 5 lbs., 5½ lbs., 7 lbs., and even 8 lbs.; while one caught on the 31st July weighed no less than 9½ lbs. ! About 40 grilses, having the pond mark on them, were taken on their return from the sea the same year.\* The second spawning in 1854 was a failure, only a few thousand fish being produced. This result arose from the imperfect manipulation of those entrusted with the spawning. The third spawning took place between the 22nd November and the 16th December, 1855, and about 183,000 ova were deposited in the boxes. These ova came to life in April, 1856. The second migration of the fry spawned in 1853 took place between the 20th April and 24th May, 1856. Of the smolts that then left the ponds, 300 were marked with rings and 800 with cuts in the tail. Many grilses having the mark on the tail were taken, but none of those marked with the ring. The smolts from the hatching of 1856 left the pond in April, 1857. About 270 were marked with silver rings inserted into the fleshy part of the tail; about 1700 with a small hole perforated in the gill-cover; and about 600 with the dead fin cut off in addition to the mark in the gill

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\* As we remarked in our former article, no firm faith can be placed in the system of marking by cuts (see 'Q. R.,' vol. ci. p. 156).

cover. Several grilse with the mark on the gill and tail were caught and reported, but no fish marked with the ring. The fourth spawning took place between the 12th November and the 2nd December, 1857, when 150,000 ova were deposited in the boxes. These came to life in March, 1858. Of the smolts produced from the previous hatching which left the pond in 1858, 25 were marked with a silver ring behind the dead fin, and 50 with gilt copper-wire. Very few of this exodus were reported as being caught. The smolts produced from the hatching of 1858 left the pond in April, 1859, and 506 of these were marked. The fifth spawning, from 15th November to 13th December, 1859, produced 250,000 ova, which were hatched in April, 1860. Of the smolts that left in 1860, 670 were marked, and a good many of them were reported as having been caught on their return from the sea. The smolts of the hatching of 1860 left the ponds in May, 1861, but none of them were marked.

Considering their limited extent, these ponds have had a great success, and have sensibly increased the stock of fish in the river Tay, and also contributed greatly to the solution of the various mysteries connected with the growth of the salmon. The ponds afford excellent facilities for the marking of the young fish; the construction of the outlet from the reservoir to the river having been so constructed as to form a chamber, in which they could readily be seized and examined. The fish, it is remarkable, suffer no deterioration of any kind by being bred in the ponds: 'on comparing the fish of the ponds with those in the river, we find a remarkable similarity and agreement of the different stages, so far as we can judge of the age of those in the river.' Such is the opinion of Sir William Jardine.

The curious instinct that forces the salmon from the fresh to the salt water, and continues annually to compel the full-grown fish to alternate between the river and the sea, has never been explained by naturalists. It is supposed by some writers that the salmon makes two voyages in each year to the sea, and this is quite possible, as we may judge from the data we have already given on this point; but sometimes the salmon, although it can swim with great rapidity, takes many weeks to accomplish its journey because of the state of the river. If there is not sufficient water to flood the river, the fish have to remain in the various pools they may reach till the state of the water admits of their proceeding on their journey either to or from the sea. The salmon, like all other fish, is faithful to its old haunts; and it is known, in cases where more than one salmon-stream falls into the same frith, that the fish of one stream will not enter another, and where

where the stream has various tributaries suitable for breeding purposes, the fish breeding in a particular tributary invariably return to it. On this point Mr. Young, in his very interesting and minute little work '*On the Natural History and Habits of the Salmon,*' says:—

'In 1834 I commenced a system of marking the spawned fish, by inserting copper wire into the fin. This was for the two-fold purpose of ascertaining if the fish returned to the same river, and the length of time they were absent from the time they left the river in the foul or kelt state until they returned clean salmon. I kept a register of the days on which they were marked, and the various marking days were distinguished by inserting the wire into a different fin of the fish. This we continued to do for several years, and the result invariably was that the fish returned to the river where they were marked; and although five good salmon rivers fall into the same estuary, the marked fish were invariably found in the rivers where they were marked at different places, and the fish of all these rivers come up the estuary for twenty miles promiscuously together, each river has its own peculiar race of fish, and each race finds its own river with the most perfect decision. The first of these rivers that fall into the estuary has a run of well-shaped salmon, whose average weight is about ten pounds. The second has strong, coarse scaled, rather long to be well shaped, but very hardy salmon, whose average weight is about seventeen pounds. The third river has a middling-shaped salmon, whose average is about nine pounds. The fourth river has long ill-shaped salmon, averaging about eight pounds. And the fifth river, although the smallest of the five, has fine shaped fish, averaging fully fourteen pounds; and although the fish of all these rivers mix together, and all travel together on the common road to the sea, feed there promiscuously on the common feeding ground, and then return by the same common path, each party finds out its own home with the greatest precision, for scarcely ever is one of them seen in its neighbour's possessions. This precision is yet a mystery among many others; for although we see rivers of different temperature arising from the size or situation of the lakes from which they are fed, we find others of the same situation and temperature, and yet the fish must know a distinguishing quality that leads them to their own native streams.'

But, in reference to the idea of a double visit to the salt water, may we not ask—particularly as we have the dates of the marked fish for our guidance—what a salmon that is known to be only five weeks away on its sea visit does with itself the rest of the year? It cannot, according to the ideas of some writers, remain in the river forty-seven weeks, because it would become so low in condition from the want of a proper supply of nourishing food that it would die. The riddle of this migration of the salmon is likely still to puzzle us. It is said that the impelling force of the migratory instinct is, that the fish is preyed upon in the salt water



water by a species of crustaceous insect, which forces it to seek the fresh waters of its native river; again, that whilst the fresh water destroys these sea-lice, a new kind infests it in the river, thus necessitating a return to the sea. Our own experience leads us to believe that the fish can exist perfectly well in the fresh water for months at a time, suffering but little deterioration in weight, but never, so far as we could ascertain, growing at all while in the fresh streams. It is a well known fact that the parr cannot live in salt water. We have both tried the experiment ourselves and seen it tried by others; the fish invariably dies when placed in contact with the sea-water.

Mr. William Brown, in his painstaking account of 'The Natural History of the Salmon,' also bears his testimony on this part of the Salmon question:—

'Until the parr takes on the smolt scales, it shows no inclination to leave the fresh water. It cannot live in salt water. This fact was put to the test at the ponds, by placing some parrs into salt water—the water being brought fresh from the sea at Carnoustie—and immediately on being immersed in it, the fish appeared distressed, the fin standing stiff out, the parr marks becoming a brilliant ultramarine colour, and the belly and sides of a bright orange. The water was often renewed, but they all died, the last that died living nearly five hours. After being an hour in the salt water, they appeared very weak and unable to rise from the bottom of the vessel which contained them, the body of the fish swelling to a considerable extent. This change of colour in the fish could not be attributed to the colour of the vessel which held them, for, on being taken out, they still retained the same brilliant colours.'

All questions relating to the growth of the fish may now be held as settled. It has been proved that the parr is the young of the salmon; the various changes which it undergoes during its growth have been ascertained, and the increase of bulk and weight which accrues in a given period is now well understood. But we still require information as to the 'habits' of the fish. A salmon, for instance, spawning about 'the den of Airie,' on the Isla, some way beyond Perth, has not to make a very long journey before it reaches the salt water, and, travelling at a rapid rate, would soon make the journey; but supposing the fish took forty days for the journey there and back, and allowing it to remain three months in the sea, this only fills up a little more than a third portion of the year, and allowing a period of six weeks for spawning and rest, we have still six months of its annual life unaccounted for. It is this fact that has led to the supposition of a double journey to the sea. The Rev. Dug Williamson, who wrote a pamphlet on this subject, entertain

about the double journey, and with a gleanings from that work save this part of the subject in the hands of the reader :—

Salmon migrate twice in the course of the year, and the instinct which propels them from the sea in summer propels them to the sea in spring. Let the vernal direction of the propensity be opposed, let them be seized as it descends and confined in a fresh-water pond, and what is its fate? Before preparing to quit the river it suffered severely in strength, bulk, and general health, and, immersed in an atmosphere which had become unwholesome, it soon is to languish, and in the course of the season expires: the experiment has been tried, and the result is well known. This being an attained and unquestionable fact, is it a violent or unfair inference that a similar result obtains in the case of those salmon that are driven back from whatever cause to the sea, that the salt-water element is fatal to the pregnant fish of autumn as the fresh-water element is to the spent fish in spring? \* \* \* If there is any truth in these assertions, they suggest the most powerful reasons for resisting or removing obstructions in the estuary of a river.'

The piscicultural or artificial system of breeding and nursing has been very successful in Ireland. In a paper read to the Fish Association by Mr. Ashworth, in 1855, we obtain a history of the fish-breeding movement, as recently practised in Britain for commercial purposes :—

In our own country, various individuals have experimented on the artificial fecundation of the ova of fish. Thomas Garnett, Esq., of Hereford, may be instanced as one of the earliest who promoted inquiry into the subject, through the "*Gardener's Chronicle*," in 1832. The curious and interesting experiments of Mr. Shaw of Drumlanrig found an honourable record in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*. But it is chiefly to the exertions of Mr. Herbert Ramsbottom, of Clitheroe, that we are indebted for the practical development of this science. Originally instructed by Mr. Garnett, he devoted himself to the acquisition of that intimate knowledge of the habits of fish which is all important in artificial fecundation. Long-continued application has rendered him eminently successful. At Knowlmere, the residence of Jonathan Peel, Esq., in 1824, about five thousand salmon ova were placed in boxes by Mr. Ramsbottom, which was the first successful attempt with salmon ova in England. In the following year, at Outerard, in Ireland—where, the first time in the United Kingdom, it was attempted by Messrs. Ramsbottom and Thomas Ashworth to render the science of pisciculture subservient to commercial purposes—20,000 salmon were hatched by Mr. Ramsbottom's careful manipulation.'

The Messrs. Ashworth have gone on with great perseverance to extend and improve their fisheries, and with great success. They have just brought their operations on Loughs Mask and Rib to a conclusion. The history of the experiment has been  
*Vol. 113.—No. 226.* 2 D

been communicated to us by these gentlemen, and is as follows:—

‘The district of Loughs Mask and Carra comprise an area thirty miles in length, and ten in width, and contain 25,000 acres of water, which is fed by some of the finest possible breeding tributaries. These loughs and tributaries lie to the north of the Corrib, between Joyce’s country, in Connemara, and Ballyhaunis, County Mayo; and what is very singular, that while these lakes discharge their contents into Lough Corrib, and the Corrib has an abundance of prime salmon, strange to say not a single one has ever been found in these upper lakes. Owing to a natural barrier of rocks extending between the two lakes, an obstruction has been put to the progress of the fish; and although a pass has been recently constructed there to facilitate their ascent, and the gates of the pass left open from October to April, it was all to no purpose—not a single salmon was known to have passed up. But that there may be no failure, so far as human means can go, in filling the Mask with fish, men have been employed in stocking its several tributaries with spawn by artificial propagation; and as the fact is now established that the salmon species, after visiting the sea, return to the same rivers in which they had been bred, there can be no doubt that, in a short time, should these experiments prove successful, this extensive district will be thoroughly stocked with this valuable fish.’

We give another extract from Mr. Buckland’s interesting letter, already cited:—

‘Mr. T. Ashworth—the owner of the magnificent salmon fisheries at Galway, which he has, in fact, created, for he finds twenty fish now where but one fish was found a few years since—stated at the last meeting of the Zoological Society, in reference to a paper read by myself on the subject of fish-hatching, that this year he had placed down in his hatching-boxes no less than 770,000 salmon eggs, and had distributed spawning fish into hitherto barren rivers, at the enormous expense of 14*l*. By continuing this practice during the course of several years, Mr. Ashworth has, at a small expense, increased the money value of the fisheries twentyfold.’

Leaving now the salmon as a study in Natural History, we must devote some space to the commercial or economic aspect of the question, which is as interesting as the other; indeed, the controversies which have raged from time to time as to the growth of the fish have had an important influence on the fisheries. Had it not been proved that the parr is the young of the salmon, the wholesale slaughter of that little fish would never have been stopped.

The state of the salmon fisheries of the three kingdoms is nearly as follows:—

The English fisheries, generally speaking, have been allowed to fall into so low a state, that we fear it will be impossible to recruit them in a moderate period of time without foreign aid. Some of the rivers, indeed, are as nearly as possible salmonless.

The

The state of the Scottish fisheries may be judged of from the details which we shall introduce before the conclusion of this paper. The rivers of that country as a rule are fished quite up to their power of reproduction.

In Ireland the fisheries have greatly fallen off. The quantity of fish imported into the London market last year was 20,000 boxes less than the year before. At a meeting held in Dublin one of the speakers said that Ireland, which once derived 300,000*l.* a-year from her salmon fisheries, was now fast coming down to the thirtieth part of that sum. A bill for the better regulation of the Irish salmon fisheries is now before Parliament, and five pamphlets have been lately published in order to influence public opinion. The bill provides for the assimilation of the law of Ireland as to salmon fisheries to that of England, and the pamphlets may be said—indeed, two of them have been professedly written—to support the bill. The pamphlet by Mr. Commissioner Ffennell is particularly valuable as a lucid exposition and classification of the rights of salmon fishing in Ireland. The lesson to be gathered from the whole of these publications is that the supplies of fish are declining through the use of fixed engines, and through over fishing. Mr. Sinclair, in his ‘Letter to Sir Robert Peel,’ makes out a strong case for further legislation. One pregnant fact which he adduces in support of the abolition of fixed engines is that his own fishery, formerly of the value of 500*l.* per annum, is not now worth a tenth part of that sum.

We append a note showing the quantity of salmon [*i. e.* the number of boxes weighing 112 lbs. each] sent to London from 1850 to 1860.\* How the British salmon fisheries have come to decline so much in value is easily explained. We

	Scotch.	Irish.	Dutch.	Norwegian.	Welsh.
1850	13,940	2,135	105	54	72
1851	11,593	4,141	203	212	40
1852	13,044	3,602	176	306	20
1853	19,485	5,052	401	1208	20
1854	23,194	6,333	345	None.	128
1855	18,197	4,101	227	None.	59
1856	15,438	6,568	68	5	200
1857	18,654	4,904	622	None.	220
1858	21,564	6,429	973	19	499
1859	15,630	4,855	922	None.	260
1860	15,870	3,803	849	40	438
Total	186,609	51,923	4891	1844	1956

We commence this division of the subject by stating that the greatest of all the evils that afflict our salmon fisheries is that of 'overfishing.' The tenant of a salmon fishery has but one desire, and that is to clear his rent and obtain as much profit as he can. To achieve this end he takes all the fish that come to his net, no matter of what size they may be. It is not his interest to let a single one escape, because if he did so his neighbour would 'hook' it. As a general rule, the tenant has no care for future years; he has no personal interest in stocking the upper waters with breeding fish. He is forced by the competition of his rivals to do all he can in the way of slaughter; and were there not a legitimate pause of so many hours in the course of the week, and a close time of so many days in the year, it is questionable if a score of fish would make their way past the engines devoted to their capture. A watcher can stand on the bridge of Perth and certain seasons can signal or count every fish that passes in the water below him, and every fish passing can be caught by the net on the look-out. This unhealthy competition will always continue till some new system be adopted, such as converting each river into a joint stock reservoir, when the united interests of the proprietors, both upper and lower, would be considered. The trade in fresh salmon, which has culminated in some rivers by the total extermination of the fish, dates from the time of Mr. Dempster's discovery of packing in ice. As soon as an outlet was found, the trade extended and the fisheries became of increasing value. The steamboat and the railway carried the fish away to the great seats of population, so that gentlemen began to derive princely rents from their river property, which had been up to that time comparatively valueless. When London and Manchester began to buy our fish, the prices rose and the rents of fishing-stations rose also: hence the practice of overfishing.

Another cause of the great scarcity of fish is poaching. Fifty or sixty years ago men caught a salmon or shot a pheasant for mere sport, or at most for the supply of an individual want. Now poaching is a trade or business entered into as a means of securing a weekly or annual income: it has its complex machinery, its nets, guns, and other implements. There are men who earn large wages at this illicit work, who take to 'the birds' in autumn and the fish in winter with the utmost regu-

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These statistics may be relied on, being from the books of Messrs. Forbes, Smart, and Co., of 104, Lower Thames-street. In the year 1861 the quantity received was 18,506 boxes of 112 lbs. each, of which two-thirds came from Scotland. In 1862 there was a great rise in the quantity, no less than 31,746 boxes having reached London, and 22,796 of these were from Scotland.

larity,

l there are middlemen and others who encourage them  
em in disposing of the stolen goods. A few men will  
nselfs together and in the course of a night or two  
dreds of gravid fish from off the spawning-beds, when  
otally unfit for human food.\* There is a ready market  
be found even for spawning fish. What is done with  
on?' will naturally be asked. It is sent to Paris!  
it has been ascertained, a large trade carried on in the  
foul salmon, in order to its being dressed up for the  
hes of our allies across the water, or even reimported  
und as foreign salmon.†

ersons believe that salmon-roe makes a fine dish, and  
re known where dinner-parties have been made up to  
t, the chief attraction to the uncultivated palates of the  
ng 'the pea,' as they called it. Salmon-roe was exten-  
l at one time as bait, and countless thousands of fish  
killed to supply anglers with this deadly attraction for  
other fishes. Happily a recent Act of Parliament puts  
this.

oductive power of all kinds of fish led, in former  
he idea that the store was inexhaustible.‡ This has  
been

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owing paragraph is from an article on 'Salmon and the Salmon-trade,'  
it to be true:—'Few of our readers can have any idea of the immense  
lmon which are destroyed by this cause, and at the very time when  
eir greatest value, intent on the propagation of their kind. Indeed,  
pawning-bed itself, the "deadly leister" is hurled with unerring aim  
orce; and the slain fish, safely hidden in the poacher's bag, is carried  
and kippered for the English market. A party will start at nightfall,  
into two companies, sweep the Tweed with a net from shore to shore,  
everything of the salmon kind that comes within reach. A person  
e arranged, and carries away the spoil, which he pays for at the rate of  
r pound-weight. The takes upon such occasions average from ten  
The first night upon which our informant—a weaver—went out, the  
enteen large fish—three of which weighed 90 lbs. Upon the second  
ake was much larger—thirty-eight salmon, of a smaller size, being  
' their iniquity, weighing in the aggregate 640 lbs., and producing in  
ng, divided among eleven people.'

result of this inquiry an Act of Parliament, we are glad to say, has  
ed, having for its object the prevention of the trade in foul fish, by  
p to their exportation.

ishes yield a large amount of spawn, those of them which are most  
ielding the greatest quantity. The cod-fish, for instance, drops  
illions of eggs; the flounder also counts its seed by the million; and  
an immensely prolific fish, yielding on the average 35,000 eggs, but  
ommensurate. We question very much if more than ten per cent. of  
e cod-fish ever come to life. Wherever the seed is so very multitu-  
the case of this fish, it is certain that there will be many ways of  
od-roe is used in fishing for sprats, immense quantities of it being  
tract the fish; it is also extensively used in cookery. As an evidence  
f fish-spawn, it may be mentioned that at a meeting held at New-  
biggin,

been gravely apparent in recent years, and has formed an excuse to some for the exhaustive rate at which they fished. It is true that a codfish yields its eggs by the million, but how many of these eggs reach the table as mature fish? Not one, perhaps, in each thousand! It is the same with the salmon. Each fish of 20 lbs. weight is known to yield 20,000 eggs, but a very great percentage of these never come to life from want of being properly fecundated, whilst another portion is lost by the agency of wildfowl, or pike, perch, trout, water-insects, salmon themselves, or some other enemy. At any rate, when all the natural drawbacks come to be calculated, only a few of the produce become of marketable value.

At one time there were famous salmon in the Thames, and hopes are entertained of fish being successfully cultivated in that river! \* It is certain that much deleterious matter has been allowed to get into the Severn, and in the rivers of Cornwall we believe the hope of ever breeding salmon has been entirely given up in consequence of the poisonous matters which flow from the mines. Many rivers which we know contained salmon in abundance in the golden age of the fisheries are now tenantless from the matter with which they are polluted, such as the refuse of gasworks, paper-mills, &c.

Another fertile source of harm to the salmon-fisheries has been the fixed engines of capture, which so many people thought it right to use. Stake and bag-nets † in Scotland are known to have been  
very

biggin, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure the suppression of trawling, ‡ Mr. Henry Bell explained that there were upwards of 400 smacks upon the north-east coast using trawl-nets; and these same smacks were destroying, at an average calculation he had made, not less than 480,000 TONS of spawn per annum! When the reader is informed that a million of fish-eggs only weigh an ounce or so, it will at once be apparent that a waste of 480,000 tons is truly enormous.

\* The Thames Angling Preservation Society, we learn from Mr. Buckland, have from their hatching-boxes at Hampton, near Hampton Court, already turned into the river in certain chosen localities several thousand young salmon and trout, and have a further supply in progress.

† The following is a sketch of the manner in which these nets came to be first introduced:—On the extensive flats, or sand-banks, in the Solway Firth, large excavations are made by the eddies of the current, which, at ebb-tide, form on the banks large pools, or lakes, as they are termed by the fishers. At these lakes the fishers erected what was at first called a *tidc-* or *floating-net*, in consequence of the net being so constructed that it was the operation of the tide itself which secured the fish. It consisted of strong and coarse network, the meshes of which were ten or twelve inches in circuit, placed along the margin of the lake, and surrounding it on all sides. This network was fastened to stakes driven into the banks, at considerable distances from each other; and at various places in the lower, or flood-side, it was so constructed as to open and shut with the current. These places, again, were kept open by the flood-tide, so that the fish during the flood were allowed to go freely into the net; but when the current of the tide changed, and took the opposite

very destructive, as have the putchers, butts, and trumpets of the English and Welsh rivers. It would be tedious to describe the different fixed engines invented for the capture of salmon; what we desire to show is, that they have injured the fisheries. A controversy has been raging in Scotland for some years back on this point of the Salmon question, which, there can be no doubt, will ultimately result in their entire extinction. That they have been a cause of injuring the fisheries has been proved by a long array of facts and figures. A striking example of the effect of bag-nets occurred with regard to the Tay. The system having been extended to that river, the productiveness of the upper portions of the stream was very speedily affected; and again, shortly after their removal the fisheries became greatly more productive, as will be seen by-and-bye, when it becomes necessary to deal with the figures denoting the rental of that river.

It is most important to note the fact that, with probably the solitary exception of the Tweed (and there the deterioration has only recently been arrested), the size and weight of salmon are annually diminishing, and, as some fishermen think, their condition and flavour also. There can be no doubt that in the golden age of the fisheries these fish attained much larger proportions than they do now. We need scarcely quote in support of this opinion the fish mentioned by Yarrell, which was exhibited by Mr. Groves, and weighed 83 lbs., nor the fish alluded to by Pennant, which was only 10 lbs. lighter, nor the fact that in all virgin salmon streams the fish average a

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site direction, the loose network, pressed by the receding water, was closed, thus forming a complete inclosure, in which the fish were detained; and as the tide ebbed they sunk down into the lake, where they were caught by the fishers at low-water. Such was the origin of what is now called the *stake-net*. And it is a curious circumstance, worthy of particular notice, that, induced by the success of the fishery in these lakes, two brothers—William and James Irvine, experienced fishers on the Solway, and nearly related to Messrs. Little, who afterwards introduced the invention into the Tay—visited the Tay for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were any suitable lakes in that firth upon which *tide-nets* might be erected. But they returned, reporting to their friends that there were none. It turned out, however, that these lakes were not essentially necessary for the successful prosecution of the new mode of fishing. Accordingly Mr. John Little, one of the Solway fishers, and a gentleman of great ingenuity and intelligence in other matters, having accidentally visited the Tay about the year 1797, resolved to try the experiment in that firth, and before he left it he took, for himself and three brothers, a lease of the salmon-fisheries on the estate of Seaside. A net precisely similar to those on the Solway having accordingly been erected at Seaside, the success exceeded the most sanguine expectations. Previous to this time there was, it may be said, no fishing at that station, the width of the firth being there not less than two miles; but now the produce was such as excited the astonishment of the district, and occasioned the utmost alarm among the proprietors in the upper parts of the river.

greater



greater weight than any now taken in the British streams. It is within the memory of anglers that fish of 40 lbs. were by no means rare in the Scottish rivers; that salmon of 30 lbs. and 35 lbs. weight were quite common; and that the general run of fish were in the aggregate many pounds heavier than those of the present day. Mr. Anderson, the lessee of some of the best salmon-fisheries on the Firth of Forth and a gentleman who is master of his business, is of opinion that the average weight of fish now is reduced to 16 lbs.; and by the Tweed Tables given in the latter part of this Article, the average weight of those killed by the net between July and September, though apparently on the increase, in no month rises to 15 lbs. How is it, then, that we have no giants of the river in these days? The answer, we think, is simple and convincing. Let us suppose, for example, that the fish grows at the rate of 6 lbs. per annum: it would, therefore, take a little over eight years to achieve a growth of 50 lbs. Now, it is needless to say that in British waters, at any rate, we never either see or hear of a fish of that weight. The fact is, we do not give them time to grow to that size. The greater portion of the fish that we kill are two years old, or at the most three,—fish running from 8 lbs. to 16 lbs. in weight. It is clear that, if we go on for a year or two longer at the rate of slaughter we have been indulging of late years, there will speedily not be even a three-year-old fish to pull out of the water. It is very suggestive of the state of the fisheries that we have now eaten down to our three-year-olds.

Another fertile source of destruction is the killing of grilse: the grilse being a virgin fish, its slaughter is just analogous to the killing of lambs without due regulation as to quantity. In this respect, 'the conduct of salmon proprietors is as rational as high-farming with the help of tile-drains, liquid-manure, and steam-power would be for the purpose of eating corn in the blade.' As many as 100,000 grilse have been taken from one river in a year,—a powerful example of killing the goose for the golden egg. If we had an Act of Parliament to prevent the capture of grilse, we should never want salmon. The parr and smolt are protected. Why? Because they are the young of the salmon. Well, so is grilse the young of the salmon, and it also is sadly in want of protection.

As an example of a model salmon-river we may take the Tay, which is a proprietary stream, and affords a valuable income from its commercial fisheries, and fine sport for the angler. In fact, the Tay deserves special honour, for it must rank as the king of Scottish rivers, receiving as it does the tribute of many streams, and running its course through such a variety

fine scenery. Loch Tay is generally accounted the source of this river, but if it be considered that the loch is chiefly fed by the river Dochart, the source of this latter river is actually the fountain-head of the Tay. The Dochart rises in the extreme west of Perthshire, and, after striking the base of the 'mighty Ben More' and the Dochart Hills, falls into Loch Tay at the village of Killin, before reaching which place it assumes the dimensions of a considerable river. There is fine angling to be had in the vicinity of Killin; indeed, the salmon rod-fisheries there are of some value, and trout can be taken in great plenty, both in the Dochart and the Lochay. Loch Tay contains abundance of fish, and, as the sheet of water is of considerable size, there is ample room to ply the angle, either for salmon, trout, or charr. The loch is about sixteen miles in length, and is overshadowed on the north by Ben Lawers—one of the loftiest of our Scottish mountains. The river Tay issues from the loch within a mile of Taymouth Castle, one of the fine seats of the noble family of Breadalbane; and, after flowing eastward for a few miles, its waters are augmented by those of the Lyon, whose source is about twenty-six miles distant from its junction with the Tay. Passing over several minor streams and proceeding eastwards, the next important tributary of the Tay is the Tummel, the junction taking place at the ancient and once famous burgh of Logierait. This river, which is the largest tributary of the Tay, is the outlet of Loch Rannoch, which rises in the extreme north-west of Perthshire. The loch is well stocked with trout, and large specimens of the *Salmo ferox* are frequently caught; but the true salmon (*Salmo Salar*) are not found either in Loch Rannoch or Loch Tummel, their ascent being checked by the falls of Tummel. Below the falls, however, there are several salmon-fisheries, but they are not very productive. The Tay, after receiving the waters of the Tummel and Garry at Logierait, flows onward through beautiful scenery till it reaches Dunkeld, where it receives the tributary waters of the Braan, which has for its source a small sheet of water named Loch Freuchie, situated in Glen Quoich. The scenery around the junction of the Braan and Tay is hallowed by numberless associations of bygone times. Passing beneath the noble arches of Dunkeld Bridge, the Tay flows eastward till it is joined by the Isla, when it again takes a southerly direction until it reaches Perth. On its way thither it receives the tribute of the Almond, the Shochie, and the Ordie. The Isla is a large and important stream, draining as it does a considerable extent of country, and lending its aid both to miller and manufacturer. The Almond is the  
next

next river in importance, but a tradition connected with it is better known than the river itself. On Lynedoch Braes, which are near the foot of the stream, dwelt the heroines of the poetic legend of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray, in the house which they 'biggit' with their own hands, and 'theekit ower wi' rashes.' The Shochie and Ordie cannot claim the name of rivers, but they are celebrated as being named in a prophecy attributed to Thomas the Rhymer :—

' Says the Shochie to the Ordie  
Where shall we meet ?  
At the cross of Perth,  
When a' men are asleep.'

The Isla, Almond, and the two rivers last named, in common with all the tributaries of the Tay, afford excellent sport to the angler. The country bordering the banks of this portion of the Tay is a mixture of pastoral and agricultural. Rippling past the Stormontfield breeding-ponds, now a feature of the river, and the Palace of Scone, the Tay speedily reaches the links of Perth's fair city, and after being joined by the Earn, also an excellent salmon-stream, it widens into a broad estuary, and, speedily sweeping past the manufacturing town of Dundee, is lost in the German Ocean.

The Tay is equal to a basin 2250 square miles, and it discharges, after a run of about 150 miles, a greater volume of water than any other Scottish river. 'As ascertained by Dr. Anderson, the quantity which is carried forward per second opposite the city of Perth averages no less than 3640 cubic feet.' The main river and its affluents and *their* varied tributaries afford splendid breeding-ground for the salmon. As an instance we may take the Earn. It flows from Loch Earn in the far west of Perthshire, and is, when it leaves the lake, a considerable river, and over the greater part of its course its current is very rapid. A slight drawback to its capabilities as a fish-breeding river is the fact of its sometimes overflowing its banks; but we know that in its tributaries there is fine scope for salmon-breeding. Indeed, on all the tributaries of the Tay there is ample accommodation for the fish. We have in our mind's eye some excellent salmon-beds near Airlie Castle, on the Isla. The banks of the river are overhung by foliage, and the salmon sport industriously in the deep pools, resorting to the gravel at the proper season in order to dig beds in which to deposit their eggs, and when in due season these are vivified and grow from the fry to the parr state, we have seen the youthful 'natives' catching them in scores.

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The Tay salmon fisheries are owned by various noblemen, gentlemen, and corporations; and they yield a gross annual rent of about 15,000*l*. To give an idea of the individual value and the occasional fluctuations of even the best fisheries, we may cite some of the figures connected with the rental of the river Tay. Lord Gray, for instance, has drawn from his fisheries more than 100,000*l*. during the last thirty-five years. The salmon and grilse obtained for this sum run from 10,000*l*. to 28,000*l*. a-year. It has been frequently asserted that our salmon-fisheries are a lottery, and in confirmation of this it may be stated that in 1831, when 10,000 fish were taken, the rental of this fishery was 1000*l*.; and that in 1842, when the capture was 28,453 fish, the rental was 1000*l*. less. Dividing the income for the two years, we have the following result:—Averaging the fish at 5*s*. each, gives as a loss to the tenant on the 10,000 year of 1500*l*., while on the other year there is the large profit of 4000*l*.! But the value of the Tay fisheries will be better estimated by mentioning that in some seasons the number of fish taken from the mouth of the Isla down to the sea has ranged from 70,000 to upwards of 100,000. Ten of the fishing-stations between Perth and Newburgh produce an annual income of about (on the average) 700*l*. each. As to the stake-net question, the following figures may be quoted:—About the end of last century, *before* the existence of stake-nets, the average number of fish taken at the Kinfauns fishery was—salmon, 8720; grilse, 1714. In the first ten years of the present century, the average annual catch of salmon fell to 4666, and the grilse numbered 1616. *After* the stake-nets were removed, and in the ten years from 1815 to 1824, the average number of salmon caught was 9010 per annum, and of grilse 8709. A stream like the Tay ought to have a stock of breeding-fish sufficient to produce more than 100,000,000 of eggs, because the destruction of the spawn and the young fish is so enormous as to require provision for a large amount of waste; hence the value of artificial cultivation. By the natural system of spawning it is supposed that only one egg in each thousand comes to the fisherman's net as a 25 lb. fish.\* It

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\* In an article on 'Salmon and the Salmon-trade,' published in 'Chambers's Journal,' the following statistics of the Tweed fisheries are given:—'The commercial fisheries on the Tweed, which are situated on the lower part of the river, have, we except 1854, been for some years past very unproductive. We need not extend our figures further back than from 1821 to 1825, when the average produce of salmon and grilse was, in round numbers, 100,000 per annum. Ten years after the latter year the number caught was 22,642 salmon, and 87,707 grilse. In 1845, after the lapse of other ten years, the figures are 8962 salmon, and nearly 70,000 grilse; but in 1855 the take was much smaller, the numbers being about 6000 salmon,

It is difficult to select an English river that will in all respects compare with the Tay. The Severn produces the finest salmon of any of the English salmon rivers; and it is a noble stream, containing many kinds of fish, and affording great sport to the angler. If the river flowed in a direct course from its source to the sea, it would be eighty miles in length; as it is, by various windings, it flows for two hundred miles. It has many fine affluents, and in its course passes through some beautiful scenery. It rises in Wales, high up the eastern side of Plinlimmon, at a place in the moors called Maes Hafren, which gave at one time its title to the river, Hafren being its ancient name. After flowing through several counties it falls into the sea at Bristol Channel. Had the fisheries of the Severn been as free from obstacles and been as well preserved as those on the river Tay, they would still have been of immense value, as it possesses some very fine breeding-grounds. The Severn could be speedily restored to its primary condition as one of our finest salmon streams; that is, if the various interests could be consolidated, and artificial breeding be extensively carried on for a few years. The Severn still possesses a tolerable stock of breeding-fish, which might be turned to good account in a similar way to those at Stormontfield on the Tay.

Mr. Tod Stoddart, who is an authority on the salmon question and particularly on matters relating to angling, calculates that a river like the Tay or the Tweed requires 15,000 pairs of breeding fish to keep it in stock, the average weight of the breeders to be 10 lbs. each. Proceeding on these data, and taking the period of growth of the fish as previously stated, it may be interesting if we inquire how soon a fine river like the Severn could be made a property. Allowing that there is at present a considerable stock of fish in that river—say 5000 pairs—and that for a period of two years these should be allowed a jubilee, and the river during that time be carefully watched, this system alone would soon work a favourable change; but if supplemented by an extensive resort to artificial nurture and protection, in the course of three years

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salmon, and only 15,000 grilse. The seasons of 1816 and 1842 are remarkable for the large takes of grilse, both in this river and in the Tay; and it would be curious to ascertain from practical men the reasons for this—many of them, it is said, can foretell very good or very bad seasons. In 1842, the take of grilse on the Tweed was close on 110,000, which was certainly an immense number. So far as the parent fish is concerned, Lord Gray's fishings alone (on the Tay) seem equal to the whole of the commercial stations on the Tweed. The rental of this river was at one period as high as 20,000*l.*; it has been successively 12,000*l.* and 10,000*l.*, but now it is less than 5000*l.*; and fishing stations, which used to yield fish in tens of thousands, are now reduced to hundreds. At one station on the Tweed, where 17,000 fish have been taken, only a few hundreds can be caught.

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the Severn would be, speaking roundly, a mine of fish wealth. A series of ponds capable of breeding one million fish might, we think, be constructed for a sum of 2000*l.*; there ought, of course, to be two reception ponds, so that a brood could be hatched annually. Thus, in a year's time, half a million of well-grown smolts would be thrown into the river from the ponds alone, which in the course of ten weeks would be saleable grilse! Next year that quantity would be doubled, and these added to the quantity naturally bred would soon stock even a larger river than the Severn. There can be no doubt of the practicability of such a scheme. What has been achieved in Ireland and at Stormontfield can surely be accomplished in England. An ample return would be obtained for the capital sunk, and a profit besides.

The Second Annual Report of the Inspectors of the English Fisheries has just been issued. It embraces a summary of the condition of ninety rivers; and we gather from it that considerable progress has already been made in arresting the decay of these valuable properties, and that there is every prospect of the best rivers being speedily re-peopled with salmon to an extent that will secure them, under proper regulations, from again falling into so low a condition. We have to report also a great extension in the labour and operations of the Commissioners: they have found out deficiencies in the Act of Parliament which will have to be remedied, particularly in regard to the institution of a properly organised system of management, for which funds will require to be raised. A careful perusal of this Report shows that fixed nets have been nearly abolished; that portions of rivers not hitherto accessible to fish have been made so, passes and gaps having been created by hundreds. Poachers have been caught and punished with great success; and, according to a review of the Report in the 'Field,' a journal which is well versed in fishery matters, 'Salmon have been seen in large quantities in places where they have not been seen these forty years.'

In the mean time, it is satisfactory to see that all classes of the community are thoroughly aroused to the danger which menaces our king of fishes. There must of course be a boundary to the productiveness of even the most productive salmon river; and if this be overpassed and the capital stock be broken upon, it is clear that a decrease must at once begin; and that the production will annually become weaker, till the fish in time will be completely exterminated. Considering the constant enormous waste of fish-life, there ought at least, we think, to be as many fish left in the river as are taken out of it. A care as to this would in time have a good effect. As an example of a well-managed stream we have  
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the river Spey, which, in the late Duke of Richmond's time produced a very handsome revenue. It was well managed, because the Duke fished it himself; and, of course, it was his interest to have it well protected, and to keep a handsome stock of breeding-fish. For instance, in the years 1858 and 1859, the Duke drew on the Spey for upwards of 107,000 salmon and grilse, and the fish in that river are as plentiful as ever. On the Spey, however, there is no confusion of upper and lower proprietors to fight against and take umbrage at each other, the river belonging mostly to one proprietor.

One of the least understood, although one of the most hotly contested parts of the salmon question, is the relation between the upper and lower proprietors. A great salmon river may pass through the estates or mark the property boundaries of a large number of gentlemen; and some portions of this river are said to be much more valuable than others. As has been already stated, some of the proprietors on the river Tay derive a large revenue from their fisheries; while others only obtain a little angling, although they very likely furnish the breeding ground for a few thousands of the fish, which aid in producing the large rentals lower down. This part of the salmon question has been so well argued by Mr. Donald Bain, that we here reproduce a portion of one of his letters on the subject:—

‘Considering that at present the only chance of having fish in the rivers depends upon the excellence and care of the breeding grounds at the river-heads, while the river-head proprietors, by disturbing the shingle (which should be protected) at the period of depositing and hatching the roe, could destroy all chance, and yet be legally unchallengeable, these river-head proprietors are hardly recognised as proprietors at all, which therefore should be altered. . . . I propose that the river, from its highest breeding ground to its mouth, and so far into the sea as private or public interests can extend, should be made a common property and a common care; improved where improvable, at the general expense of the whole proprietors along its banks; fished, not savagely, and as if extermination were a laudable object, but prudently, and with a view to permanent interests; the fish allowed to go unmolested to the breeding grounds, at least so far as to secure a full brood, and protected against destruction in returning when unfit for food; and the expense and the profit to be divided *pro rata*, according to the mileage along the banks; unless, in the judgment of intelligent and equitable men, a degree of preference should be given in the case of grounds of acknowledged excellence for breeding or feeding.

‘It may be said it would be malicious in the proprietors of breeding grounds to consider it necessary to repair their gravel walks with shingle from the river at the very time when depositing or hatching the roe was going on; but could it be prevented?—and would it be

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more inequitable than anticipating every fish worth catching at the mouth of the river or along their course, and allowing the proprietors of the head waters no share ?'

As the experiment of some restriction on the previous amount of over-fishing has now been tried on the river Tweed for five years, it may be interesting to many of our readers, before we close this article, to know what have been the results of the special legislation for that river which took place in the years 1857 and 1859. What that legislation was, we will first shortly explain. The Tweed has been regulated for many years by Acts of Parliament applying solely to itself, the first of which dates as far back as the year 1771; and in the year 1857, in consequence of the serious decrease in the produce of the salmon, and the diminution in value of the fisheries, application was made to Parliament for a complete revision of previous legislation. This at once brought those conflicting elements, the upper and lower proprietors, into collision.

Dire and long was the struggle for many weeks in heated committee rooms, and wonderful the pertinacity of the witnesses, gathered from the remotest parts of Scotland and Ireland, some even from Norway; the one host striving to prove that 'killing was no murder,' and that salmon rather thrived by means of nets than otherwise; the other, rather more conclusively, that if you slew the parents, their offspring in prospect could not appear in the ensuing season, and that, if something could not be effected by means of legislation, the once-famed fisheries of the Tweed would before long become a thing of the past. True it was, the Tweed had not been so sinned against as most of the rivers, English, Scotch, and Irish, which have engaged the attention of commissions and committees. At no time had those abominations cruives or weirs been permitted to exist in its waters, and stake-nets had been banished to some distance from its mouth; but, on the other hand, there were still stake-nets much too near, and a system of bag-nets placed in the sea, often near the river's mouth, stretching considerable distances, and standing at all times of the tide. The fiercest battle, however, took place on the question of a net, immemorially used on the Tweed, called a *stell-net*. These were nets fixed for the time being, and drawn only when fish were felt to strike the net. In the tide-way these nets could only stand for two or three hours on a tide, and considering also the breadth of the river, these were, as compared with stake or bag nets, inconsiderable obstructions. It was felt by the Lords' Committee that it was a harsh proceeding to abolish without compensation these nets, which in some places were almost the only nets that could be used, and in one case, at least, a large sum had been given for the fishery on which they were



were employed. The difficulty, however, of applying one rule to them and another to the legion of similar nets which filled the narrower parts of the river above them, was found to be insuperable. All fixed nets of every description were abolished alike; and no net except the common sweep-net, rowed out and immediately drawn in again, has been allowed on the Tweed since 1857.

Parliament seems to have exhausted itself by this one vigorous effort of legislation; and in the General Salmon Fisheries Act for England, modelled in most other respects on the Tweed Act of 1857, has carefully preserved the rights not only of weir and dam owners, but of fixed engines and nets of every description, provided only they existed, as most of the nets on the Tweed did, by grant, charter, or immemorial usage.\* If Parliament, in the Irish Salmon Bill now before it, allows the interested opposition of the Irish weir and fixed-net proprietors to prevail, it will again mete out justice with a very different hand to them than it did in 1857 to the lower proprietors of the Tweed. But be this as it may, no such weakness dilutes the Tweed Acts, and in them we find the greatest extent to which protective legislation has advanced.

The principal improvements introduced by the two Tweed Acts of 1857 and 1859 may be shortly stated to be:—

1. The entire abolition of bag, stell, and other fixed nets of every description in the river, and the restriction and regulation of stake-nets on the sea-coast.
2. The entire prohibition of leistering.
3. A slight increase of the weekly close-time, and an increase of the annual close-time for nets by four weeks.
4. The permission of rod fishing for an extended period, so as to interest proprietors to a greater degree in the protection of the river.

And last, not least, the absolute prohibition of killing unclean or unseasonable fish at any time of the year, and an enactment that all such fish caught during the fishing season should be returned to the water.

Much curiosity has existed as to the results achieved by this the first really stringent code enforced on any British river; and although statistics in such matters, unless taken over very extended periods, are not to be too implicitly relied on, and much allowance must be made for the variations caused by weather and unfavourable seasons during so short a period as has yet elapsed, yet we have thought it well worth while to ascertain what can be learned concerning this experiment. With this view

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\* English General Salmon Fishery Act, 1861. Secs. 11 and 12.

we have availed ourselves of different sources of information. The Berwick Shipping Company has kindly furnished the continuation of the valuable table published in our number for January, 1857,\* together with other curious tables as to the weight of fish, which have been carefully kept by their manager, Mr. Paulin, in continuation of those kept by his late father for many years past.

These tables we give below.† In the table formerly published, averages

\* Quarterly Review, vol. ci., p. 148.

† Produce of the Salmon Fishings of the River Tweed from 1858 to 1862: being continuation of Table in 'Quarterly Review' for January, 1857.

Year.	Salmon.	Grilse.	Trout.
1858 .. .. .	14,614	23,590	41,059
1859 .. .. .	12,273	13,952	35,081
1860 .. .. .	8,940	20,323	26,052
1861 .. .. .	5,379	15,036	28,607
1862 .. .. .	8,467	25,042	20,988
Average for these 5 years .. .. .	9,935	19,589	30,357

The produce of the year 1857 is omitted from this table, that being the year in which the new Act was passed. It was, however:—

Salmon.	Grilse.	Trout.
11,475	46,553	31,846

**Comparative Statements of the Produce of the River Tweed, and Weight of Fish, during the following Periods.**

*Produce.*

Average annual produce for the—				Salmon.	Grilse.	Trout.
5	years ending	1857	.. .. .	9437	30,862	31,233
5	..	1862	.. .. .	9935	19,589	30,357
3	..	1857	.. .. .	7563	31,499	28,726
3	..	1862	.. .. .	7595	20,134	25,216

*Weight.*

				Salmon.		Grilse.		Trout.	
				Feb. 7 to June.	July to September.	July to September.	July to September.	Feb. to June.	July to September.
Average weight for the—				lbs. oza.	lbs. oza.	lbs. oza.	lbs. oza.	lbs. oza.	lbs. oza.
5	years ending	1857	.. .. .	9 11½	14 3½	4 15	3 8½	3 2½	
5	..	1862	.. .. .	8 13½	13 15½	4 14	3 9	3 5	
3	..	1857	.. .. .	9 5	14 5	4 13	3 7	3 2½	
3	..	1862	.. .. .	9 1½	14 9	5 4½	3 12	3 6	

averages of five years only were given ; but, for obvious reasons, we now give each year since 1857 separately, as well as the five years' average. The

**Average Weight of Salmon taken in the River Tweed in each Month of the Season during the following Years, viz. :**

Year.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.
	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.
1858 .. ..	..	7 3	7 10	8 6	9 8	11 9	13 6	14 15
1859 .. ..	..	8 2	8 2	8 14	9 12	11 12	13 3	13 15
1860 .. ..	8 11	8 11	8 6	8 13	10 0	11 13	13 5	14 15
1861 .. ..	8 14	8 6	9 3	9 10	10 13	13 6	15 12	17 15
1862 .. ..	8 3	8 8	8 6	9 5	10 10	12 11	15 2	16 1
Average of 5 years ..	8 9	8 3	8 5½	9 0	10 2	12 3½	14 12½	15 15
Average of last 3 years	8 9	8 8	8 10	9 4	10 7½	12 10	14 12	16 15

Year.	Average to end of June.	Average, July to September.	
	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	
1858 .. ..	8 3	13 5	{ Preceded by grilse in September, 1857, weighing 25½ ozs. less than September, 1856.
1859 .. ..	8 11½	12 15	{ Preceded by grilse in September, 1858, weighing 6½ ozs. more than in September, 1857.
1860 .. ..	8 14	13 2	{ Preceded by grilse in September, 1859, weighing 7 ozs. less than in September, 1858.
1861 .. ..	9 6	15 9	{ Preceded by grilse in September, 1860, weighing 28 ozs. more than in September, 1859.
1862 .. ..	9 0	14 15	{ Preceded by grilse in September, 1861, weighing 18 ozs. less than in September, 1860.
Average of 5 years ..	8 13½	13 15½	
Average of last 3 years	9 1½	14 9	

**Average Weight of Grilse taken in the River Tweed in each Month of the Season during the following Years, viz. :**

Year.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.
	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.
1858 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	4 2½	4 5½	4 15
1859 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	4 0	3 15	4 8
1860 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	4 5	5 4	6 4
1861 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	4 6	4 9	5 3
1862 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	4 11	5 13	7 0
Average ..	..	..	..	..	..	4 5	4 12½	5 9
Average of last 3 years	..	..	..	..	..	4 7½	5 3½	6 2

Year.

the two last tables may seem somewhat minute, but to those who have studied the salmon question we believe they will be of great interest, and to aid materially in proving many of the propositions advanced in this article. At first sight they do not exhibit a very prosperous state of things, but, if examined carefully, they will, we venture to say, be found to point to a hopeful future.

In the reprint below, for convenient reference, the table given in the number for January, 1857,\* and, on comparing it with the tables, it will be seen that in the most important item of all—*mature salmon*—no ground has been *lost*. The average for the last five years is nearly 1000 (or a ninth of the whole take) in excess of the average of the five years ending in 1855; and nearly equal to the takes of the two disastrous years preceding the new station. It is true that the take in 1858 and 1859 much exceeded that of the following year, but 1861, probably from the effects of weather, was an exceptionally bad year; and it needs no juror to assist skilled eyes in drawing from these tables the probable inference how the fearful grilse slaughter of 1857 must

Year.	Average to end of June.	Average, July to September.	
	lbs. ozs.	lbs. ozs.	
1857	..	4 7½	{ Followed by salmon in the spring of 1859, weighing 8½ ozs. more than in the spring of 1858. { Followed by salmon in the spring of 1860, weighing 2½ ozs. more than in the spring of 1859. { Followed by salmon in the spring of 1861, weighing 8 ozs. more than in the spring of 1860. { Followed by salmon in the spring of 1862, weighing 6 ozs. less than in the spring of 1861.
1858	..	4 2½	
1859	..	5 4½	
1860	..	4 11	
1861	..	5 13½	
1862	..	4 14	
Average of five years	..	5 4½	

	Salmon.	Grilse.	Trout.
* 1811 to 1815	40,297	68,057	31,235
1816 ,, 1820	37,938	87,089	48,078
1821 ,, 1825	22,930	57,647	62,473
1826 ,, 1830	9,804	53,990	48,864
1831 ,, 1835	14,416	65,112	69,121
1836 ,, 1840	14,149	52,283	54,877
1841 ,, 1845	18,846	81,047	69,712
1846 ,, 1850	11,479	56,190	49,630
1851 ,, 1855	9,085	23,905	32,764
.. ,, 1855	6,329	13,952	23,736
.. ,, 1856	4,885	33,992	30,597

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have told against the average of the years succeeding it. Aided by favourable floods and weather, the nets contrived to enmesh in that season no less than 46,553 of these virgin fish, being fully double the usual average. This, no doubt, very easily accounts for the falling off in the number of salmon in the three last years; and we take it as a proof of vitality, that the river, in the face of such a blow, has already begun to rally, and, as will presently be shown, is giving to close observers better signs of revival than figures alone can show. We may mention here, in passing, that in the present season of 1863, the take of the nets has to this time well nigh doubled that of last season.

There is one test which has always been strongly observed by the most experienced, which can hardly be affected by incidental circumstances, and which gives the surest indication of the future prospects of a river—namely, the size of the fish to be obtained in it. In the earlier part of this article we have observed on the decreased size of salmon as one of the most fatal signs of decadence in all our rivers; but, though Mr. Paulin's tables show an average weight for Tweed salmon in the height of the netting season not exceeding 15 lbs., it will be seen that both as to salmon and grilse the weight during the last five years has been steadily maintained, and shows an increase. What the average weight must have been before 1857, and how narrow an escape the salmon of the Tweed have had from total annihilation, we shudder to think.

But on this question of weight there are other sources of information to which we have applied ourselves. It is pretty well known that the Tweed is a late river, and that the largest fish, as a general rule, enter it long after the nets are removed; and to learn what size of fish have frequented and do now frequent the river after September, it is necessary to have recourse to sportsmen, not to net-fishers.

There is a society of honest anglers, most of whom have for many long years frequented that sunniest of all the sunny casts on fair Tweed—Sprouston Dub—where the best of fishing is to be had for the best of payment. No optimists these, but, to our certain knowledge, for some twenty autumns back, grumblers excessively—at the weather and the floods, of course—at the Berwickers and their greed—at the Hawick weavers and their leisters—at the wrong annual close time, at the too short weekly close time—at the stake nets, the stell nets, and all the tribe of nets—and, above all, arose one ceaseless, never-ending growl at the constantly-diminishing numbers and weight of their fish. But on falling amongst these gentlemen of late, we hear, for the first time in their or our experience, a different tale indeed.

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Most of them have been close observers, and have taken much pains in investigating the salmon question; and they one and all assure us that since 1857 there has been a marked increase, almost year by year, in the size of the fish taken by the rod, until in the glorious autumn fishing of last year it has accumulated to a height, both in weight and numbers, the like whereof has not been known in the present century. This sport was not at Sprouston alone, but extended to the whole river, and we wonder not that rod-fishings on the Tweed have already well nigh doubled in value. Our Sprouston friends assure us that until recently from 16 to 18 lbs. was considered by them a fairly large fish; whereas now one of that weight attracts no attention at all. A board is kept at Sprouston on which is painted the weight of each fish of 25 lbs. and upwards, taken there and in one or two neighbouring waters since the year 1846, with the names of the successful anglers. Few statistical tables could better prove how sadly the Tweed salmon had fallen off in size, and how strangely he has thriven of late. For ten long years—from 1848 to 1859—no fish of the weight required for registration was captured; but since 1859 they have gradually increased in number, and the year 1861, though it produced only two, showed one giant of the flood, weighing 46 lbs. In the last season there were registered at Sprouston alone eleven fish which exceeded 25 lbs. in weight, and the luck of Sprouston was not equal to that of other waters; on almost every other water on the Tweed, fish exceeding 30 lbs. in weight were taken in considerable numbers.

An evident anxiety to improve the salmon fisheries is now apparent, and the problem to be solved is to restore the *status quo*, and obtain a supply of salmon equal to the demand. There are, we think, but two ways to a solution of the question. The experience of the Tweed, we venture to maintain, though still imperfect, shows that the decay of that river has been arrested, and that large salmon of some age—the best and surest breeders—now abound in its waters, and that this result is, in the main, to be attributed to improved legislation. The first thing, therefore, to be done is to extend our legislation for all our salmon rivers in the same direction that has been so successful on the Tweed; in other words, to eradicate, as soon as may be, those dams, engines, and nets still really left untouched. The other, and as it seems to us the principal, field for improvement is the adoption of pisciculture wherever it can be carried out. Let us cultivate our water, as we cultivate our land. Few measures could be more effectual than some check on the annual destruction of grilse, but, especially on rivers in the hands of many proprietors, such as the Tweed, we know not how that can be practically

practically effected ; but might not pisciculture supply the vacuum left by this slaughter of the innocents ? By means of pisciculture the French people have recreated their fisheries ; why should not we ? Let us by all means clean our rivers by removing impurities of all kinds. Let us do our best to prevent poaching ; and above all, let us take care not to encourage legal ‘overfishing ;’ and, as gentlemen occasionally give their grouse a year of jubilee, let us prescribe an occasional similar indulgence to the salmon. Every little helps ; and as we have now a considerable knowledge of the natural history of the fish, we should avail ourselves of it not only in our legislation, but also in the practical management of the fisheries. If in our greed we still continue to overfish, after the numerous warnings we have had, we must take the consequences in the probable extermination of the salmon and his numerous congeners.

ART. V.—1. *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined.*

By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part II. 1863.

2. *An Introduction to the Old Testament.* By S. Davidson, D.D. Vols. I. and II., 1862 ; Vol. III., 1863.

3. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Von F. Bleek. 1860.

4. *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung.* Von Dr. H. Hupfeld. 1853.

5. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* Von H. Ewald. 1843-1862.

6. *Commentar über die Genesis.* Von F. Delitzsch. 3rd edition. 1860.

**A**N ancient writer, not deficient in shrewdness and experience, left on record two precepts, which unhappily have not always met with the attention to which their importance and truth entitle them. In the one he recommended authors—more especially directing his advice to poets—to weigh well and long what they are able to do, and to choose a subject, if they must write, exactly suited to their abilities. In the other, he intimated that literary compositions, like wine, become more adapted for the inspection of the public by being kept a few years, and recommends that they should not be permitted, until after about eight years, to see the light. There can be no question that if posterity had listened to this advice, the effusion of much useless ink would have been spared, and the world would probably have lost nothing which is of sterling value. If these precepts are of importance in regard to poetry, where no great principles are at stake, and the utmost extent of mischief is the imputation of folly and vanity to which the publication of inferior poetry may expose

pose its author, they are imperatively required in the case of religious works, and more especially of those which aspire to effect a considerable change in the fundamental principles of our faith. In these cases, regard for the welfare of religious minds—nay, even regard for truth itself—would demand that such works should not be published in breathless haste, nor finally submitted to the judgment of the world until they had received frequent revision from the author himself, and reaped the fruits of his matured reflection and calm, deliberate judgment.

Reflections such as these are likely to rise spontaneously in the mind of every thoughtful man into whose hands the works of Dr. Davidson and Bishop Colenso whose titles we have placed at the head of this article may happen to fall. He would at once observe, with regard to the former, that his views have been undergoing a great development since the year 1856, when he published the result of his former researches on Biblical Criticism; and he would see also that the present views of Bishop Colenso are founded upon an inquiry which did not even commence until after his return to Natal from the synod held at Cape Town in January, 1861 (Pt. I. p. xiii.). Of Dr. Davidson we know nothing personally; but from some of his former works we should have expected a better book than this 'Introduction.' His knowledge of the sources of Biblical Criticism is considerable; and it has enabled him in his earlier works to collect together a large mass of useful materials; but 'An Introduction to the Old Testament' requires not only the collection of such materials, but, beyond all things, the judgment to use them to the best advantage. And judgment, as opposed to mere acquisition, is the quality most needed for the work which he has here undertaken, and in which we cannot but think he has in great measure failed. It is a very easy matter—we speak from experience—to make oneself acquainted with the German views on the Pentateuch, and to be ready to divide it according to any prescribed system,—Ilgen's, Gramberg's, Ewald's, Hupfeld's, Knobel's, or Delitzsch's; but the real touchstone of the value of any book upon this subject is the *judgment* displayed by its author; and perhaps judgment is, upon the whole, the quality most rarely found in a very advanced stage of excellence. On so important and vital a subject it is especially unfortunate that any man should publish strong statements whilst his mind is in a state of active transition. In truth, neither Dr. Davidson nor Dr. Colenso appear to be aware of the ultimate points to which all their present views really tend. Dr. Davidson, indeed, assures us that 'to talk of the results at which we have arrived as deeply affecting the faith of the Church is the cant of uneducated



cated minds ;' but he openly avows that as far as the Old Testament is concerned he has cast off all belief in any objective or external revelation. His own language is as follows :—

'The narratives of the Pentateuch are generally trustworthy, though partly mythical and legendary. The miracles recorded were the exaggerations of a later age. The voice of God cannot, without profanity, be said to have uttered externally all the precepts attributed to Him.'—Vol. i. p. 131.

His views are further developed in p. 233, where, after denying that the Eternal Being spoke the Decalogue *audibly*, &c., he adds :—

'In like manner, when He appeared to the Patriarchs, called to them, addressed them by name, commanded them to do certain things; or when *His angel* appeared, which is only a different expression for *Himself*, we must resolve the thing into a strong manifestation of the spiritual consciousness in man.'

We do not know at the present stage of his development how the author of these passages may deal with the miracles of our Saviour or the angelic appearances of the New Testament; but no calm observer or logical thinker can fail to see that the same method which is used in regard to the Old Testament must eventually be applied to the New. The truth of Christianity is not directly overturned by a simple statement that the whole of the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, because its historical narrative might still be true. But opinions such as these, which imply the impossibility of miracles, cannot be restricted to the Old Testament alone.

If we turn from Dr. Davidson to Bishop Colenso, we find that his views are in a more rapid state of progression, and that he appears uncertain—or unwilling to acknowledge even to himself—whither they may lead him. He hints at the necessity of our 'modifying our present views of the Mosaic system, or of Christianity itself' (Pt. II. p. 354).

But he has more plainly expressed his present state of uncertainty in a very remarkable passage in the First Part of his 'Enquiry.' After stating what his object will be in Part II. he thus proceeds :—

'But, meanwhile, I cannot but feel that, having thus been impelled to take an active part in showing the groundlessness of that notion of Scripture Inspiration, which so many have long regarded as the foundation of their faith and hope, a demand may be made upon me for something to supply the loss, to fill up the aching void, which will undoubtedly be felt at the first, where *that* faith, which has been built only or mainly upon the basis of the historical truth of the Pentateuch, must be in danger of collapsing, together with its support

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In the present stage of the discussion, it is impossible for me to answer fully, as I would, to such a demand, though I trust to be enabled to do so before my work is brought to a close.'—Part I. p. 147.

Whether Bishop Colenso possesses, or intends to offer to the world, a substitute for the religion of the Bible or not, does not yet fully appear. He assures us, indeed, in the next page that in a former book he has set forth the great principles of St. Paul's teaching, and inculcated 'a calm confiding trust in God's Fatherly love; an abiding sense of His presence; a child-like desire and endeavour, by His own Good Spirit's help, to do His will, and grow in His likeness;' and he adds that these principles would need no change. How such a superstructure as this can be raised on any other foundation than that of a faith in the substantial truth of the Bible—including its narrative, its miracles, and its doctrines—we are at a loss to conjecture! But if there can be any other foundation, no man is justified in unsettling—or attempting to unsettle—the faith of men, without giving them the substitute which he professes to have found. Had the Bishop delayed his publication until he could supply the substitute, he would *indirectly* have reaped a very great advantage. He would have had time to examine his arguments more carefully; he might have been preserved from errors which reflect great discredit upon him, on the score of haste; and, by more mature thought, and consultation with those who have studied these subjects for years, he might considerably have modified his own views. He would then, perhaps, have been spared the mortification of calling upon the Church to alter its system, and finding that it is entirely deaf to his call.

Our present object, however, is not so much to complain of the course which the Bishop has taken, as to show the unsoundness of his reasoning, and the worthlessness of the whole theory on which his Second Part is entirely founded. We waive all considerations of the First Part, which has been so effectually torn to pieces by Dr. M'Caul (not to mention many other very meritorious answers) that scarcely a single portion of it remains unscathed. We do not propose to enter on any discussion on the *subject-matter* of the Pentateuch, but simply to consider the *internal* evidence as to its authorship.

It is necessary to be very clear on the distinction between these two classes of evidence, which the advocates of the new opinions—and especially Bishop Colenso—constantly confuse. While we are estimating the *internal* evidences of later composition from difference of style and language, it is manifestly arguing in a circle to adduce the so-called proofs which have been given of the incredibility and impossibility of the narrative. If it is impossible

possible that God should have wrought miracles—the miracles recorded in the Pentateuch—then it is useless to inquire whether that book has Moses for its author. The attempt to divide it among a variety of authors is nothing more nor less than a determination to find some plausible theory which shall agree with its non-Mosaic origin. But the authors of these fanciful partitions will not allow this representation of their argument, and they profess to find some distinguishing marks in the composition itself, by which they are enabled to discern a variety of authors, and to assign to each his own portion of the work. If there is any truth or reality in these distinctions of style, the proof of it is entirely independent of the other. They exist, and are sufficiently definite to justify the conclusions of the critics; or they do not exist, and the deductions are founded on erroneous data. No man who professes to argue this great question fairly can object to this statement of the case. If the critics cannot prove these differences of style, they have no right to appeal to them as proofs that the Pentateuch is derived from a variety of authors; and therefore they cannot refuse to discuss this part of the argument on independent grounds. This is the issue which we are now disposed to try, as far and as fully as our space will admit.

Before, however, we consider in detail some of the arguments which are adduced, we think it right to advert to the tone and temper in which Dr. Davidson writes. Both he and Dr. Colenso assure us so often that the truth of their case has been fully demonstrated, that we feel disposed to wonder why proofs, which are so clear and convincing, should require such reiterated testimony to their cogency.\* But Dr. Davidson, not content with asserting the triumphs and victories of modern criticism, intersperses his assertions with amenities such as the following:—

‘The scholars of Germany may well wonder at the traditional *inertia* of English theologians who sleep over the Bible, and cry Neology when new information is brought to their ears; but the latter must shortly awake out of their lethargy, and open their minds to the light of truth. Their old dogma of inspirational infallibility must be discarded: then will the *results* of scientific criticism have a chance of penetrating their understandings. We say the *results*, because it is

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\* Dr. Davidson's third volume was published while these sheets were passing through the press. We observe in every part the same full information, and, we regret to say, the same results, from which we feel compelled to differ. In the case of the musical instruments in Daniel, he adheres to the old neological view, though modern philology in Germany declares these words Semitic, and not Greek. Some excellent observations on these words will be found in the Notes to Mr. Payne Smith's 'Sermons on Isaiah,' pp. 289-291. Mr. Smith's profound acquaintance with the Semitic dialects, especially the Syriac language, well entitles him to speak on this subject.

evident that they are unable to estimate aright certain *processes* in the department of Hebrew criticism; or to separate *masters* from *apprentices* in Biblical learning.

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'A man may believe *too much*, as well as *too little*. He may believe till he has carnal and unworthy notions of the Almighty, thinking Him to have so interfered in the petty affairs of His creatures as to speak audibly to them in the air, and even to appear in human form: he may make the Deity in his own image and think *that* religion; but these anthropomorphic conceptions are infinitely more dishonouring to Jehovah than any rational treatment of records which unfold the spiritual development of the Jewish race at an early period of their history. Declamation, invective, pietistic horror, orthodox pity for the infidel Germans, answer no purpose but to impose on the vulgar: and as insertions in religious works, are utterly out of place. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand." Censorious judging, cowardly insinuation, uncharitable suspicion, stealing others' good name and character, constitute the religion of many. Happy will it be for them, if it takes them to heaven sooner than the sceptics they hate.'—Vol. i. p. 57.

We are certainly disposed to ask whether Dr. Davidson deems this sort of language *in its place* in a Critical Introduction to the Old Testament? The assertion also that these theories are new to English theologians is incorrect, for with all highly-educated theologians in the Church of England the subject is almost threadbare. It is true that they do not usually admit the cogency of the arguments which have led captive the judgment of Dr. Davidson and Bishop Colenso, but it is not from ignorance of their nature.

These, however, are mere preliminary matters. We turn now to the examination of some of the arguments commonly adduced for the non-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and more particularly to that which we may call the *Elohistic* and *Jehovistic* theory. Almost everybody, we presume, who knows anything of the Pentateuch, has heard of this theory; and all who have read Dr. M'Caul's Essay on the Mosaic Creation, in 'Aids to Faith,' know its general bearings. It had long been observed that the two names *Elohim* and *Jehovah*\* are interchanged in Genesis; and, from the time of Astruc, a Genevan physician who flourished about the middle of the last century, it has been the fashion to parcel out the Pentateuch between two principal writers, called

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\* We retain the conventional, though incorrect, vocalisation of this name, as being most convenient. We see no advantage in substituting Hupfeld's *Jeh-*—or Delitzsch's *Jahwah* for this well-known form. *Jehovah* is invariably rendered the LORD in the English Version, and *Elohim* almost invariably God.

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respectively the *Elohist* and the *Jehovist*, although many portions of it are ascribed neither to one nor to the other, but to various subsidiary writers or documents. The idea once set afloat, it was modified according to the idiosyncrasy of each critic, till the theory would have found it difficult to recognise its own identity under its various masquerades. The simple foundation of the whole theory is this, that in some portions of the Book of Genesis the word *Elohim* prevails *almost exclusively*, and in others the word *Jehovah*. The inference drawn by the modern school of critics is, that this difference in the usage of the words arises from the circumstance that these are parts of different original documents. This is really the simple foundation of the whole system, and this is the question we propose *first* to examine.

The first circumstance which strikes us is the extreme discrepancy which exists between the advocates of this hypothesis in regard to its details. We must bear this in mind, because it is of more importance than Dr. Colenso appears to imagine. He states that the greatest critics are agreed on main points, and differ only as to minor details. The truth of this statement we shall examine hereafter, but it is necessary to indicate here the inadmissibility of the answer which Dr. Colenso attempts to set up. He replies to Dr. McCaul that his 'argument [about the discrepancies of the neologists] might be just as easily turned against the defenders of the ordinary view; thus it may be said KURTZ condemns HENGSTENBERG, and HENGSTENBERG condemns KURTZ.'\* One can hardly believe that so utterly illogical a statement could be found in the writings of one who comes forward to convict the Bible of falsehood, and the greater part of his brethren of ignorance. The neologists argue that there are sufficient marks to distinguish the style of one part of the Pentateuch from the other, but no two of them can agree in assigning these parts to their respective authors. Is not this in itself a proof that their test is unsound, and cannot be trusted? The truth of this statement cannot be controverted by showing any discrepancy among others. The neologists differ on the very passages on which they found their distinctions. There can be no real distinguishing mark in passages which one critic assigns to the Elohist and another to the Jehovist. If there is, let these authors *agree* in producing it. Till they can do this, we must esteem their criticism to rest on very uncertain grounds. We say no more at this stage of the discussion, because we think that, after we have adduced our specimens of their disagreement, our argument will come with greater force.

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\* Colenso, Part II. p. 366.

Among the earlier critics, after Astruc, who devoted themselves to the partition of the Pentateuch, were Eichhorn and Ilgen. The minuteness of the portions into which the latter subdivided a chapter may be seen from the specimen given in Gramberg,\* p. 3. It will be observed that in Gen. xxx. he finds eighteen portions belonging to the first Elohist, nineteen to the second Elohist, and seven to the Jehovist! The discrepancies in the general views of the critics may be seen from the following table:—

Authors.			Division adopted.
Astruc .. ..	..	..	Elohist and Jehovist + 10 other documents.
Eichhorn .. ..	..	..	Elohist, Jehovist and Compiler.
Ilgen .. ..	..	..	Two Elohistes and one Jehovist.
Gramberg .. ..	..	..	Elohist, Jehovist and Compiler.
Ewald .. ..	..	..	See note.†
Hupfeld .. ..	..	..	Two Elohistes, one Jehovist, and a Compiler.
Knobel .. ..	..	..	Elohist, Book of Wars, Book of Laws, Jehovist and Deuteronomist.
Davidson .. ..	..	..	Two Elohistes, a Jehovist, and a Redactor.
Delitzsch .. ..	..	..	An Elohist, a Jehovist, and ancient documents.

It will be seen from a mere inspection of this table—which we could increase almost *ad libitum* were it worth while—how remarkably harmonious the critics are in the results they deduce from what is so proudly called the ‘higher criticism.’ Dr. Colenso evades the force of this argument by asserting that the chief critics, Hupfeld, Ewald, and Knobel, are all agreed as to the main points, and differ only in details (Part II. p. 366). We shall examine this plea hereafter; at present we will translate a short sentence from Delitzsch’s ‘*Commentar über Die Genesis*,’ which will further illustrate the concord of the critics as to the periods in which the various authors lived. Delitzsch believes the greater part of the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, but drawn in part from other sources, and he remarks—

‘For, if according to Von Lengerke the Elohist wrote in the time of Solomon, and the compiler in that of Hezekiah; if according to Tuch the former under Saul and the latter under Solomon; according

\* (*‘Libri Geneseos,’* &c., 1828.)

† Ewald originally in 1823, in his ‘*Die Composition der Genesis*,’ &c., maintained the unity of Genesis. He altered his views afterwards, and in the second edition of his ‘*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*’ brought forward his final (?) system. It was extremely complicated. He imagined certain documents to have been in existence before the fundamental Elohist writer composed his part. These he used in his composition, which is called the ‘*Book of Origins*’ (*Buch der Ursprünge*). They were a ‘*Life of Moses*,’ a ‘*Book of Covenants*’ (*Buch der Bündnisse*), &c. Then there was a third narrator, a fourth, and a fifth, besides other documents. There was also a Deuteronomist, to whom we are indebted for Deuteronomy and Joshua, or at least the greater part of them.

to Bleek the former under Saul or the Judges, the latter in the beginning of David's reign; and according to Stähelin, the former in the time of the Judges, the latter under Saul: there is nothing to prevent our taking another step backwards, and placing the Elohist in the time of Moses, and the Compiler in that of Joshua.'—p. 45.

Well may Dr. M'Caul, in his excellent Essay in 'Aids to Faith,' declare, after exhibiting a list of the same kind, 'It is self-evident that criticism leading to such inconsistent conclusions must be in a high degree imaginative; a little examination shows that it is also unreasonably arbitrary' (p. 193). We are now about to bestow upon it that 'little examination.'

The first point on which we should desire the attention of a student of this portion of Holy Writ to be fixed, when he searches among these critics for the modicum of light which they give, is to observe the very slender amount of *inductive* evidence on which the above superstructure stands. It is built, as far as *inductive* evidence is concerned, on a very few chapters of Genesis. The system is then formed, certain tests are deduced from these chapters *on the assumption* that they must proceed from different authors, and the whole of the Pentateuch is divided, as far as it lends itself in any way to such a division, in accordance with these tests. When, therefore, we see a formidable array of passages ranged under the Elohist and the Jehovist, according to their supposed differences of style, the larger part of these consignments are not derived from internal evidence, offered by the passages themselves, but only from carrying out a predetermined system. Any student who examines one of these lists carefully will soon convince himself that these divisions are only *deductive*—only the results of a 'foregone conclusion.' The test of *Elohim* and *Jehovah*—or 'God' and 'The Lord,' in the English Bibles—is, after all, the foundation of the whole. The passages where this distinction comes most prominently into notice are, upon a very liberal calculation, the following:—

So-called *Elohistic* passages, *i. e.* passages where God is the *prevailing* term.

Gen. i. 1 to ii. 4; v. 1—28; vi. 9—22; viii. 1—20; ix. 1—18; xvii.; xx. 1—16; xxviii.; xxxv.

So-called *Jehovistic* passages, *i. e.* passages where the *LORD* is the *prevailing* term.

Gen. ii. 5 to iv. 19; vii. 1—7; viii. 20—22; xii. 1—xiii. 18; xv.; xvi.; xxiv.

This is the *utmost* amount of passages which can be conceded as forming any ground for a single observation on the peculiarity of the usage of the two terms.\* We do not deny that at first sight such a variation in their use might seem to require some expla-

\* We cannot admit the right of the partitionists to claim the *history* of Joseph nation;

nation; and among the various explanations which would suggest themselves, a thought might rise up in the mind that it proceeds from the writer having incorporated earlier documents in his work, in which these names were respectively used. This was the first suggestion of Astruc, and this, under various modifications, has been the *only* idea which the German neologists will admit, and which, it must be allowed, they have worn threadbare. Sometimes with them it is the Fragment-theory (*Fragmenten-hypothese*) of fragments, laid like encaustic tiles in a bed of cement; sometimes the Document-theory (*Urkunden-hypothese*), where one original document is edited and re-edited; and sometimes the *Ergänzung-hypothese*, where the English language breaks down in its power of compounds, and cannot in one word express a theory which supposes an original document supplemented by a variety of others. It must not, indeed, be supposed that these theories are kept distinct and separate; they are blended together in the most beautiful confusion which the heart of man can imagine.

If, however, the idea of different authors should cross the mind, a very little examination shows its insufficiency to explain the condition of things which meets us in the Bible, when all the phenomena are taken into consideration. Indeed it fails in some of the very passages here adduced to explain the facts of the case. Some of the rationalists themselves (e. g. Astruc) admit that this distinction of names in itself would not justify such a partition, and they accordingly seek for corroborative evidence. We shall presently examine some of this corroborative evidence. In the mean time we must call attention to the following circumstances:—First, that this induction rests on a very small portion of the whole book; and next, that there are other peculiarities which serve to neutralise even the little argument which it supplies. The first researches which are made to test this theory show its inadequacy as a clue to the difficulty. On examining the text even of these portions of Scripture, we find the names intermixed; and if we extend our examination to the passages not comprised in these selected portions, we find the names so linked together that we cannot separate them. Thus in Gen. xxxi. 3, it is written, ‘*The LORD* said unto Jacob,’ &c.; but in the speech of Jacob, which follows this statement, he affirms, ‘*God* suffered him not to hurt me;’ and in the account of Jacob’s family, found in the xxixth and xxxth chapters—in ch. xxix. *Jehovah* is used, in ch. xxx. *Elohim*. Again, in the xxiind chapter, the angel, who is called ‘the angel of *the LORD*,’ in addressing Abraham in the next verse, says, ‘Now I know that thou *fearest God*.’ It is needless to multiply instances like these—they rise up in every portion



portion of Holy Scripture. In some Psalms the word *Elohim* or *God* prevails almost or quite exclusively; in others *Jehovah* or '*the LORD*;' and some of both classes are attributed to David. In the greater part of Daniel '*God*' is used; but in the ixth chapter we find '*the LORD*' as the prevalent appellation. And yet De Wette\* fairly acknowledges that no valid argument can be raised against the unity of Daniel; and Bleek says, '*The unity of Daniel has been disputed, but without reason.*'† If, therefore, the same writer could use both these words within two verses of each other, and if a writer could use one of them for several chapters and then make a sharp transition to the other, what reason have we to resort to such an unauthorised, unnatural supposition, as a diversity of authorship, to explain exactly the same class of facts in Genesis? We shall hereafter give some hints towards what we believe to be the true explanation of the whole case; but we are here occupied only in pointing out, as briefly as possible, the failures of the '*higher criticism*' in this argument. We may, however, give a single specimen of the sort of argument which these critics consider perfectly convincing. Let us hear Dr. Davidson:—

'The entire subject of documents incorporated into the Pentateuch might be made apparent even to an ordinary reader, by calling his attention to a few plain facts, such as "*Abram said, Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house,*" &c. (Genesis, xv. 2). In the very next verse, the same in substance is uttered by Abraham. "*And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and lo, one born in my house is mine heir.*" It is easy to see that different authors appear here; *one* would not so write.

'Again we read: "*And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not*" (Genesis, xxviii. 16). The very next verse is: "*And he was afraid and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.*" The patriarch speaks twice in immediate succession; using, however, two different appellations of Deity. The former verse belongs to the Redactor; the latter to the junior Elohist.—*Introduction to the O. T.*, vol. i. p. 56.

We can assure our readers that this passage is quoted verbatim from the last work of Dr. Davidson; and not invented by us to cast ridicule upon the whole scheme. And what does it amount to? Abraham is represented as uttering twice the same complaint in substance, when, in fact, he does nothing of the kind. If he had done so, such repetitions are by no means uncommon;

\* '*Lehrbuch der Einleitung in die Bibel,*' &c., 1852, p. 350.

† '*Einleitung.*' p. 584.

ut it is entirely a mistake on the part of the critic, whose acuteness cannot discern between the complaints of an old man (1) that he has no son to *administer his property for the present*; and (2) when he looks to the future, *no one to inherit it*; no one to elp him in his age; and no one to inherit his wealth at his eath! Truly the higher criticism indulges in strange assertions and very absurd difficulties!\*

With regard to the second passage, we may ask why a *Redactor* and an *Elohist* are to be called into existence to explain the alternation of names in this passage more than in Exod. iii. 4, 's. xxxvi. 6-8, or Ps. lxix. 13, 30-35, &c. &c. It is not the higher criticism,' but plain common sense, which is needed to reject such arguments. But this is only one proof out of many that the magic wand of modern exegesis transforms that which would be esteemed worthless in the mouth of a believer into high criticism' in that of a sceptical commentator!

Let us now examine some of the corroborative evidence. We are told, and have been told for more than thirty years, that there are phrases peculiar to each of the writers, the *Elohist* and the *Jehovist*; and we have very often examined the chief statements which are repeated from one critic to another, like an heirloom. They are generally few in number, although Knobel gives pages of references. But the stress of the proof lies chiefly on three or four phrases, which we will now examine, as some of them are adduced by Davidson, Colenso, and Bleek. We have no inclination to search for their first origin; but they are as old as Gramberg, whose book was published in 1828:—

1. *Padan-Aram*. This, it is asserted, is always used in the *Elohistic* passages for Mesopotamia; while *Aram-Naharaim* is the expression of the *Jehovist*; which last expression, be it observed, occurs only twice in the Pentateuch! We must request attention to the following passage of Genesis xxv. :—

'Verse 19. And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son : Abraham begat Isaac :

'20. And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padan-Aram, the sister to Laban the Syrian.

'21. And Isaac intreated the LORD for his wife, because she was barren; and the LORD was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived.'

Here the 'higher criticism' is rather at fault. *Padan-Aram*

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\* Dr. Davidson is no doubt aware of the difficulties in the interpretation of this passage. The phrase translated 'steward' in our version does not occur elsewhere, but this is its most probable meaning. There is also a difficulty in the word *Damascus*, but we cannot discuss it here.

does occur in a Jehovistic section! So the 'higher criticism' quietly cuts out verse 20; and Dr. Davidson very judiciously assigns verses 19 and 21 to the Jehovist, and verse 20 to the Elohist! By such reasoning one might make any phrase peculiar to any writer. We would ask any man of common sense to read verses 19 and 21 consecutively as the work of one writer, and ask himself whether in a family genealogy it is likely that the writer would say 'Abraham begat Isaac,' and immediately subjoin, 'and Isaac intreated the LORD for his wife,' without even mentioning the slight circumstance that Isaac was married, or giving the name of his wife! These are the absurdities which would-be criticism imports into the Bible! Padan-Aram also occurs (Gen. xxv. 9) where there is a clear reference to xxviii. 10-22, which is a Jehovistic section!

2. *Male and female (Zacar ve-nekebah)*. This expression is said to be, by Dr. Davidson, p. 30, peculiar to the *Elohist*, while the Jehovist uses another (*Ish ve-ishto*); which last means 'the man and his wife.' Now, both expressions occur in Gen. vii. 2, 3, which verses are attributed to the Jehovist! The expression *Ish ve-ishto* does not occur elsewhere in Scripture, except in Numbers xxx. 16, where, however, there is a slight variation. And the other expression occurs hardly more than half-a-dozen times in the whole Bible! The attempt to press instances like these of induction from such a very small array of passages, does not argue a superabundance of wealth in these treasures of the neologists! Our limits will not allow us to do more than select a few of the examples which we find adduced, and examine them fully, in order to put the unwary on their guard against the delusive array of passages which are marshalled against us.

The next point to which we would advert is the charge of contradictory and inconsistent statements in the passages belonging to the different authors. Among these the first is the celebrated passage which gives an account of the creation of Adam and Eve, in the second chapter of Genesis. Now, Dr. McCausland has clearly shown ('Aids to Faith,' p. 231) that Gen. i. 27 actually implies that which is only more fully narrated in the second chapter. The contradictions which Dr. Colenso pretends to find are the offspring of his own imagination, or his misapprehension of the Hebrew. The account in Gen. ii. 19 does not imply that this creation of the beasts of the field took place *after* the creation of man; nor does Gen. i. 20, 21, properly translated, 'and let fowl fly in the expanse of the heavens,' imply that the fowl was a product of the waters. It does not, therefore, contradict ii. 19, which makes the fowl a part of the produce of the earth.

Again, that some animals in Gen. vii. 2 were to be taken by  
sevens

sevens does not contradict the assertion in vi. 20, that they were to be taken two by two : seven pairs of some animals might be required for other purposes, *e. g.*, for sacrifices ; so that the second command is only more definite and full, and does not *contradict* the former.

These two pretended inconsistencies will be found adduced by Colenso, Part II. p. 172-174.

Another contradiction is asserted to be found between the accounts given in Exodus and Deuteronomy of the Ten Commandments. Dr. Colenso asserts that each professes to give the identical '*words which were spoken by Jehovah himself* at the very same point of time.' Dr. Colenso forgets that in Deuteronomy Moses is professedly recapitulating the events of the previous forty years ; and if he gave the substance of the Ten Commandments, nothing more was needed to effect the purpose he had in view. These Ten Commandments were matter of notoriety among the Israelites ; and any person professing to give them *verbatim* could have obtained an exact copy. No man in his sound senses would deem the reflection on the Fourth Commandment which is inserted in the spoken address of Moses to his people to be intended as part of the two tables. When it is said that God '*added no more,*' this applies only to the substance of the commandments. The neologists must be in sad want of a few real contradictions to fly to such a miserable refuge as arguments like these !

We think it needless to answer such observations of Dr. Davidson as imply an inconsistency, the ground of the same name, *e. g.*, Beth-el (see Davidson, vol. i. p. 66), being given on two different occasions. The second must be considered only as a confirmation of the first, like Esau's allusion to Jacob, and is exactly in conformity with Eastern habits of thought. It is really painful to think of the numberless complications which perverted ingenuity can introduce into this great question. But those who determine to study it must disregard a very large portion of all they read in German commentaries, and allow their own powers to be employed on the points which are brought forward. No lifetime would suffice to verify one half of the references which are heaped together, and to examine the numberless hypotheses which are raised up on every fact narrated in the Pentateuch.

Before we leave for a time the consideration of the Pentateuch to turn to other parts of Scripture, it may be as well to exhibit a specimen or two of the results of the higher criticism in arranging the different parts of the Pentateuch on the new system. Dr. Colenso asserts (Part II. p. 366) that the chief critics differ only in detail ; but those who know anything of the subject will not be

misled by such a statement. As to the age of the different books of the Bible, there are differences of centuries among the critics. Take, for instance, the Canticles. Gesenius\* assigns it to the age of the Captivity; Dr. Davidson and Ernest Rénan to the ninth or tenth century B.C.; and the latter supposes it to have been a drama represented (400 years before the age of Æschylus) with a *mise en scène* which would have done credit to Drury Lane! But even in the Pentateuch, and Genesis itself, to which Dr. Colenso restricts his remark, the discrepancies are most striking. We will give as a specimen the xxvth chapter of Genesis, as divided by Dr. Davidson, and by Knobel. We place them side by side, in happy and harmonious union. They thus divide this chapter:—

DR. DAVIDSON.	KNOBEL.
J. = Jehovist. E. = Elohist. E. (2) = Younger Elohist. R = Redactor.	Or. = Original Document ( <i>Grundschrift</i> ). B. W. = Book of Wars ( <i>Kriegsbuch</i> ).
xxv. 1—6, J. 6—11, E.† partly.	xxv. 1—20, Or. 21—23 B. W.
12—16, J. 17 E.	24, Or. 25 B. W.
18, 19, J. 20 E.	26 a. B.W. 26 b—28 Or.
21—26, J. to 'Jacob.'	29—34 B. W.
26 (from 'Jacob'), R.	
27, 28, J. 29—34 R.	

It is only necessary to call attention to these divisions to show that they are a mere toy, a mere exercise of fancy criticism. In the German division, verses 1-20 are assigned to one author; while in the English critic there are seven alternations between the Elohist and the Jehovist. On the contrary, verses 21-26 are all assigned to one writer by Dr. Davidson, and divided with beautiful impartiality among two by Knobel; and thus the division proceeds!

It is difficult, even though the subject be so sacred, to treat such pretentious criticism with seriousness. It is impossible to resist a smile at the selfcomplacency which, after rejecting what we believe to be the truth, proceeds to offer such crudities as these as the result of true criticism!

After these specimens of the corroborative evidence offered by the 'higher criticism,' and the sample of the skill which it displays in dividing Scripture, it may be more interesting to change the battlefield, and follow Dr. Colenso for a time into the Book of Psalms, to which a very large portion of his attention in Part II. has been directed.

\* 'Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift,' 1815, p. 27. So also many other critics. De Wette, Bleek, and others assign it to the age of Solomon; see also E. Rénan, 'Cantique des Cantiques,' 1860.

† This verse is here dichotomized; from 'his son' it belongs to the younger Elohist.

It must be confessed that when we turn from the labours of German critics to those of the Bishop of Natal, the arguments and the amount of learning displayed belong to a very different standard. It may well be imagined that the studies of a few months in so complicated a field are not likely to give much edification to those who have been familiar with these subjects for many years. But as the Bishop speaks with so much confidence, his language may impose upon many to whom these studies are new. His system is very simple, but it is grounded upon the weakest body of evidence it has ever yet fallen to our lot to examine. Dr. Colenso seems to believe that he has almost proved that Samuel wrote the greater part of the Pentateuch, and that the word *Jehovah* first became commonly current among the Jews at about *the middle of the lifetime of David*.

We pass over the monstrous supposition that Samuel could have existed, as he is shown to us in the Bible, if the existence of Moses had been problematical, and the Exode a mere conjectural myth (see Colenso, II., p. 185). We omit all reference to the great fact that the laws and the history of the Pentateuch form the foundation of the national life and character of the Jews, and we proceed to examine some of the internal and philological evidence which Dr. Colenso has advanced to prove his case.

We think it can hardly be needful to prove that the declaration in Exod. vi. cannot be intended to assert that the Patriarchs were wholly unacquainted with the name *Jehovah*. Even a careless compiler would have observed that this is inconsistent with the Book of Genesis, which places that name in the mouth of Abraham and others, even earlier links of that great chain of Divine tradition which Genesis has fastened together with such coherence and unity. It can only mean that God had not made known its true power, nor fixed upon it with them as His covenant name. This has been repeatedly shown, and we are satisfied that it is the truth; but, as the Bishop of St. Asaph very justly observed in the debate in Convocation, there are some minds to which certain parts of Scripture will always offer difficulties. But the proofs to which Dr. Colenso appeals are not dependent on the interpretation of this passage (although he adduces it amongst them), and we leave out its consideration. The Bishop argues thus (p. 357):—

‘We find an indication of the fact that the Name did not exist before the time of SAMUEL, in the circumstance that throughout the history in the Book of Judges there is no single name which can be appealed to with confidence as compounded with *Jehovah*, while there are names compounded with the Divine name in the form of *EL*.’

TL:—

This is an ingenious argument, and it has sometimes been appealed to by German critics, who remark on the number of names compounded with Jehovah in the later books of the Bible. But Dr. Colenso has brought an argument which the Germans will scarcely adopt. He deliberately charges the author of Chronicles with *inventing* names compounded with Jehovah, and thrusting them into the earlier portions of the genealogies. After observing that in the early books of the Bible no names—except Joshua and Jochebed—are so formed, Dr. Colenso proceeds thus:—

‘Very different is the result, however, if we examine the Chronicles, and quite in consistency with what we have observed already of the character of this book. Here we find *Azariah*, 1 Chron. ii. 8, in the third generation from Judah. Nay, the wife of Judah’s grandson, Hezron, who went down with Jacob into Egypt, is *Abiah*, ii. 24, and Hezron’s grandson is *Ahijah*, ii. 25, and Judah’s grandson is *Reaiah*, iv. 2, and another of his early descendants is *Jonathan*. So Issachar’s grandson is *Rephaiah*, vii. 2, and his great-grandson *Izrahiah*, and his sons *Obadiah*, *Joel*, *Ishiah*, v. 3, and Benjamin’s grandson is *Abiah*, v. 8; and among the early descendants of Levi are *Joel*, xxiii. 8, *Rehabiah*, v. 17, *Jeriah* and *Amariah*, v. 19, and *Jesiah*, v. 20, the first cousin of Moses, *Jesiah*’s son *Zechariah*, xxiv. 25, and *Jaaziah*, v. 27; and we have actually *Bithiah*, the daughter of Pharaoh, iv. 18, apparently the Egyptian King. So among the ancestors of Samuel himself are *Joel*, *Azariah*, *Zephaniah*, vi. 36, which, however, appear as *Shual*, *Uzziah*, *Uriel* in v. 24; and among those of Asaph and Ethan, David’s contemporaries, are seven others, whose names are compounded with Jehovah.’—p. 236.

Dr. Colenso then argues that, as *before* the time of Jacob’s great-grandchildren there are no such names, and as they appear frequently afterwards, ‘it is scarcely possible to doubt that the Chronicler has simply *invented* these names’! He suggests that the chronicler found the earliest names in the Pentateuch, and when that authority failed, he inserted such as were familiar to himself. This is a heavy charge against a writer in Holy Scripture, and ought to be sustained by weighty evidence. What shall we say when it appears that, in regard to many of these names, the charge arises from a blunder into which Bishop Colenso’s haste has betrayed him? But so it is. Let any person of common understanding read the 23rd, 24th, and 26th chapters of Chronicles attentively, and he will see that the names which Dr. Colenso supposes to belong to the early descendants of Levi are the *heads* of their respective branches of the family in the *days of David*! He will find that *Rehabiah*, *Jesiah*, *Jeriah*, *Amariah*, and *Zechariah* are clearly the representatives in the days of David of those branches of the family of Levi from which

which they were descended.\* Sometimes in these genealogies the earliest descendants are named; but the chief object in the 23rd and following chapters is to give the names of those who served in the days of David, and show the branches of the Levitical family to which they belonged. Dr. Colenso might learn a little caution in dealing with this portion of Scripture from the genealogy of Reuben in 1 Chron. v. 3-6, where about eight names are given from Reuben to the time of Tiglath-pileser, *i. e.* from about 1700 B.C. to 740 B.C.; and in these very genealogies it is often impossible to say what descendant is implied under the name of son. Rephaiah may have been a late descendant of Tola and Reuben.

Leaving, however, these charges, which are due to the carelessness and haste with which the book is got up, let us examine the internal evidence on which we are required to believe that the name Jehovah first became current about the middle of David's life. Of all uncertain points in the chronology of Scripture, as discussed by the latest authorities in Germany, there is scarcely any which is so difficult to determine as the period at which any particular Psalm was written. And yet Dr. Colenso undertakes to find a very easy test by which he may arrange the Psalms attributed to David into two divisions—the Psalms written in early life, and those written in his later days. This test is neither more nor less than the old test of *Elohim* and *Jehovah*! Although the same writer may use both terms in the course of one Psalm, Dr. Colenso assumes that it is impossible that David at one and the same period of his life could write two Psalms, in one of which he used *Elohim* exclusively, and in the other *Jehovah*! He also argues that if the account in Exod. vi. were known to David, and were true, he could not possibly have written Psalms for a long period of his life in which that name was not used! If any of the Jehovistic Psalms were early effusions, this would fall to the ground. He assumes, therefore, that about the middle of David's life the word *Jehovah* became more prevalent, and that he therefore abandoned the use of *Elohim* and confined himself for the most part to the word *Jehovah*. And although the rest of the Psalter shows that Psalms were written constantly which contained the one name or the other almost exclusively, and although Dr. Colenso argues that David wrote the Psalms of both classes, he assumes as an axiom that it must have been at different periods of his life, and then infers that the Elohist Psalms must have been the earliest. Now, if he had obtained some *clear, independent*

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\* Compare especially xxiii. 12-25 with xxiv. 20-31.



evidence to the time of the composition of each Psalm, and found that in every case the earliest Psalms were *Elohistic* and the later *Jehovistic*, he would have had some plausible ground for inquiring into the reason of this change. On the contrary, he assumes this as *the* test, and bends everything to this measure, and then considers that he has made a great stride towards proving his position that the word Jehovah came into general use only towards the latter part of David's life.

Let us now examine a few of the Psalms, and the reasons he assigns for determining their chronology.

Psalm li. Dr. Colenso here admits that this Psalm is one composed by David, on repentance after his great transgression, and therefore somewhat late in life.\* As it is an *Elohistic* Psalm, he explains this phenomenon by assuming that David might, under such circumstances, revert to his former practice of using the less solemn name! The modern critics for the most part assign this Psalm to a later age.

We pass on to Psalm lv. Although the expression 'the LORD' occurs twice in this Psalm, it is decidedly a so-called *Elohistic* Psalm. But, unfortunately, the circumstances in David's life to which alone it appears adapted were those in which he was placed by Absalom's rebellion. This would be rather detrimental to the theory adopted by Dr. Colenso, and he makes a very strong effort to adapt it to an earlier period of his life. But the nature of his effort will be easily appreciated when it is explained that Doeg the Edomite is the friend with whom he is supposed by Bishop Colenso to have 'taken sweet counsel'! It is, indeed, recorded that Doeg the Edomite was at Nob when David went in hunger and need to the house of God, but Dr. Colenso imagines him to have formed a friendship with this bloodthirsty Edomite from the similarity of their pursuits—the one being a herdsman, and the other a shepherd. It is, of course, impossible to *demonstrate* that David *could not* have done what the Bishop suggests in making a friend of this man, but it is difficult to imagine how such a supposition could ever have entered into the mind of any attentive reader of Scripture.

We have also a very happy specimen of the certainty and unanimity of the 'higher criticism' in the determination of the date and the occasion of Psalm xlv. Dr. Colenso considers it a

\* Those who wish to understand the division of the Psalms into five books, and to study the conclusions to be deduced from the use of *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, will find some very useful hints in Delitzsch's 'Symbolæ ad Psalmos illustrandos Isagogicæ.' Leipsic, 1846.

If Psalm xiv. is compared with Psalm liii., it will be seen that they are almost identical, except in the use of these names!

Marriage Psalm on the union of Solomon with Naamah, but not written by David.

The German critics assign it to the following occasions:—

De Wette.—A Marriage Song for a Persian King.

Olshausen.—Ditto of the Maccabean times (Alexander and Cleopatra, 1 Macc. x. 57).

Hupfeld.—Ditto for Solomon and a Tyrian Princess.

Hitzig.—Ditto for Ahab and Jezebel!

Let us again try Psalm xlii., and ascertain the periods to which modern criticism assigns it.

Hupfeld.—Absalom's rebellion. So also Delitzsch.

Paulus (quoted by Hupfeld).—The time of Jeroboam, or the Captivity.

Ewald.—The time of Jehoiachin.\*

Hitzig.—The time of the Maccabees.

Amidst this strife of tongues Dr. Colenso applies his one infallible test, and determines the time of its composition to be the earlier part of David's life. Thus, while the German critics differ by upwards of eight centuries, this author can ascertain its date within twenty years!

It cannot surely be worth while to multiply instances of this *concordia discors*. Those who desire to know its extent will find almost all the opinions of former critics quoted in Hupfeld, and will judge then of the soundness of a system which is grounded on a chronological arrangement of the Psalms of David.†

Dr. Colenso has, however, invited special attention to his discussion of Psalm lxviii. in chapters xv. and xvi. (Pref. p. viii.); and we will accordingly examine some of the views developed in that chapter. The Bishop considers that this Psalm was the effusion of David, when he accompanied the ark of the covenant up the hill of Zion, as described in 2 Sam. vi. Hupfeld, while he acknowledges that this occasion 'gives incontestably the best sense,' yet considers the Psalm as the expression of the hope of the return of the Jewish people from Babylon, and several other modern critics maintain the same opinion. Now it so happens that in this psalm is found incorporated one piece of poetry which we find in the earlier part of the Bible, viz., in Numbers

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\* In Hupfeld's enumeration of opinions he adduces Ewald as supposing it to be the lament of *Jehoiakim*. We suspect this is a misprint; if not, it is a great error.

† The reader of Hupfeld on the Psalms must be prepared for the coldest of commentaries. He must also expect constant attempts to disprove Messianic allusions, especially those which are adduced in the New Testament. In return for wading through this, he will reap the advantage of some useful philological information and some just critical remarks.

x. 35. There are also *coincidences* of expression in this Psalm with the Song of Deborah and Barak, in Judges v.

We must consider these separately.

1. The expression 'Let *God* arise, and let his enemies be scattered,' is almost identical with the words which Moses said 'when the ark set forward' (Num. x. 35), except that *Jehovah* is there used, and not *Elohim*.

The natural inference would be, that words like those of Moses would have a sanctity and a power in the national life of the people, so that on such an occasion as that on which this Psalm is supposed to have been written, they would naturally be used by David! But Dr. Colenso, unable to reconcile this natural supposition with his theory of Elohim, resorts to the forced and unnatural notion that the forger of the passage in Numbers borrowed these words from the Psalmist, and changed the early *Elohim* into the late *Jehovah*! To state such a view, is to refute it! Hupfeld, who gives only one page to the division of the Psalms by the use of Elohim and Jehovah, simply remarks that 'no internal grounds can be given to explain the use of the name Elohim in the 3rd Book, &c., which is by no means accidental, for where *older* pieces or songs are imitated (*e.g.* Ps. lxxviii.) the *old Jehovah* is changed into Elohim'! (IV<sup>e</sup>. Band, p. 461). Such is Hupfeld's decision on this point.

2. The passage in Judges v. 3-5 must be compared with Psalm lxxviii. 4, 7, and 8, and it will then be seen that one must have been formed upon the model of the other. On the single test of the change from *Elohim* to *Jehovah*, Dr. Colenso, *against all the evidence we have*, determines that the passage in Judges was imitated from the Psalm! Ewald once declared (in the Preface to the earlier edition of his Hebrew Grammar) that the Song of Deborah and Barak is 'undoubtedly genuine.' We are uncertain whether he has changed his opinion as to the antiquity of this portion of Scripture, but Dr. Davidson (vol. i. p. 465) affirms that 'the Song of Deborah bears in itself the marks of antiquity, and may have been written soon after the time of the prophetess herself.' Hupfeld, as we have seen, considers it *older* than the Psalm; but Dr. Colenso, led by this one test, overturns all the decisions of modern criticism and every suggestion of common sense, by supposing that those passages in national hymns, the origin and occasion of which we *positively know*, were imitations of a psalm, the origin and occasion of which may have been that to which he attributes it, but concerning which we have no definite information.

With this example of the power of a theory, we must close  
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our examination of the arguments adduced in favour of the Elohist theory. We have, we believe, placed enough on record to show that its advocates rely on arguments which would be insufficient to support such a theory, were it advanced on ground altogether unoccupied, but which are actually employed to overturn the only testimony we have as to the early history of the world. The advocates of these opinions never consider the difficulties which would arise from the adoption of any of their schemes. They invent a system to meet *one* set of facts, without adverting to the certainty that the system itself must infallibly be destroyed by another. We have been desirous to use language as little offensive as we could employ; but the very quotation of some of the opinions we have selected must appear of itself like a satire upon their authors. It is a miserable task to expose the inconsistencies and the errors of men who profess to be seeking the truth, but who, without scruple, accuse the Scriptures of forgery, imposture, and 'transparent fictions.' But when their pretensions are advanced with so much confidence and vaunted so loudly, it becomes a duty to show their mistakes and inconsistencies.

Before, however, we quit this subject, it may be well to add a few words, which may serve to guide those who desire to study it more profoundly. We believe that the Elohist theory and the partition of the Pentateuch are not founded on truth, and we have endeavoured to show where they fail. But there are other and higher grounds on which we rest our own faith! We believe that no system of partition—whether the Fragment- or the Document-system—could ever explain the internal unity of the Pentateuch. From the beginning to the end *one* leading idea prevails; one elevated sentiment of religious faith. It is the History of the World—and the only history we have—but traced with the finger of God! From the death of Joseph to the birth of Moses, and for about thirty-eight years in the wilderness, we have two breaks in that history; and very little is recorded which took place in those periods, simply because nothing which was of importance to the religious instruction of man occurred. There is an internal unity, which cannot be perceived without long familiarity with the text of Scripture. And, for that reason, we would advise any student who desires really to understand that book, and to know its truth, when he has once become acquainted with the views of Neology on the partition of the Pentateuch, to study the book itself, and to subject the reasoning of these critics to the test of constant comparison with the Word of God itself. He will find in Keil's *Hävernick*, in Hengstenberg, Kurtz,

Kurtz, and others, answers to most of the difficulties and objections of the sceptical schools. But nothing can supersede the study of Scripture itself. It will build him up, heart and soul, and mind, as no human composition ever could. He must not expect to know and understand all that meets him there. It is the weak point of Hengstenberg and Kurtz, that they attempt to explain too much. With regard to the great foundation of these theories, the alternation of the names *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, it is unreasonable to suppose that we can, in every case, assign a reason why one is used in preference to the other. But in many cases the reason is as simple as possible. Dr. Colenso has diligently noted the number of times each occurs in the several books of the Pentateuch and the Bible. Now, in Leviticus, where *Elohim* occurs 52 times, and *Jehovah* 311, there is not a single passage where the latter could possibly be substituted for the former. The Hebrew language does not admit of joining *Jehovah* with a pronoun, as *my*, or *our*; in all these cases *Elohim* must be used. The same is true of the passages in Numbers, with the exception of that portion of the book which relates to Balaam. We think we can discern a reason for the joint use of the two names in the fuller account of the creation of man given in the second chapter of Genesis, on the supposition that Moses wrote it.\* It is the account of the first covenant of God with man, and the inspired penman desired to mark from the first the identity of the Covenant-God of Israel and the Creator of the world. From the time of Exod. vi., the word *Jehovah* becomes the predominant term as a matter of course. When Dr. Colenso endeavours to draw an argument from the circumstance that names were usually in early times compounded with *EI* and not with *Jehovah*, we see nothing but a perfectly natural development of facts. The names in the desert would naturally all be compounded with the more familiar term; a few might afterwards incorporate the new and more mystical word, but family names would naturally hold possession of the minds of the people for a long period. And this is exactly what meets us in the Word of God, if we take it as it is. To meet the theory of the neologists, Joshua and Judges *must* be declared spurious, nor can any portion of the Historical Scriptures be deemed trustworthy! But if we take the Word of God as it has descended to us, and study it with reverence, we shall see, as in this case, an answer to

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\* We perceive with regret that Mr. Hoare, whose answer to the first part of Bishop Colenso's book is very able, has yielded to the clamour about the Elohist and Jehovist, and suggests that the former might mean Aaron and the latter Moses. This is mere conjecture, and only confuses the whole question.

much which would embarrass us on any other hypothesis. There appear also traces of an intentional variation in the terms. Where the people of God come in contact with heathenism, there the name *Jehovah*, although used, as in the case of Balaam, is mixed with other names, as *Elohim* and *Elyon, the Most High*. It is remarkable that this latter name is used both by Melchizedek and by Balaam; i. e. by priests and prophets of God beyond the circle of the family of Abraham, and living amongst the heathen. In many cases, as in devotional psalms, it appears to have been permitted to make use of either or of both; and surely we cannot be justified in demanding a reason of the sacred penmen why they use one or the other in every particular case.

Reflections such as these will rise up in the mind of the devout student of Holy Writ, and will give a clue to much for which neology in vain attempts to supply other reasons. Scripture will bring Divine light to the mind, while neology at best supplies a miserable rushlight or a waning lamp. But the profitable study of Scripture is an affair of years, and not of months. She yields her choicest treasures, not to haste and irreverence, but to humility, to love, and to faith.

Across the gloom of near three thousand years one beam from the first fountain of light has been transmitted to us through the great lawgiver of the Jews. But for that single ray of light, all history, until a very late period of the world, would be a perfect blank. That ray of light has revealed to us the origin of man and his religious training under the hand of God. The book in which this record of our race is kept contains a series of documents which close almost before profane history begins. There is an unity in the history which cannot escape our notice—it is the history throughout of God's dealings with man. There is nothing besides like it in the world. That history has been the moral and religious teaching of the world; it has been the source of the national life of the most remarkable people on the face of the earth—a people which has maintained an existence, separate from all nations, for upwards of three thousand years, and which still dwells in mysterious isolation, awaiting some final act of God's providence commensurate with such a career. The history of that people, traced for eighteen centuries before the birth of Christ, is one harmonious message to the world. Amidst the sickening impurity of the heathen world, that volume taught the utmost purity of morals; amidst polytheism and idolatry, it taught the Unity and the Majesty of God. And yet this is the volume which modern illumination would teach us to regard as the production of rank impostors and obscure compilers! The

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very statement of such a theory would seem sufficient to condemn it; but its advocates perpetually complain that their arguments are never met, and raise a cry of victory and triumph to which they really possess no claim. We should certainly prefer to avoid a discussion which we believe to be singularly unprofitable, and which must be imperfect within the limits of our available space; but it has become necessary, for once, to show that we do not decline this contest from the strength of the arguments adduced by our adversaries.

When these observations on the Elohist theory, which we believe to be a mere speculative dream, had just been brought to a close, the correspondence between the English Prelates and Dr. Colenso was published in the newspapers. That correspondence has induced us to add a few words on the present position of the Bishop of Natal in regard to the Church of Christ. The man who could calmly receive a remonstrance—the mildest and the most Christian remonstrance which was ever addressed to a very grave offence—from more than forty of his brethren, and who could quietly assure them that they are wrong, and he is right, must either have a supernatural assurance of infallibility, or a superabundance of another quality which is of more common occurrence. We can only grieve when we see a Bishop of considerable energy, both in mind and body, throw away a position in which he might, under God's blessing, have made himself the Selwyn of Africa, in order to become a bye-word in England for rashness in dealing with Scripture. He calls for argument, and he has received an overwhelming amount of it. The reply of Dr. M'Caul may perhaps be cited as the most complete of all which have hitherto appeared. In regard to every one of the eighteen objections which he has considered, he has *proved* against the Bishop of Natal an amount of misrepresentation which ought to cover him with shame and confusion. Nor may we omit to notice the very able reply of Dr. Benisch, a learned Hebrew scholar, of the Jewish faith. The replies of Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Hoare have also dealt remarkably well with certain objections. Mr. Cookesley attacks with lighter weapons, but has shown the haste and carelessness with which the Bishop writes, and he has corrected many great errors; nor are we insensible of the very high merits of other replies, to which in this place we can only allude. Under these circumstances the answer of the Bishop of Natal excites astonishment, while it causes grief and sorrow for a writer who appears so unconscious of his real position.

This is not a mere literary question about the authorship of the Pentateuch.

Pentateuch. The Bishop of Natal may not see the logical consequences of his present arguments, but, when *they* are once admitted, he will probably remain the only person who does not push them to their legitimate results. It is not to be supposed that the Bishops who made this remonstrance will take any notice of the reply, beyond forbidding his being suffered to minister in the Word and Sacraments within their dioceses, as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Oxford, and, we doubt not, many of their brethren, have already ordered. The man who can suggest that the formularies of the Church should be altered till they meet the amount of faith he is willing to give to the Bible is scarcely in a condition which can be reached by argument. But there is another very obvious phase of this question. Can the Bishop honourably retain an office which is only conceded on the promise of certain conditions, which, he acknowledges, no longer exist? The Prelates, in their Address, put that one point very plainly; and, after all, it is the only point which it is necessary to consider. How far the existing laws may meet the case, which could hardly be contemplated as possible, of a Bishop repudiating as false the formularies of his Church, and yet determining to retain his office, it is not our province to decide. He acknowledges that he has abandoned the principles which he 'voluntarily professed to believe as the indispensable condition of his being entrusted with his present office,' but he refuses to resign that office! We do not inquire whether there is any court of law which can take cognizance of such offences in a colonial Bishop, because there is another tribunal to which they must be referred—the judgment of upright and honourable minds. Such a tribunal can give but one sentence, and that sentence would preclude the Bishop of Natal from ministering in the Church, unless his opinions should undergo a change. His withdrawal might, perhaps, be only for a season—that he might be received for ever,—and unspeakable would be the blessing to him if he returned a wiser and a humbler man, taught by reflection to know the wretched shallowness of his present views. For the present he can only be regarded as one eminently lacking wisdom and knowledge, one whom no formularies can bind, and in whose sight the most solemn vows may be broken with impunity.

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- ART. VI.—1. *Russia for the Russians, and Poland for the Poles.* By S. Sulima. Leipzig and London, 1863.  
 2. *La Question Polonaise-Russe.* Par P. Schebalski. Leipzig, 1862.  
 3. *Geschichte des Revolutionszeit.* Von H. von Sybel. Düsseldorf, 1860.  
 4. *Poland: A Letter to the Earl of Ellenborough.* By General Count Zamoisky. London, 1861.  
 5. *Nationalities of Europe.* By R. J. Latham, M.D. London, 1863.

THERE are few positions more embarrassing than that of men who hold moderate opinions in regard to questions upon which excitement is running high. They rarely escape a thirdsman's proverbial fate. They are equally obnoxious to the partisans whom they have left behind, and to the partisans of whose extravagance they fall short. They are regarded by each side as combining the demerits of an antagonist and a deserter. Each party equally despises the lukewarm zeal and timeserving temper which can only take up half a cause. The pursuer of the golden mean must be content with the intrinsic value of the intermediate course that he selects. He will win no human sympathy, and must submit to be cast out as crotchety by every enthusiastic mind. An enemy is more tolerable than a friend who advances to your aid encased in a panoply of 'ifs' and 'buts.' It is still more irritating when the lukewarmness of your ally takes the form of historical precision. Nothing can be more aggravating than, at the moment when men are nerving themselves for a death-grapple with an overwhelming foe, to have their bravery subjected to a pedantic literary criticism, and pared down to the standard of a set of pettifogging facts.

It is with a full knowledge of our disadvantageous position that we venture to offer a contribution towards an impartial judgment of the struggle of which Poland has been so long the theatre. It is a subject in respect to which it is by no means easy for a contemporary inquirer to give their due value to the facts of history. The virtues the Poles have displayed, and the sufferings through which they have been made to pass through the last half-century, have called forth an unanimity of sympathy from all civilised nations which even the Italian movement failed to command. Whatever its issue may be—and the prospect is far from cheering—the incidents of this struggle are much more heart-stirring than those which made Garibaldi into a hero. It is cast in a far larger mould, and has all the charm which mere magnitude can bestow. The tyranny has been more savage and more powerful,  
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is endurance has been more unconquerable, the supreme effort as been more despairing, and the ultimate results to which it may lead are far wider in their range. King Ferdinand of Naples, with nothing but vulgar prisons at his command, was a commonplace tyrant compared to him who can employ as an instrument of torture the desolation of a vast Arctic desert that stretches half round the globe. Occasional arrests of prominent malcontents were paltry stretches of power compared to the decree by which, at one fell swoop, a whole political party were condemned to lifelong campaigning on the frontier of the Caucasus, or the purpose of reducing another free race to the same bondage. Nor are the dangers of the two conflicts comparable. Garibaldi seemed to be alone; but his strength and the terror that preceded him lay in the fact that he was known to be but the vanguard of the monarchy which had already mastered half the peninsula, and whose supremacy was guaranteed in the last resort by all the power of France. The Poles fight unaided by a single ally, without the commonest preparations for war, hemmed in on every side by enemies more or less pronounced, and against the master of half a continent. And to all these claims upon our love and anxious interest the contest adds yet this other—that upon it the destinies of Eastern Europe hang. Is Austria to be ground in pieces between the pressure of her own malcontent dependencies and Russia's advancing empire? Is the vision of the Calmuck overrunning Europe, which appalled even Lord Castlereagh's calm intelligence, and has distorted the policy of many a statesman since, to prove a terrible reality, or to be forgotten as a dream? Is the heir to the great Greek Empire, upon which the 'sick man's' feeble grasp is loosening year by year, to come from St. Petersburg or from Athens? These are a few, and only a few, of the questions which may, perhaps, be answered by the warfare which a few scythemen and some troops of returned exiles are conducting with such marvellous heroism and against such fearful odds.

It is no wonder that Europe should look upon such a contest with absorbing interest. Our quarrelsome cousins upon the other side of the Atlantic are fully justified in the hope with which they solace themselves that Poland will prove a safe conductor for the inconvenient solicitude which European nations have hitherto bestowed upon the American civil war. The universal sympathy that has responded to the appeal of the Poles will forbid the statesmen of England to watch the drama that is being played out upon the Vistula with the same lazy disregard with which they have studied the disintegration of their old rival in the West. We do not propose to anticipate their diffi-

culties, or to forecast the issue of a struggle whose aspect varies from day to day. But the crisis has an historical as well as a political aspect. It has been made to involve controversies concerning the facts of the past as well as of the present; and upon these we can comment without the uncomfortable conviction that the subject-matter of our remarks will have changed its substance, form, and colour, before our readers can read what we have written.

It is a striking testimony to the value which the world places upon a traditional title, that men who have achieved a great success by their own courage or ability are scarcely ever satisfied to rest it on such a ground. They almost always press History into their service, and torture her into proving that the power they are setting up is either the revival of some buried right or the copy of some ancient model. Napoleon used to scoff at this weakness, and to boast that his first patent of nobility was dated from Montebello. But when he came to establish a dynasty, he did not think himself secure against the associations that hung around the exiled Bourbons, unless he could surround himself with associations more venerable still. His travestie of the Court of Charlemagne was a mute recognition of the superiority of an historical title to any other. The friends of Poland, albeit in the main belonging to the extreme Liberal school of politics, do not seem to be comfortable unless they can advance some historical claim upon the sympathies to which they appeal. Accordingly, historical views are being loudly reasserted, which were invented by the Polish emigrants in days when few were competent to contradict them, but of which little had been said in more recent times, and against which we fondly hoped that judgment had long ago gone by default. To some extent in England, but still more generally in France, the old controversy of the Partition has been reopened. The old denunciations of the 'greatest crime of modern times' have been revived. It is, perhaps, more curious still that the old apportionment of culpability, dictated by the hatreds of half a century ago, has been again recommended to our belief. By a bold inversion of the real degrees of guilt, the chief blame is laid on Russia, Prussia is looked upon as a pitiful and subordinate accomplice, while Austria is almost absolved as an unwilling accessory. Such historical views have not much to do with the issue that is being actually fought out in Poland. The oppressive conscription that has been ordered by Grand Duke Constantine is not less an outrage on humanity—the breach of the Treaty of Vienna involved in the system of government in Poland is not less flagrant—whatever judgment we may form of the transactions of

1764-1795. But perversions of history, even if they could be supposed to have any actual share in determining Poland's future fate, would scarcely be a legitimate weapon of insurrectionary warfare; and the view of the partition upon which the advocates of Poland insist is so one-sided that a brief review of the actual facts of the case can hardly be thought superfluous.

In discussing whether the seizure of the Polish provinces by Russia deserves to be stigmatised as 'a great crime,' it is, of course, first necessary to decide what that phrase means when applied to political transactions. In some sense every seizure of territory, or of anything else, is a crime. If the ethics of private life are to be applied rigorously to the acts of nations, it is quite clear that any nation appropriating to itself that which belongs to another is decidedly guilty of violating the direct language of the Eighth Commandment, and therefore may be pronounced guilty of a great crime. How far the ethics of private life are applicable to public life, is a question too wide to be discussed *par parenthèse*. The fact that a nation has no tribunals to which it can appeal, and can hope for no redress except what it owes to its own sword or that of its allies, creates a difference between the two cases the limits of which it is not easy to draw. But all that it imports us here to form is, not an absolute, but a comparative, estimate of guilt. The condemnation of Russia for her seizure of Polish territory has not been based on any such exacting morality as that to which we have referred. When people speak of the partition as the 'great crime of modern history,' they mean that it was something infinitely worse than an average territorial annexation. Whatever they may think as to the abstract morality of conquest in general, mankind have agreed to admit that its guilt differs widely in degree according to the motive by which it has been urged, or, rather, according to the secondary motives by which the one prevailing impulse—the greed of empire—has been qualified. Lowest in the ethical scale stand the conquests which have been undertaken for mere conquest's sake. Such enterprises, for instance, as the seizure of Silesia by Frederick, or of Alsace by Louis XIV., without a vestige of a claim, or a pretence of sympathy, or of resentment, or of necessity, to cloak the wrong, must be held to consign the culprit to the lowest gulf in the Conquerors' circle of the Inferno. A somewhat paler tinge of guilt may be assigned to those who, like Napoleon, were forced to aggression by the imperious ambition of their subjects, and, in effect, conquered that they themselves might exist. Unscrupulous self-preservation stands a degree higher than willing, spontaneous rapine. Lighter still is the responsibility of Powers who have conquered large territories in the course of efforts to repel unjust

and unprovoked aggression. Some such plea may be advanced in extenuation of most—we wish we could say of all—of the acquisitions that England has made in India. But the motives which are the least guilty of all, and in which so little guilt is generally recognised that Sovereigns do not scruple to profess them as an absolute justification, are those which rest either upon an ancient claim to the territory attacked, or a sympathy, dictated by a community of race or of religion, for the sufferings of its inhabitants. Of such a character were the conquests of Calais by the French, of Granada by the Spaniards, and in our own times of Milan by the Italians. In denying the accuracy of the description which is given of Catherine's annexations as constituting the greatest crime of modern times, we do not mean to assert that they were free from blame, either in their plan or their details. Wars of aggression are not made with rose-water; and that bloodless portion of them which is waged by a crafty diplomacy is usually more repulsive than the ruthless cruelties of a campaign. We only venture to contend that, in point of morality, they must be ranked at the top of our classification, and not at the bottom. They stand on the same level as the conquest of Granada and Milan, and very much above the British annexation of Oude.

To those who have imbibed the popular view upon this matter, such a comparison will seem simply paradoxical. The ordinary mode of dealing with the question is to ignore all history before the eighteenth century. At that epoch two countries forced themselves upon the attention of Western Europe. One was weak and decaying, torn by factions, and a prey to foreign intrigue. The other was strong and growing, and, under the guidance of a prince of marvellous ability, was gaining a dangerous ascendancy over its weaker neighbour. As the century went on, the strong Power suddenly proceeded to tear away a large slice from the territory of the weak Power; and other neighbours doing the same thing at the same time, the weak Power ceased to exist. Viewed in this way by itself, without any reference to the history that had gone before, the partition appears in colours almost as dark as those in which the Polish emigrants have painted it. It is not surprising that contemporary Europe, to whom the Polish question was a new acquaintance, should have quietly contented themselves with this view of the case. If they had been watching the relations of the Poles and Russians for centuries, as they had watched those of the French and Germans, they would probably have taken a different view of the moral aspect of the affair. They would have seen that the conquest was but a re-conquest; that the transactions that were passing before

efore their eyes were but the closing scene of a long and varied drama ; and that the mass of the inhabitants of the annexed provinces, far from being robbed of their freedom and their country, were only being reunited to those of their own race and their own religion from whom the ambition of the Polish nobles had severed them for so long.

A glance at the history of the two races will place the proceedings of 1764-95 in their true light. From the very first that is known of them, the Poles and Russians appear to have been animated by all the mutual hatred which is natural in races that are akin, but not identical. Poland proper—that is to say, the district which was inhabited by Poles—lay almost entirely upon this, the western, side of the Vistula, though a small strip, consisting of a portion of the provinces of Mazovia and Sandomir, extended over the other bank. Beyond this to the east all was Russian. When first their history assumes a definite form, about the year A.D. 1000, both races existed side by side under the form of powerful monarchies. Boleslas the Brave ruled, as King of Poland, over a territory largely composed of countries that now belong to Germany. In addition to Poland, he governed all the eastern portion of what is now Prussia, a slice of Saxony, and great part of the north of the present Austrian empire. But, though his sway was so extensive towards the west, he does not appear to have ruled over any races that were purely Russian. The Russians were governed about the same time by Wladimir the Great, who first made Russia a Christian kingdom ; and though the Russian monarchy consisted of an aggregate of small principalities, which the descendants of Rurik had gradually united under one crown, no part of it had then suffered from the aggressive spirit of the Polish monarchy. The line which divided the two kingdoms of Boleslas and Wladimir may be roughly described as starting about fifty miles to the east of Lemel, and going straight down due south till it struck the Carpathian mountain-range. It coincides very nearly with the frontier which, some eight centuries later, Catherine obtained for the Russian empire just before her death. The only difference between the two frontiers is, that the ancient one was about fifty miles more favourable to Russia than the modern.

The two kingdoms, starting thus, were attended by a very different destiny. Russia was exposed to the operation of two destructive causes, neither of which affected her rival in a similar degree. The first evil was that of infinitesimal division. At his death in 1015, Wladimir's empire was split up by strife among his sons ; and in the next generation the disintegration was carried further still. Division followed division : new and

and transitory combinations were formed from time to time among the several fragments; but the Russians never recovered the unity they had lost till a fearful calamity, in which they narrowly missed absolute destruction, taught them its value. This second calamity was the invasion of the Mongol hordes who followed in the track of Genghis Khan. These hordes, pouring into Europe in overwhelming numbers and devastating every region over which they passed, destroyed the little power of resistance that had been left to Russia by her divisions. They extended their conquests as far as what is now St. Petersburg, and in the south as far as Kiew, and retained the Russians under their yoke for more than two hundred years. The impetus of their first inroad carried them beyond the boundaries of Russia as far even as Silesia; but after the first wave had broken, the barbarians never reached into the dominions of Poland again. Full time during those two centuries was given to Poland to profit by her neighbour's troubles. In fact, the Tartar occupation was prolonged at last mainly by the aid which Poland gave to the barbarians. The same opportunity was more abundantly used by another neighbour of Russia, which had grown strong upon her decay. About a century after the fatal divisions that followed the death of Wladimir, the Lithuanians, a tributary people living on the borders of the Baltic, set up a separate monarchy, and speedily tore province after province from the weakened Russian princes. They conquered Grodno, Minsk, Polocsk, and Smolensk; and, in spite of the Mongols, they carried their victories in the year 1320 into Volhynia and Southern Russia, even up to Kiew. The fruit of all these victories accrued to the profit of Poland; for in the year 1386 the two Crowns were united by the marriage of Jagellon, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, to the Queen of Poland. The political union of the two countries followed in course of time, though not immediately; and the consequence was that all the Russian spoil which fell to Lithuania, as well as all that which the Poles had conquered for themselves, were united under a single Crown. The result of this partition of Russia, which, for aught we know, may have been characterised by the defeated Russians of the period as 'the greatest crime of modern times,' was, that about the year 1450 the division of territory among the spoliating powers stood as follows:—The Mongols held all the country that was drained by the Volga and the Don. The Poles had left the Vistula far behind, and had possessed themselves of the vast intervening plain, some five hundred miles in width, that is drained by the head waters of the Dwina and the Niemen towards the north, and by those of the Dnieper towards the south. Between the two the Russians had become a captive

captive people. Such native princes as they still had were not independent, but were vassals of either Pole or Mongol; and they were under the rule not only of aliens in race, but of aliens in faith, for they were Greeks by religion, while the Mongols were Mahomedan, and the Poles were Catholic.

At last, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the tide which had set against the Russians for more than three centuries began to turn. The time was come when they were to shake off their long bondage, and to commence the slow process of gradual liberation. They began with the Mongols first. The small principality of Moscow, one of the fragments into which the empire of Wladimir had been split up, had gradually struggled its way to a comparative independence. Its princes contrived, partly by marriage, partly by war, to extend its frontier over some of the petty adjoining districts. In 1477 the power of its Grand Duke, Ivan the Great, had sufficiently increased to embolden him to refuse tribute to the Mongol. His rebellion was successful; and four years afterwards the last Khan of the Golden Horde, as the invaders had called themselves, perished in battle. The supremacy of the Mongols was overthrown as completely as that of their co-religionists the Moors about the same time in Spain. Freed from their Asiatic masters, the Russians lost no time in trying to reverse the process by which such vast masses of Russian population had become Polish subjects. But for nearly two centuries more the ultimate issue seemed doubtful. In the course of the sixteenth century the districts of Smolensk, Tchernigow, and others were won back; but the Russian Government was not sufficiently consolidated to retain its hold. Its strength has always consisted in the strength of its rulers; and when they fail, there is nothing in the national organisation that can supply their place. So long as Ivan III., Wassilij, and Ivan the Terrible occupied the throne, the reconquering career of the Russians, though subject to occasional vicissitudes of fortune, suffered no material check. Population after population of Russian blood and language were reunited to the main body of their race. But in the year 1598 the long line of Rurik failed. A period of anarchy followed. Boris Godunow, the brother-in-law of the last Czar, procured his own election to the vacant throne. But he could not make himself heir to the spell which the lineage of Rurik had exercised over the Russian mind. The people who had patiently endured the cruelties of a madman at the hands of the last Ivan, resented the far milder caprices of his upstart Boris. A year or two of severe famine added to the unpopularity of his reign; and before he had filled the throne for five years the people were ripe for a revolt. The throne of  
Poland



Poland was at that time occupied by Sigismund III., by birth a Swede, and by religion an enthusiastic Catholic zealot. The disaffection of the Russians to their Czar seemed to him a favourable opportunity for extending the domain both of his adopted country and his faith. In order to do so, he betook himself to the same device as that which James IV. of Scotland had used against Henry VII. of England about a century before. He started a Pretender to the Russian throne. The impostor was a mad Greek monk, who had been turned out of his convent, and to escape further punishment had wandered into Poland. He was duly instructed in his part, and ostentatiously converted to the Catholic faith—bound over in a solemn covenant by the Nuncio to introduce it into the realm of Russia—married to the daughter of a Polish chieftain—and then proclaimed to the world as Demetrius the son of the last Ivan, whose death had been proclaimed, but who had really escaped. He was sent into Russia with a Polish army just as the disaffection against Boris had reached its height. He was received with enthusiasm, defeated the Czar's troops without difficulty, and was relieved from all further opposition by the Czar's sudden and timely death, which the uncharitable have attributed to poison.

But when the Russians had obtained and duly enthroned their Perkin Warbeck, they were far from satisfied with the acquisition. He himself observed Polish manners in his feasts and his receptions, and his Polish wife loved to dress according to the costume of her own nation, and to parade her devotion to the Catholic religion. A rival party sprang up, with a Russian noble at its head; and the false Demetrius, becoming nervous as to his position, jumped out of window and broke his neck. But King Sigismund of Poland, having found out the utility of frequent revolutions in absorbing the energies of his hereditary foe, was not to be deterred from the employment of a Pretender, by the fact of the Pretender having broken his neck. A new Demetrius was discovered, as soon as a man could be found who would undertake the perilous venture, and was sent with a new Polish army to the walls of Moscow. Many battles were fought, and sieges undertaken. The Polish army lived at free quarters, and ravaged, burnt, and robbed like a horde of second Tartars. But, after a time, it occurred to King Sigismund that he should like to draw a more direct profit from these operations, especially as the new Demetrius did not show himself so pliable as his predecessor upon the subject of the Catholic faith, and rather betrayed an inclination to assure his own position by cultivating a popularity with the Greek priests. It was true that the year before Sigismund had signed a treaty, solemnly promising not to go to war with Russia.

But

But that circumstance did not disturb him. In the interests alike of his family and his faith, he marched with a great army to Moscow, to seat himself upon the throne of Russia. For the sake of decency, however, he ultimately consented that the name of his son Ladislaus should be substituted for his own. A formal election was extorted by an armed force out of the nobles who were present in the capital: the second false Demetrius was set aside; and in order, as Sigismund paternally observed, to avoid any disputes between himself and his son, he occupied again the districts of Smolensk and Tchernigow, which had been recovered from Poland by Wassilij about eighty years before. Sigismund's relatives in Sweden were in the mean time making the best use of this valuable opportunity. Professedly they had come to help the Russian Czar against his Polish enemies. Actually, however, without a pretence of provocation or of right, they improved the occasion by annexing Novogorod and the Russian provinces that lay upon the shore of the Baltic. The result was that for the time Russia was absolutely shut out from any access to that sea. Some years of confusion followed the election of Ladislaus. He continued to reign, in name at least, upheld by a Polish military force. These soldiers occupied Moscow, and enacted scenes of much the same character as those of which Warsaw was the theatre in the next century. They first disarmed the population, and then plundered according to their fancy, first, of course, taking the precaution to empty the public treasury. The Muscovites submitted for some time peaceably—even when the Polish soldiers gave expression to their Catholic zeal by taking shots at the images of the Greek saints. At last they could endure it no more, and they rose upon their oppressors. With perfect presence of mind the Polish commander ordered Moscow to be set on fire in several places. The order was obeyed, and the city was burnt to the ground. Everything except the Kremlin and a few churches was laid in ashes, and 700,000 people were turned out, in a state of absolute destitution, to find shelter where they could against the rigour of the Russian climate in March. At last the oppression became intolerable. The inhabitants of Eastern Russia rose, drove the Poles out of Moscow, and kept Sigismund at bay till the nation had had time to elect Michael Romanow, son of the Patriarch, to be its Czar. From this date, 1613, war was continued by the Poles for five years longer. At last peace was restored, on the condition that Sigismund should retain the conquests he had made, but should renounce his claim to dispose of the Russian crown. Michael Romanow became Czar of Russia, and Ladislaus had to renounce his ambitious dreams. But it was half a century before Russia recovered

recovered from the losses which Poland had seized a moment of transient weakness to inflict. It was not till 1667 that the Russians were able to win back the provinces of Smolensk and Tchernigow, which Sigismund had seized in order to avoid any cause of difference with his son. It was not till much later that she recovered the valuable territories that Sweden had upon another frontier simultaneously taken the same opportunity to appropriate.

This partition of Russian territory by Sweden and Poland does not figure in the declamations of Liberal writers as 'the greatest crime of modern times.' It took place in the century previous to the partition of Poland, and was parallel to it from many points of view. Both were carefully timed so as to take advantage of a period of internal anarchy. Both began by seating the nominee of the partitioning power upon the throne of the country, and ended by a seizure of territory. Both were undertaken with the professed object of advancing the interests of a religious creed as well as those of an ambitious dynasty. Both were open to the reproach of disregarding treaty engagements. They only differed in one point. Catherine united to her empire populations who already belonged to its race and its religion: Sigismund annexed to his kingdom populations who were alien to it in both. Yet the heinousness of Catherine's proceedings has almost passed into a political axiom, while the world has heard very little of Sigismund's misdeeds. There has been no emigration of Russian nobles to tell the tale of it in fancy colours in every European capital; no powerful Church to lament, under the guise of a sympathy for the oppressed, the miscarried hopes of a military propaganda.

At all events, it was not to be expected that the Russians should consign their experience to the same oblivion. After having narrowly missed national extinction, and having lost two large and fertile provinces for half a century, in consequence of the religious and dynastic aims of a Polish king, they may be pardoned for having taken an anxious interest in the political affairs of their lively neighbours. They had learned by a sore experience what was the meaning of the elective monarchy of Poland. The last of the Jagellons had only died in 1572, and yet the election of monarchs to fill the throne that with them had been hereditary had already become nothing but a scramble among foreign potentates for the lease of Poland as a military power. After the brief interlude of Henry of Valois' reluctant sovereignty, Stephen Batory, the Voivod of Transylvania, was the first successor of the Jagellons. The result was that Poland, in addition to a fierce attack on Russia, became involved in  
troubles

troubles with the Turks. Sigismund, the Catholic zealot, was the next. The result was that an impostor was started as a Pretender to the Russian throne, bound by the strongest engagements to make Catholicism dominant in Russia. It became a matter of some importance, therefore, to all the neighbours of Poland to know how and by whom her throne was filled; and the necessity of vigilance upon that point had become impressed upon Russia by an admonition too forcible to be neglected. When, after half a century of trouble, the Russians recovered the territory and the political peace they had enjoyed before Sigismund sent the first false Demetrius among them, it was not unnatural that Russian diplomacy should take an active interest in the vacancies of the Polish throne. It is a curious specimen of the unfairness with which the relations between Russia and Poland have been judged, that, after this performance of Sigismund's, the Czars and Czarinas of the house of Romanow have been loudly blamed for meddling in the elections to the crown of Poland. Such a reproach can only be uttered upon the general principle on which Liberal writers have proceeded, of absolutely ignoring the history both of Poland and Russia previous to the reign of Peter the Great. It was not Russia who first commenced the system of meddling in the elections of Polish kings; nor did she adopt it until, by leaving the use of the Polish army to be scrambled for by others, she had laid herself open to an insidious and well-nigh deadly blow. Nor did she begin the perilous game of fighting a rival race by tampering with the succession to its throne. A contest fought upon such a plan could only end in the disorganization and political death of one of the contending parties. Poland chose the weapons for that deadly duel. It does not lie in her mouth to protest against them now, simply because she could not use them so skilfully as her antagonist.

It was indeed madness for the Poles to provoke a struggle on those terms. The seeds of anarchy were sown far too thickly upon their soil to need the fostering husbandry of foreign diplomatists. In 1668, the very year after Russia had effaced the last vestige of Sigismund's inroad, and had compelled Poland to disgorge her conquests, a striking illustration of it occurred. John Casimir, Sigismund's son, disgusted with the anarchy amidst which he had reigned, and the hopelessness of working an impossible constitution, had abdicated. The great nobles of the kingdom, anxious to procure a counterpoise to the preponderance of Russia, whose revival had forced itself with unpleasant vividness upon their perceptions, and also anxious to procure some simplification of the constitution that should add to their own power, proposed

proposed to elect some great French commander, such as Turenne, or Condé. But the smaller nobles, in most cases little removed from beggary, keenly valued a system which made them politically equal with the wealthiest. They clung to their privileges. On one occasion it was proposed to them to modify the *Liberum Veto*, on the ground that unless the Diet could come to a vote, the army, which, like ours, was paid by a yearly vote, must be disbanded, and that the territory would then be open to a foreign invader. Their patriotic reply was 'that they preferred to expose the State to foreign invasion rather than suffer the slightest violation of their liberties.\*' It is probable that those liberties had a money value. It is certain that in all the subsequent elections bribes were largely used, and proved to be singularly effective. The best solution of the conduct of the smaller nobles upon the occasion of electing a successor to John Casimir, is that Russia had even then begun to defend herself by intrigue against the election of another hostile king. Whatever their motive, they utterly refused to hear of a French candidate, and elected, very much to his own surprise, an obscure, poverty-stricken, deformed member of their own body, named Michael Koributh. The greater nobles refused to submit to this election, and put John Sobieski at their head. Some years of anarchy followed. One party appealed to France, the other party appealed to Austria. At the very time that Sobieski with a Polish army was saving his country from the Turks, a price was set on his head by the legal power at Warsaw. The contest was at last terminated by the death of Michael and the unanimous election of Sobieski. But he was only elected on the condition that the *Liberum Veto*, and all the worst abuses of the Polish Constitution, should be scrupulously maintained.

His reign was a succession of brilliant exploits, such as fitly adorned the reign of Poland's last independent king. But no brilliancy in war could save the republic now. The evil of interested partisanship had eaten too deep for the strongest hand to eradicate. One among the many vices of the Constitution was the vast profit with which it rewarded the party who were successful in the election of their candidate to be king. The Crown domains were exceedingly large, and it was the practice of the king, when elected, to farm these out at very low rents among his foremost partisans. It was the making of a man's fortune to have been prominent among those who had supported the successful candidate. The system was not unlike that which

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\* Rulhière, vol. i.

we have seen working in America in our own day, and it bore precisely the same fruit. The spirit of party, strengthened by these fierce contests for these immense prizes, swallowed up the spirit of patriotism altogether. But the Poles were subject to another temptation, to which American patriotism has never been exposed. The valour of the Polish troops, and the unscrupulousness with which they were employed, made it a matter of almost necessary precaution for neighbouring Powers to seat, if they could, a harmless king upon the Polish throne. It was, therefore, worth their while to bribe. The Polish nobles, accustomed to look upon the elections as matter of party and personal spirit, were not too virtuous to be bribed. The result was that a Russian party, and a Swedish party, and a French party, and an Austrian party were formed, headed by the respective ambassadors of each Power. As soon as such a system of domestic politics had formed and hardened, the independence of Poland was practically at an end. The partition had already begun. The territory was unbroken, but the hearts of the population were already parcelled out. Each election was more and more determined according to the relative influence of foreigners, less and less according to the interests of Poland.

On the death of Sobieski, Frederic Augustus of Saxony was elected under the influence of Russia. A strict alliance was formed between the two countries, 20,000 roubles having been forwarded from the Russian treasury to Warsaw to enable the King to secure the consent of his patriotic Senate to the treaty. But Peter the Great was defeated by Charles XII. at Narva, and the occupancy of the Polish throne was changed as a matter of course. Frederic Augustus was expelled, and the Swedish conqueror handed the vacant diadem to his own nominee, Stanislas Leczynski. In a year or two the fortune of war was changed: the power of Charles was utterly overthrown at Pultowa, and, as a necessary consequence, Stanislas was exiled, and Frederic Augustus returned to take his place. Stanislas fortified himself during his exile by marrying his daughter to the French King, Louis XV.; and when his rival died, in 1732, he succeeded in procuring his own re-election to the throne, upon the strength of expected support from France. But Cardinal Fleury had a constitutional aversion to fighting, and the expected French assistance shrank, for all practical purposes, to the modest dimensions of a detachment of 3000 men, who came too late to be of any service. The Russian party procured another Diet, which elected the Russian candidate, and Stanislas was again driven from the throne. After this the Russian predominance was so well established that no further effort was made to disturb it. The last King of Poland, Stanislas Poniatowski,

Poniatowski, was nominated by the Czarina Catherine in 1764, without any serious opposition of the other Powers of Europe. It was found necessary to spend upwards of 100,000 roubles in the purchase of patriots—in fact, the Primate alone is recorded to have cost 12,000 ducats. But, except in overcoming their coy reluctance, the Russian Empress met with no obstacle to the complete accomplishment of her will.

As far as the Czarina was concerned, it is probable that this arrangement might have lasted for an indefinite period of time. Without, apparently, being disagreeable to the Poles, it secured to Russia as complete a mastery over the government of Poland as England possesses over the government of the Deccan. It gratified every feeling of ambition, or of pride of race, or of religious sympathy, that could inspire the Russians. It gave them an absolute security that the power of Poland should never again be turned against themselves; that the Russian provinces which were under the Polish yoke should be protected, and the Greek Church should be sheltered from intolerance, which in recent times had become the principle of the Polish Government. Russia had no cause to desire a change. The existing state of things gave her what in the subsequent transactions she lost,—an influence that reached as far as the frontiers of Silesia and Moravia. It was not from Russia that the proposal of partition came. It had been ventilated more than once. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the idea had been originated by the Court of Austria. In the middle of the seventeenth century Charles XI. of Sweden, just before the abdication of John Casimir, had made an effort to preserve to his house at least a portion of the government of Poland by suggesting a similar project. Both these proposals fell to the ground for want of sufficient support. There are fruits which are not deemed ripe for plucking till they are rotten; and the maturity of Poland for partition seems to have been estimated by the same rule. To Frederick the Great of Prussia belongs the credit of having initiated the scheme which was actually carried into execution. It is now admitted even by German historians that the first partition was proposed to Catherine, by Prince Henry of Prussia, on behalf of his brother Frederick, and with the full acquiescence of Joseph, Emperor of Germany. Frederick had never been troubled with scruples upon the subject of territorial acquisition, and he was not likely to commence them in the case of Poland. Spoliation was the hereditary tradition of his race. The whole history of the kingdom over which he ruled was a history of lawless annexation. It was formed of territory filched from other races and other powers, and from no power so liberally as from Poland.

Till

Until a recent period his predecessors had been Polish vassals. More recently still, he himself, when extending his motley kingdom by sewing to it a shred of the Austrian Empire, had freely used Poland, without the slightest permission from her Government, as a recruiting ground for his army, and a training-ground for his Commissariat. His project for extending his own kingdom by seizing another slice of Poland was, therefore, at most a matter of the ordinary business of everyday life to him. His fathers had done it before him; and he himself had become a great man, and filled a large space in the history of his age, by virtue of his skill in such undertakings. If he could have been told that the ultra-Liberals of Europe, his own favourite coterie, would one day raise such a yell of indignation because he treated Culm as he had treated Silesia, he would have heard it with contempt no doubt, but with unutterable surprise. The Prussian historians of a later time have bestowed much labour in demonstrating that Frederick could plead for his actions the 'tyrant's plea, necessity.' The great man himself would probably have thought it superfluous to defend himself for fulfilling what he looked upon as the natural function of his dynasty. But if he had been puzzled to understand the attack upon his own proceedings, he would have been still more perplexed at learning that in the apportionment of the guilt of the 'great crime,' he was ranked as an inferior criminal to Catherine.

The position taken up in regard to the question by the two German powers naturally altered the policy of Russia altogether. If no other power had interfered, the existence of Poland in a dependent and subordinate condition was in no way hostile to her interests. It would have been absurd to expect that she should have abstained from all interference in the affairs of Poland. The bitter rivalry of centuries—the events, comparatively recent, which showed that in Polish breasts that rivalry was neither dead nor sleeping—the tremendous injuries which in times not long past Russia had suffered at Polish hands—the hundreds of thousands of Russian race and Russian faith who were still subject to the lawless sway of Polish nobles—and the utter anarchy, fatal alike to domestic peace or strict good faith with foreign powers, into which Poland had been plunged for generations—all combined to preclude Russia from a policy of passive disregard. But as long as she could control the foreign policy of the republic, and limit its military force, its internal administration was a matter of small concern to her. The continuance, however, of such a state of things depended upon Poland being free from attack upon her other frontiers. The whole face of the question



question was changed, as soon as a proposition emanated from two strong military monarchies well able to carry it out, to advance their own frontier over Polish ground to the neighbourhood of Russia. Undoubtedly a sovereign of a Quixotic temperament, with an imagination sufficiently strong to discover matter for admiration in the Government of the Polish nobility, might have made war with Prussia and Austria to preserve the integrity of Poland. Those who have watched the course of a more modern experiment to keep 'sick men' alive by the force of a foreign guarantee, will form their own judgment as to the probable success or advantage of such a policy. Catherine was, undoubtedly, very far removed from being a Quixotic sovereign. But the course she took was, at all events, one of which the Poles, who for centuries had been a conquering race and who had generally conquered at the expense of Russia, had no right whatever to complain. She effaced the last vestige of Polish domination in Russia. She re-united to the rest of the Russian race the Russians who for centuries had been under the yoke of Poland. She occupied what still remained under Polish sway\* of the country of the Niemen and the Dnieper, which centuries before had belonged to the empire of Wladimir and Jaroslaw. But she did not seize a single acre of genuinely Polish ground. The only Poles who came under her dominion were the nobles who had received huge grants of land out of Polish conquests, and a certain number of fugitives who had fled from the rigour of the Polish slave law, and found a refuge among the Cossacks of the Ukraine. But wherever she raised the Russian flag the body of the population was Russian, the language was Russian, and with the exception of some estates upon which a forced conversion had been effected by persecuting nobles, the religion was that of the Greek Church.

Now, was this proceeding, that which Count Zamoisky called it the other day at Manchester, 'the great crime of the age?' Even if it were to be judged of by itself, we should hesitate to award to it that preeminence. In its execution there was room, undoubtedly, for those accusations of breach of treaty which have been so vehemently made. How far the hostile acts of one contracting party can release the other from his engagements will always be a moot point of national morality; and therefore it is a fair subject of discussion whether Catherine was released from her promises to uphold the integrity of Poland by the efforts of the dominant party to place Poland at the disposal of Austria.

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\* Poldachia and Chelm, which were originally Russian and conquered by Poland, were not retained by Catherine. One passed to Prussia, the other to Austria.

But at all events, her course was loyalty itself compared to some of the transactions which the same generation had witnessed. It involved no breach of treaty so flagrant as the seizure of Silesia; it was accompanied by no deception so shameless as the red treaty by which Clive made England the mistress of Bengal. But to shut out of view the rest of Russian and Polish history is to take a narrow view of the question, and to try it by principles which we never apply to the acts of nations with whose earlier history we are more familiar. It was in truth but a single battle in the long campaign which had lasted for eight hundred years, and which even now is not concluded. The case of the Moors and Christians in Spain presents a tolerably accurate parallel. In the year 700 the Christian Goth is master of the whole of Spain. He is conquered by the invading Moor, and for some centuries can only call his own a narrow strip of his former splendid monarchy. From generation to generation the contest proceeds at intervals with varying fortune. The Christian power is weakened by being split up into several minor states. At last the civil dissensions of the Arabs open a favourable opportunity to the Christians, and they begin to recover the ground they have lost. By slow degrees, at long intervals, and in spite of occasional reverses, the Christians recover tract after tract of their old dominion. At last, when nearly eight centuries have passed away, the great mass of that from which they had been driven is united again under the hand of one Christian king. Nothing remains to the invaders but the single province of Granada. What does Ferdinand the Catholic do? Does he acquiesce in the foreign yoke to which Spaniards and Christians are subjected because of its antiquity? Does he look on it as a great crime to bring those of his own race and faith back under the same sceptre as their countrymen and fellow Christians? True, the Arabs had held Granada in undisturbed possession for close upon eight hundred years. It was an adverse possession far longer than that which the Poles could plead when Catherine resumed the sovereignty of Witebsk and Volhynia. Yet Ferdinand's conquest has never been regarded as the great crime of his age. Every circumstance that, according to the popular theory, should have protected the Poles against Catherine, should have protected the Moors against him—long possession, a great history, and the feebleness of imminent decay. But historical politicians, thoroughly familiar with the struggle of which the seizure of Granada was but the crowning act, refused to condemn a reconquest as if it was an aggression, or to pass judgment upon the separate movements of which the secular struggle of two great

races was made up. If they had followed the long contest between Russian and Pole with the interest with which they watched the struggle of the Christian against the Mussulman, they would not have passed so superficial a judgment upon the events of 1773-95. War, in whatever form it comes, is a horrible and barbarous thing. It must produce slaughter and rapine; it must often reduce the free to dependence, and the prosperous to ruin; it must frequently condemn proud and renowned nationalities to insignificance or to extinction. But its ethical character is not altered by the fact that it is long or short. It must be tried by the same rules and condemned or acquitted upon the same principles, whether it be a war of centuries or a war of years.

We have more than once alluded to the difference of religion between the Poles, and their subjects upon the east of the Niemen and the Bug, as constituting a material element in this case. It was strongly insisted on by Catherine herself; and the maltreatment which the Dissidents, as all non-Catholics were called, received from the dominant Catholicism, formed a frequent subject of complaint from Protestant Prussia on one side, and orthodox Russia on the other. Writers on the Polish side have affected to treat this consideration with contempt on account of Catherine's notorious vices, which were inconsistent with the assumption of any zeal on behalf of any religion. But such reasoning is wholly beside the mark. The question of Catherine's domestic qualities has nothing whatever to do with these transactions, though it has obviously exercised a material influence upon the judgment that has been formed of them. Defenders of the faith, in all times and places, have been apt to indemnify themselves for their public zeal by a very liberal view of their private duties. It is not necessary to believe that the present Emperor Napoleon was actuated by the spirit of a Crusader, when he fought so fiercely for the rights of the Latin monks to a key of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; or that his strenuous defence of the Pope's independence is the result of a passionate devotion. But his right to appear upon those questions is not the less admitted. In cases where a sovereign claims to give effect to some religious sentiment, he rests himself not upon his own convictions, but upon the convictions of his subjects; and if their feelings upon the matter in hand are genuine and earnest, his title to appear as a religious champion is incontestable, whatever his own personal morality may be. There is nothing incongruous in a vicious prince drawing his sword in a religious cause, because he is acting, not in his own behalf, but as the representative of his subjects.

Catherine

Catherine may not have been personally actuated by a very warm zeal for the Greek faith, but she ruled over thousands of priests and millions of people who were ; and their feelings, on a point that always moves masses of men so energetically, it was her manifest interest to consult. And, as she had been raised to the throne in a great degree by the discontent of the priesthood at her husband's measures, she had every reason to know and to appreciate the value of their political adhesion.

Her interference, therefore, on behalf of the Polish Dissidents cannot be taxed with insincerity, unless it can be shown that there was no truth in their complaints of persecution. But this is precisely the weak point of the Polish case. In spite of the enthusiastic admiration with which the Liberals of Europe have regarded their institutions, they were the only nation who, in the full light of modern civilization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, renounced their former tolerance and betook themselves to persecution. The cause of this strange relapse into a vice from which most of the other nations of Europe were struggling to get free is somewhat obscure. Partly it appears to have been the irregular zeal of the Swedish Sigismund, partly the steady proselytism of the Jesuits, and partly the growing exasperation of faction, which was making the ideas of tolerance and forbearance every year more alien to the temper of the nobles. Whatever the cause, the effect was marked enough. In Poland proper, and the western provinces of the republic, the change of policy chiefly affected the Protestants. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Sigismund commenced the practice of admitting no Dissidents to office or to the senate, which, in a country where law was almost unknown, practically implied the withdrawal of all protection. Popular tumults were stirred up against them. Some sects were driven altogether from the country ; others were forcibly ousted from their churches. Nor was the persecution confined to the prohibition of their teaching. The practice of extirpating religious differences by the slaughter of the heterodox was carried far into the eighteenth century. In the year 1687 we still find a case of burning alive for religious error, and even so late as the year 1724 a magistrate at Thorn was executed for his Protestant opinions. In the eastern portions of Poland it was the Greek Dissidents of Russian blood who suffered. The animosity of the Poles against the Greek faith was heightened, no doubt, by political causes. Their war with Russia in 1610 was, in the main, a war of proselytism, and left behind it no friendly feeling towards the faith whose steadfastness the efforts of the Poles had not availed to shake. A fierce persecution of the Cossacks of the Ukraine was the result. The

cruelties that were perpetrated in it were said—like those which will attach eternal infamy to the name of the Marquis Wielopolski—to have been planned for the purpose of goading the people into open rebellion before the disaffection had spread too widely to be easily crushed. A law was passed, reducing at one blow the whole Cossack population to serfdom. Priests who refused to submit to the Papacy were thrown into prison. Churches were taken away from the ‘schismatics’ and handed over to the Catholics. The schismatic dust of many generations of ancestors, which lay in the churchyards, was insultingly dug up and cast out. The very tribunals were brought under the all-pervading influence, and were administered, as the historian phrases it, ‘instinctu Reverendorum Patrum Societatis Jesu.’\* The plan succeeded to admiration. Stung by this mixture of insult and oppression, the Cossacks rose. For a time, under the leadership of the heroic Sulima, they maintained a gallant struggle with their oppressors, not unlike, in its utter desperation, to that which the Poles are now maintaining against an overwhelming force of Cossacks. But their undisciplined, ill-equipped valour was no match for the still unbroken prowess of the Poles. The rebellion was bloodily suppressed. Sulima was captured and impaled alive; his inferior officers were despatched with proportionate barbarity, and for the time ‘order was restored’ in the Ukraine. For the rest of the seventeenth century this ferocious evangelization was carried on without much abatement. The complaints made by the Russian populations, and even of the nobles amongst them, of the oppression to which their faith was subjected were loud and constant. During the great Cossack rebellion of Chmelnicki in the year 1658, the appeals which the leaders of it made to the Greek Christians to join them against their Catholic masters show that the wrongs of the Greek Church were still a powerful inflammatory topic. Although there is not, after this, recorded to have been any such open and flagrant oppression as that which first drove the Cossacks into rebellion, the Dissidents were still subjected to severe oppression, and came to be treated after a time as an anti-national party. The efforts of the Polish landowners to force their Russian serfs into Catholicism are frequently spoken of in the century that preceded the partition, and must have arisen, like Catherine’s defence of them, not from evangelical fervour, but from a very natural political motive. The result was to add a very formidable element to the dissensions which hastened the fall of the republic. After two centuries of persecution, the loyalty of the Dissidents had

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\* Grondski, p. 33, ap. Hermann.

become a very lukewarm quality. They openly leaned upon Russia and Prussia to obtain support against their Catholic antagonists. When Catherine was enforcing the election of Poniatowski, the last king, two confederations of Dissidents formed themselves on her side. In the course of his reign two separate risings of the peasantry of the Greek faith added to the other distractions of the republic, and were remarkable for this, —that they were the only sign of thought or feeling that the peasantry gave while what is called their country was being destroyed. When the partition ultimately took place, not one of the unennobled inhabitants of the provinces that were to be annexed to Russia could be found to take up arms in defence of Poland.

So far as any conquests can be defended, the defence of Catherine appears to us to be complete. The plea of a common religion, which was held to justify conquests in old time; the plea of a common nationality, which in our own days has been esteemed an ample apology for the most lavish bloodshed and the most flagrant contempt of treaty; the plea of ancient possession, which has been allowed as at least a good excuse for war in every age; the exigencies of her frontier and the necessity of a counterpoise to the growth of powerful neighbours, which is a principle not wholly unknown to the European diplomacy of the present generation; all these pleas combine to justify the annexation of the provinces which Catherine reconquered from her empire's hereditary foe. All that can be advanced to excuse the conquest of Granada by the Spaniards, of Calais by the French, of Bengal by the English, of Lombardy by the Italians, and of Savoy by the present Emperor of the French, may be justly pleaded on behalf of that which, by dint of constant repetition, Europe has learned to characterise as the 'great crime of modern times.'

Partly from the just horror excited by her personal history, partly in consequence of the cruelties which in later days Russian Czars have perpetrated upon the Poles, it has always been the fashion to concentrate upon Catherine the indignation which the extinction of Poland has excited. We have stated our reasons for acquitting her: we must devote a few words to her coadjutors. Their defence is not so easy. Von Sybel undertakes the advocacy of Prussia, and executes it with his customary clearness and force. But he can make no other case out for the Prussian Sovereigns than this:—He admits that the partition of Poland was no part of Catherine's policy, and was pressed upon her reluctant acceptance by the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. But, he urges, if the German powers had not insisted upon a partition,

tion, Catherine's supremacy over the Polish Government was such that for all purposes of foreign policy the frontier of Poland was really the frontier of Russia. Such a defence assumes that it is lawful by armed aggression to counteract foreign influence at a neighbour's Court. It would be very dangerous to embody such a principle into international law. Yet it is impossible to deny that it has some validity, if the doctrine of the balance of power is not a mere delusion. Influence, if it be excessive and constant, is veiled conquest. The intense anxiety which the Great Powers have displayed to warn each other's reigning families off such new thrones as those of Greece and Belgium arises from that unquestionable fact. The remonstrances which the Western Powers thought themselves at liberty to address to Austria against the secret treaties by which she retained the small Italian States under her influence rest upon no other basis. It follows, therefore, that if conquest may be met by conquest, in order to preserve the balance of power, influence, where it amounts to conquest, may be also met by conquest. The truth is, that in a carefully-balanced structure like the European system of nations, each State has a vested right in the complete and real independence of its neighbour. It is so vital to the interest of all the surrounding States, that they cannot ignore any change of circumstances that may have compromised its reality. If, from any internal rottenness, that independence shall have become an absolute impossibility, they cannot affect a polite unconsciousness of the fact. They must, for their own safety's sake, take precautions to ensure that if it is to be dependent upon any Power, it shall be equally dependent upon all. They may effect this either by a tutelage of ambassadors such as that which is established at Constantinople, or by a partition. Either proceeding is equally inconsistent with any true national life in the State that is to be operated upon. It cannot be said that the Turkish arrangement has been eminently successful in averting war. And it is very doubtful whether it would, with all the humiliation that it involved, have been even practicable with a people who were not gifted with an Oriental facility of submission. But as a matter of self-preservation, neighbouring powers must exact one of these two securities from a State which has become permanently anarchical and defenceless.

That Poland was in that condition was not a matter capable of dispute. Ever since the death of Sigismund, a century and a half before, anarchy had been the normal state of things. No part of the constitution would work. All offices were put up for sale, and were made to pay their purchase-money with abundant interest to those who bought them. There was no powerful executive

cutive to correct the anomaly, as it was corrected in France, by a system of co-ordinate administrators directly dependent on the crown. The army was placed under the command of generals whom it was not in the king's power to dismiss. It was paid, like ours, by annual vote of the Diet; but the Diet could only transact business so long as the patriotism of all its members was strong enough to prevent any one of them from uttering the  *veto*, which could at any moment bring their proceedings to an abrupt close. The deputy who ventured to pronounce the fatal word frequently paid forfeit for it with his life, unless he was clever enough to escape; but it was not the less effectual and irrevocable. As the antagonism of factions increased, this senseless prerogative was exerted more and more recklessly, and the army was often, in consequence, left absolutely unpaid for years. The devices for securing the unanimity of the Diet were very various. Sometimes the nobles assembled in great force round Warsaw to menace the recalcitrant; sometimes the army itself encamped outside, and the votes for its payment were carried under its own supervision. On one occasion the king borrowed an idea from the English administration of the law, and shut the Diet up without food until it could agree. In later times the duty of securing unanimity devolved upon the Russian ambassador, who proceeded in extreme cases by threats, but in general by a lavish expenditure of bribes. All these arrangements were not calculated to secure a well-ordered State; but, of course, if there had been either patriotism or sagacity in the nobles, such defects might easily have been amended. They were as nothing compared to the great obstacle to all reform which lay in the singular institution of 'Confederations.' They have been aptly described as legalized rebellions. Whenever anything in the conduct of the Diet, or of the King, displeased a considerable number of persons, they deemed themselves at liberty to combine together in an armed league, and to enforce, as far as they could, their own views upon their opponents at the sword's point. If they were strong enough, the obnoxious law, or election, was annulled; if they failed, they were not treated as traitors, or held to have done anything unpatriotic. Among an excitable race, little used to restraint, such an abuse once allowed to take root, thrived and multiplied. Confederations became the ordinary resource of a minority. At every critical point of Polish history, one or more of these Confederations make their appearance. Any foreign power that desired it could generally procure the formation of one. The merits of rival candidates to the throne, the griefs of Dissidents against Catholics, the proposals of reformers, or the complaints of reactionaries, were decided, as a matter of course,



course, not by any legal vote, but by this systematised civil war. It was a curious evidence of the unpractical character of Rousseau's mind that this was the institution, above all others in the Polish system, that excited his admiration. It was the strongest negation of absolute power that it was possible for a political constitution to pronounce. Experience, however, proved what calmer reasoners had foreseen, that complete anarchy, and the dependence which necessarily follows in its train, were the only fruits that so irrational a system could be expected to produce.

It is undoubtedly true that a supreme effort was made by a few who truly loved their country to amend their constitution in some points just before it was altogether swept away. But their patriotism came too late. Century after century the Poles had clung to the worst abuses, had rejected every suggestion of reform, and had wilfully turned away from the warnings that were constantly addressed to them of the end to which their factions would lead. It was not till the last hour of their nation was at hand, and the blindest could foresee the destruction that was imminent, that they consented to entertain a project of reform. The constitution of 1791, of whose merits much has been said, was open to the fatal reproach, that it was a deathbed repentance. It availed as little to avert the retribution which the turbulence of many centuries had richly earned as the concessions of Louis XVI. to avert the Revolution, or the constitution which Francis II. hurriedly offered sufficed to stay the progress of Garibaldi. But even this constitution, specious as some of its provisions were, was in essence only another exhibition of dependence, another provocative of intervention. It was the unhappy destiny of Poland that even her better impulses were the whispers of foreign intrigue. Upon paper, the constitution of 1791 appears to be a patriotic effort to reform notorious abuses; and, in the minds of many who supported it, it no doubt bore that character. But, as a matter of fact, it was originated by Austria, and was carried through by Austrian influence. It contains many provisions interesting to the historian and philanthropist of the present day; but its most important provisions in the eyes of contemporary diplomacy were those which made the Crown hereditary, strengthened it with new powers, and conferred it upon the Elector of Saxony, who was a Catholic prince attached to the Austrian party in Germany, and bitterly hostile to Prussia. It was, in truth, only a masked attempt to transfer the vassalage of Poland from St. Petersburg to Vienna, and to obtain, at the cost of Prussia's future security, at once an indemnity and a revenge to Austria for the losses she had sustained at Prussian hands. Prussia could hardly be blamed for refusing

to see transferred to Austria a territory that cut her own monarchy in two. Russia and Prussia have been bitterly reproached for struggling against the reforming constitution of 1791, and for making its adoption the signal for new proposals of partition. The fact is unquestionable; but the motive has been missed. The Polish reforms did not fall upon ground so well adapted for such seed that the prospect of their salutary fruits need have been very alarming to the ambition of Catherine and Frederick William. As far as their tendency was to restore order and independence to Poland, the turbulence of the nobles might have been safely trusted to make them a dead letter. Both the Sovereigns knew too well how Polish Diets were managed to fear the efficacy of any nominal reforms. But the advance of the Austrian power to the Dnieper and to the Netze was a danger of a very different magnitude. Catherine could only reply by the confederation of Targowicz, which annulled the new constitution; and Frederick William had no choice but to occupy in all haste the districts in which Austria had dreamed of setting up a standing menace to Berlin. At the same time it is difficult to deny that dangers of precisely the same kind threatened Austria, and that a converse application of the same defence will avail for her. When a state has once begun to decompose by its own inherent rottenness, the line between overwhelming influence and conquest is so hard to draw, that it is often very difficult to say which of its neighbours is guilty of the first act of genuine spoliation. But it is obvious that when one of them has begun, the rest are forced to imitate by the instinct of self-preservation. If it is once certain that a state must fall in pieces, it becomes a matter of vital interest to its neighbours that they should all share alike in the distribution of its territory.

But this, it will be said, is the old dynastic view. The grounds upon which a country is transferred from one government to another are not now judged of by the interests of the royal houses who arrange the transaction, but by the wishes of the people who are transferred. The interests of Prussia, and Austria, and Russia, we shall be told, are a very small matter if the people who were the subject of their diplomatic traffic were adverse to the change. Aye, the people! What did they think of it all?—or rather, to go more to the root of the matter, who were the people? The ordinary account of the affair is, that the eighteen millions of people who inhabited the territories of the Polish republic were parcelled out like so many cattle among the three great monarchies, in spite of their deep affection for their old nationality, and their intense aversion for their new owners.

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This is the outline of the picture which the advocates of Poland have drawn with a free hand, and in which the world implicitly believes. But it bears a very slender resemblance to the original which it professes to represent. The Poland that contrived by weakness or corruption to lose its independence was a Poland consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand souls. Such, at the time of the partition, was the number of the Catholic nobility, who alone bore a share in conducting that ceremonious anarchy which was called a Government.\* It was their nationality that was destroyed, and it is to their complaints that Europe has been asked to listen for the last half-century. It was not a case of a 'virtual representation.' It was not a case of an aristocracy conducting the Government of a nation whose sentiments they shared, and who were ready on every occasion of national importance to back them up. The Polish nobility were the Polish nation. Beneath them lay a vast population of millions of serfs, who had never for a century expressed, except upon questions of religion, the slightest feeling or opinion upon any political subject whatsoever. None of the dissensions by which in modern times their superiors had been distracted had ever roused in them the slightest resemblance of a sympathy. Civil war succeeded civil war; the nobles despoiled their neighbours, or were despoiled in turn; territories were annexed or ceded, partitioned and re-partitioned; but the peasantry below remained as unmoved while patrician conflicts were raging overhead as the depths of the ocean in a hurricane. They maintained their impassibility during the whole of the eventful period which terminated in Poland's national extinction. Except two religious risings in the years 1768 and 1789, which took place in the Russian provinces of Poland, and which Catherine was accused of having instigated, the brutalised masses of whom the Polish people really consisted never displayed the slightest symptom either of joy or sorrow at the change upon which the eyes of all civilized Europe were fixed. With this explanation before us, the fall of Poland is not very hard to understand. That eighteen millions of people should have been brought under a foreign yoke without attempting to struggle till the foreigners were already masters of the whole land, is utterly unintelligible till some light is thrown upon it by the fact that only a hundred and fifty thousand out of all these millions were in the least degree interested in the result. But how did this absolute severance of sympathy between the upper and lower classes come about?

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\* Lelewel ap. Sybel, ii. 203.

The Liberal sympathy which has been lavished on Poland has always been in some degree paradoxical, inasmuch as the Poles are the only European people who in respect both to civil and to religious liberty distinctly went backwards instead of forwards during the three centuries that followed the Reformation. We have already referred to the rise of a persecuting spirit among them, and traced the steps by which a system of religious oppression succeeded to the absolute tolerance of an older period. This tendency was undoubtedly to a great extent imported. Their inclination towards slavery, on the other hand, was of genuine native growth. But strange to say, it only developed recently, and began to make its appearance just at the time when the Western nations were leaving it off. In the ancient days of Poland, before the close of the fifteenth century, nobles and freemen were far from being convertible terms. There was a very large class, including the chief part of the labouring population, termed 'kmetones' or 'plebeii' in the laws, who were not of noble blood, and yet were free. They resembled serfs so far that if they rented lands they paid their rent for the land they occupied, not in money, but in so many days' labour upon the lord's land. But they differed from serfs in this essential particular, that they were at perfect liberty to go where they liked. This liberty was carefully secured to them by the law. But towards the end of the fifteenth century the tone of legislation began to alter. The nobles, in whose hands the power of legislation lay, began to reduce the 'plebeians' to a condition more and more dependent on their will. In 1496 was passed the statute that may be called the Magna Charta of the Polish slaveowner. Under its enactments the plebeian was, in the first place, forbidden to acquire land, or, if he possessed it, was forced to sell it; and in the second place, was forbidden to move from one place to another without a pass from the lord. To ensure the efficacy of this new restriction, more than one stringent Fugitive Slave Law was also passed. These two enactments reduced the plebeian at once to serfdom. He ceased to be an owner of the soil himself, and became *ascriptus glebæ* of another man. In this state his condition, though nominally not one of slavery, was much worse than the condition of a slave. For as the peasant was forced by law to occupy the lord's land, and the lord was left to settle the conditions on which he would allow his land to be occupied, the result was that the lord exacted from the peasant precisely as much labour as he pleased, and was not bound to support him in return. Sometimes the lord was reasonable, and only required three days' work, leaving him the other four for his own sustenance. But as time went on, and the nobles became more extravagant and therefore more exacting,

exacting, the peasant sometimes was compelled to work six days for his lord, and was only allowed to retain one for himself. During the eighteenth century—the last century of Poland's existence—the number of days exacted was increased throughout all the Polish provinces. But this was not the end of the peasant's troubles. There were numbers of small payments extorted on various pretexts, which he had to make up out of his scanty earnings. And to crown all, he was afflicted with a sort of anticipation of the Tommy-shop. He was compelled to purchase at the lord's shop whatever he required beyond the produce of the soil—of such quality, of course, as the lord chose to supply, and at such prices as the lord chose to charge. He had to buy the beer that the lord manufactured, and the herrings the lord bought at Dantzic. And if the result of all these combined exactions was that the peasant could not support himself, the peasant starved—at least in Poland. In Lithuania, where slavery was more openly acknowledged, the lord was bound to support the peasant; and one of the Lithuanian statutes provided, with humane but somewhat Irish forethought, that, if the lord left the peasant to starve, the peasant should be free.

If his social condition was bad, his civil *status* was no better. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was enacted that his plaint should be inadmissible in a court of justice except with the sanction of his lord. Indirectly, of course, this prohibition placed him absolutely at his lord's disposal. But the Polish nobility were not satisfied with indirect powers. In 1573 it was formally enacted that the lord should have the power of punishing the plebeians at discretion. A little before this time the attention of learned men in Poland appears to have been strongly directed to the Roman law, and Polish legislators were seized with the mania for reproducing its provisions. A more convenient theory for the Polish slave-owner could not have been devised. They claimed all the prerogatives that were exercised by the Roman master over his slave, and the claim was allowed. 'To speak briefly,' says Dresner, in 1607, 'whatever was the legal power of the ancient Romans over their slaves, the same power belongs to the Polish nobles over the plebeians who are under them.'\* Nor was this bare theory; it was carried to the extremest consequence. Half a century before, it was fully recognised that the lives of the plebeians were at the absolute disposal of their lords. A writer of their own upbraids them for this barbarity in terms of bitter reproach, which may

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\* Ut breviter dicatur, quæ antiquis Romanis in servos fuit, hæc nunc nobilibus Polonis in plebeios subditos est potestas.—Dresner, *Simil.*, p. 57.

be fitly commended to the consideration of those who have learned to think that the interests of freedom were in any way affected by the fall of the Polish republic. 'Your lips overflow with freedom,' writes Modrzewski, in 1559, 'but there is nought among you but a barbarous servitude which abandons the life of a man to the mercy or mercilessness of his lord.'\* And in another place he reproaches them with, in some provinces, 'selling their slaves like cattle.'† As time went on, the protection which the 'plebeians' received from the law appears rather to have diminished than increased. The killing of slaves, not only on alleged grounds of justice, but without any reason assigned, gradually received the sanction of the law, or, at least, a connivance closely verging on a sanction. In 1588, by a statute of Lithuania, the fine of a sum equal to about ten guineas was fixed as the penalty for killing a house slave. In 1651, we are told, on the authority of Oligarovius, that anybody might kill a serf for ten golden pieces, but that his owner might kill him gratis—an account of the market price of serfs, which shows them to have been very inferior in commercial value to the negroes of our own day. At the beginning of the next century, in the generation which immediately preceded the Partition, we have upon this subject the evidence of a witness eminently entitled to credence,—Stanislas Leczynski, the twice exiled King of Poland. The words are well known, but they need to be recalled to the remembrance of those who talk of the 'once free land of Poland':—

'Such necessary persons (the serfs) should, without doubt, be esteemed; but we make scarcely a difference between them and the beasts which plough our fields. We often spare them less than the beasts, and only too often sell them to equally cruel masters, who compel them by increase of work to pay the price of their new servitude. With horror I mention the law which lays upon every noble who kills a peasant—only a fine of fifteen francs.'‡

Even the impending dissolution of the republic did not increase the respect of the nobility for the meanest human rights or the most sacred human feelings. Even in 1781 the traveller Bernouilli relates that 'the nobles outrage every maiden that pleases them, and send off with a hundred blows any one that interferes with them.'§

To estimate fully the depth of the degradation to which the Polish nobles had reduced their slaves, it must be remembered

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\* *De republicâ emendandâ*, l. 19, ap. Lelewel.

† l. 79. Ap. Lelewel, 238.

‡ *Œuvres du Philos. bienf.* iii. 3. Lelewel.

§ Bernouilli, iv. 129.

that these were no negroes, men of an inferior race imported from a barbarous land and incapable of the acute and sensitive feelings of the white man. They were men of the same race as themselves, differing from them in nothing but accidental claims of birth, and reduced by them to the most abject slavery and the extreme destitution from which slaves are generally free. With these facts in view, most persons will be inclined to agree with the judgment which Von Sybel passes upon the whole case: 'When one weighs these relative conditions, one can hardly speak of the Polish nation having been overthrown by the Partitions. What fell in 1793 was the inhuman domination of a few noblemen over the Polish people. These only changed their masters; and watched the change, which even upon the Russian side could not bring them more harm than good, with indolent indifference.' \*

It is not upon such a past as this that the Poles, if they are wise, will rest their claims to the sympathies of Europe. It is, of course, open to them to resolve to fight out the old feud of the two nationalities to its bitter end. They have inherited the right, if they choose, to stake their lives upon a last desperate attempt to restore the Poland of old times. If Russia can be justified for the efforts which she made to restore the empire of Wladimir, the Poles can hardly be blamed if they prefer to risk everything rather than renounce the dream of renewing the glories of the Jagellons. But in such an undertaking they cannot count upon the sympathy of Europe. The memory of the persecuting slaveowners, whose corrupt and factious anarchy was trampled out by Catherine, is not a felicitous topic for those to dilate upon who are asking for the aid of free and order-loving Englishmen. Nor would the tale of the Partition, even if the wrongs of the Polish nobles had been as cruel as the exiles love to paint them, in any case be relevant to the present struggle. However faulty the title of Catherine may have been, it was abundantly cured by subsequent events. Since that time the Polish nobles have tried the fortune of war again. In order to restore their own independence, or at least to transfer their vassalage from Russia to France, they made themselves the allies of Napoleon in his efforts to destroy the independence of every European nation. It was a desperate venture for a great prize. If it had succeeded, Poland would probably have recovered from Russia all that she had lost from the days of Wassilij to the days of Catherine. Poland would have shrunk back into the dimensions of a semi-dependency; and Poland, under the powerful tutelage of

\* Bernouilli, ii. 202.

France, would have been the largest monarchy of Eastern Europe. And there was fair ground for hoping that, as soon as Napoleon himself had passed away, the nominal independence would become real, and Poland would resume the national position she had occupied in the middle ages. This day-dream was destined to a speedy disenchantment. The wager of battle to which the Poles had appealed was decided against their cause. The early November frost of the year 1812, which brought life and freedom to so many a European nation, was a death-blow to the hopes of Poland. Russia, attacked without even the semblance of a pretext, and saved by a devotion that has no parallel in history, entered by as pure a right of conquest as any conqueror ever claimed into the land of the race that had plotted her extinction. The duchy of Warsaw, which had thrown in its lot with Napoleon, of course shared his ruin. Alexander became master, not only of the Russian provinces that Catherine had reclaimed, but of the true Poland which lies on this side of the Vistula, by the right which aggression always gives to those against whom it is directed. The Poles had trusted the hopes of their nationality to the arbitrament of the sword; and they had no right to murmur when by the sword it was doomed to perish.

But from the year 1815 the strength of the Polish cause begins. As a nation they had fallen by the justest retribution that was ever meted out to a foreign policy of incessant aggression, and an oppressive and barbarous domestic rule. But they had not lost their rights as men. They had a right to good government, and, at least, to some portion of the freedom they had lost. It was a right so obvious that it was not suffered by the plenipotentiaries at Vienna to be left to the spontaneous impulses of their ruler, but was embodied in one of the first of the provisions of the most important treaty which had been signed in Europe since the treaty of Westphalia. It is a matter of notoriety that even a professed observance of those provisions did not outlast the life of Alexander. Since 1815 the misgovernment of Poland has not only been constant, but growing. And with the misgovernment the discontent has been growing in at least an equal ratio. Yet they ought not to have been a difficult race to rule. The very abuses to which they had been for centuries exposed should have made the task of satisfying them easy. Austria has at least succeeded in satisfying the Gallicians to that extent that the contagion of insurrection, even in the present excitement, does not spread across the border. If she has not been able to conciliate the nobles, her liberal government of the peasantry has at all events secured her from any disaffection extensive enough to be dangerous. Even Prussia, whose  
rule



rule is a caricature of administrative pedantry, has contrived to persuade her Polish subjects that there is no evil in her government on account of which it is worth their while to hazard the risk of a revolt. These Poles were not exacting in the matter of government. The traditions of their race did not furnish them with a standard dangerously high by which to measure the shortcomings of their actual rulers. This it is which makes the case against Russia so unanswerably strong. The very tyranny of the old Polish nobility, which would have made the lower classes very tolerant of their new masters, becomes the heaviest testimony against them. All the facts which make in favour of the Russia of the past tell with fatal force against the Russia of to-day. The darker the colours in which a just historian must paint the old government of Poland, the deeper the brutality or the incompetence of that rule which has made even the old government of Poland to be regretted.

The remarkable unanimity with which all the signatories of the treaty of Vienna, with the single ignominious exception of Prussia, have recognised the duty of interposing between Alexander II. and his oppressed subjects, opens the chance of a brighter future for the Poles than a few years ago any one would have dared to hope for them. But for the success of such interference it is absolutely necessary that those who guide the public opinion of Europe should steadily distinguish between attainable and visionary aims. An absolutely independent Poland is a mere chimera. There is no power that can set it up; and if set up—assuming that the Russian empire remains otherwise unbroken—there is no power that can maintain it. Recent events have shown that the Polish character still makes united effort as impossible as it was in the days of the Confederations of Bar and Radom. An independent Polish kingdom, even if it could be established, would never be more than the nursling of domineering embassies. The individual ambition which, even at this supreme crisis, could not be restrained from dividing the Polish arms, would give abundant facility to each ambassador to construct for himself a party in the interests of his own court. A country governed upon such a system is in no true sense a nation. It is a mere battlefield for foreign intrigue. An independent Poland will become a possibility when individual Polish leaders shall have shown that they have acquired the moral capacity for self-renunciation. But a nation which even in its deepest woe is still torn by factions is not likely to make head against the forces of the largest empire in the world.

The best that can be hoped for Poland is an improved condition under Russian rule. The conditions which are needed to reconcile

reconcile the Poles to a Russian sovereign are manifest enough, and do not seem very hard to be observed. The Poles have not only been oppressed, but insulted; and in their condition insult is harder to put up with than oppression. A nation which is under a foreign yoke is sensitive upon the subject of nationality. Like a decayed gentleman, it lays great stress upon points of form. It is constantly requiring its ancient lineage to be recognised, and is ever upon the watch for some fancied or real slight. If Russia would rule the Poles in peace, she must defer to a sensibility which neither coaxing nor severity will cure. All the substance of power may be exercised as well through Polish administrators as through Russian. The union between the two countries may for practical purposes be complete, though every legal act and every kind of scholastic instruction be couched in the Polish language. That such an act of barbarism as the recent conscription will never be perpetrated again is an assurance that we may justly gather from the well-known character of Alexander II. If some such securities for freedom as were contained in the Charter of 1815 could be restored, there need be no fear, in the present state of European opinion, that they will be set aside again; and it is not likely that any future Russian government will renew the barren labour of attempting by force to 'denationalise' the Poles. If such a result could be attained by the mediation which the European Powers have happily both the will and the right to offer, the insurrection may not have fulfilled all the hopes that its first outburst encouraged; but at least the lives that have been so freely offered up will not have been an idle sacrifice.

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ART. VII.—1. *Lady Audley's Secret*. By M. E. Braddon. 3 vols. Seventh edition. 1862.

2. *Aurora Floyd*. By M. E. Braddon. 3 vols. Second edition. 1863.

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6. *The Last Days of a Bachelor*. By James M'Grigor Allan. 2 vols. 1862.

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Vol. 113.—No. 226.

2 I

11. *Miriam*

11. *Miriam May*. Third edition. 1860.
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23. *Spurs and Skirts*. By Allet. 1862.
24. *Ashcombe Churchyard*. By Evelyn Benson. 2 vols. 1862.

‘I DON’T like preaching to the nerves instead of the judgment,’ was the remark of a shrewd observer of human nature, in relation to a certain class of popular sermons. The remark need not be limited to sermons alone. A class of literature has grown up around us, usurping in many respects, intentionally or unintentionally, a portion of the preacher’s office, playing no inconsiderable part in moulding the minds and forming the habits and tastes of its generation; and doing so principally, we had almost said exclusively, by ‘preaching to the nerves.’ It would almost seem as if the paradox of *Cabanis*, *les nerfs, voilà tout l’homme*, had been banished from the realm of philosophy only to claim a wider empire in the domain of fiction—at least if we may judge by the very large class of writers who seem to acknowledge no other element in human nature to which they can appeal. Excitement, and excitement alone, seems to be the great end at which they aim—an end which must be accomplished at any cost by some means or other, ‘*si possis, recte; si non, quocunque modo*.’ And as excitement, even when harmless in kind, cannot be continually produced without becoming morbid in degree, works of this class manifest themselves as belonging, some more, some less, but all to some extent, to the morbid phenomena of literature—indications of a wide-spread corruption, of which they are in part both the effect and

and the cause; called into existence to supply the cravings of a diseased appetite, and contributing themselves to foster the disease, and to stimulate the want which they supply.

The sensation novel is the counterpart of the spasmodic poem. They represent 'the selfsame interest with a different leaning.' The one leans outward, the other leans inward; the one aims at convulsing the soul of the reader, the other professes to owe its birth to convulsive throes in the soul of the writer. But with this agreement there is also a difference. There is not a poet or poetaster of the spasmodic school but is fully persuaded of his own inspiration and the immortality of his work. He writes to satisfy the unconquerable yearnings of his soul; and if some prosaic friend were to hint at such earthly considerations as readers and purchasers, he would be ready to exclaim, with a forgotten brother of the craft (alas, that we should have to say *forgotten* after such a *hiatus*!):—

'Go, dotard, go, and if it suits thy mind,  
Range yonder rocks and reason with the wind,  
Or if its motions own another's will,  
Walk to the beach and bid the sea be still;  
In newer orbits let the planets run,  
Or throw a cloud of darkness o'er the sun;  
A measured movement bid the comets keep,  
Or lull the music of the spheres to sleep:  
These may obey thee; but the fiery soul  
Of Genius owns not, brooks not, thy control.'

Not so the sensation novelist. No divine influence can be imagined as presiding over the birth of his work, beyond the market-law of demand and supply; no more immortality is dreamed of for it than for the fashions of the current season. A commercial atmosphere floats around works of this class, redolent of the manufactory and the shop. The public want novels, and novels must be made—so many yards of printed stuff, sensation-pattern, to be ready by the beginning of the season. And if the demands of the novel-reading public were to increase to the amount of a thousand per season, no difficulty would be found in producing a thousand works of the average merit. They rank with the verses of which 'Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day;' and spinning-machines of the Lord Fanny kind may be multiplied without limit.

Various causes have been at work to produce this phenomenon of our literature. Three principal ones may be named as having had a large share in it—periodicals, circulating libraries, and railway bookstalls. A periodical, from its very nature, must contain many articles of an ephemeral interest, and of the cha-

racter of goods made to order. The material part of it is a fixed quantity, determined by rigid boundaries of space and time; and on this Procrustean bed the spiritual part must needs be stretched to fit. A given number of sheets of print, containing so many lines per sheet, must be produced weekly or monthly, and the diviner element must accommodate itself to these conditions. A periodical, moreover, belongs to the class of works which most men borrow and do not buy, and in which, therefore, they take only a transitory interest. Few men will burden their shelves with a series of volumes which have no coherence in their parts, and no limit in their number, whose articles of personal interest may be as one halfpennyworth of bread to an intolerable quantity of sack, and which have no other termination to their issue than the point at which they cease to be profitable. Under these circumstances, no small stimulus is given to the production of tales of the marketable stamp, which, after appearing piecemeal in weekly or monthly instalments, generally enter upon a second stage of their insect-life in the form of a handsome reprint under the auspices of the circulating library.

This last-named institution is the oldest offender of the three; but age has neither diminished the energy nor subdued the faults of its youth. It is more active now than at any former period of its existence, and its activity is much of the same kind as it was described in the pages of this Review more than fifty years ago.\* The manner of its action is indeed inseparable from the nature of the institution, varying only in the production of larger quantities to meet the demand of a more reading generation. From the days of the 'Minerva Press' (that synonym for the dullest specimens of the light reading of our grandmothers) to those of the thousand and one tales of the current season, the circulating library has been the chief hot-bed for forcing a crop of writers without talent and readers without discrimination. It is to literature what a *magasin de modes* is to dress, giving us the latest fashion, and little more. Its staple commodities are 'books of the present season,' many of them destined to run their round for the season only,—

'Sons of a day, just buoyant on the flood,

Then numbered with the puppies in the mud.'

Subscription, as compared with purchase, produces no doubt a great increase in the quantity of books procurable, but with a corresponding deterioration in the quality. The buyer of books is generally careful to select what for his own purposes is worth buying; the subscriber is often content to take the good the gods

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\* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. iii., pp. 340, 341.

provide him, glancing lazily down the library catalogue, and picking out some title which promises amusement or excitement. The catalogue of a circulating library is the legitimate modern successor to that portion of Curll's stock in trade which consisted of 'several taking title-pages, that only wanted treatises to be wrote to them.'

The railway stall, like the circulating library, consists partly of books written expressly for its use, partly of reprints in a new phase of their existence—a phase internally that of the grub, with small print and cheap paper, externally that of the butterfly, with a tawdry cover, ornamented with a highly-coloured picture, hung out like a signboard, to give promise of the entertainment to be had within. The picture, like the book, is generally of the sensation kind, announcing some exciting scene to follow. A pale young lady in a white dress, with a dagger in her hand, evidently prepared for some desperate deed; or a couple of ruffians engaged in a deadly struggle; or a Red Indian in his war-paint; or, if the plot turns on smooth instead of violent villany, a priest persuading a dying man to sign a paper; or a disappointed heir burning a will; or a treacherous lover telling his flattering tale to some deluded maid or wife. The exigencies of railway travelling do not allow much time for examining the merits of a book before purchasing it; and keepers of bookstalls, as well as of refreshment-rooms, find an advantage in offering their customers something hot and strong, something that may catch the eye of the hurried passenger, and promise temporary excitement to relieve the dulness of a journey.

These circumstances of production naturally have their effect on the quality of the articles produced. Written to meet an ephemeral demand, aspiring only to an ephemeral existence, it is natural that they should have recourse to rapid and ephemeral methods of awakening the interest of their readers, striving to act as the dram or the dose, rather than as the solid food, because the effect is more immediately perceptible. And as the perpetual cravings of the dram-drinker or the valetudinarian for spirits or physic are hardly intelligible to the man of sound health and regular appetites, so, to one called from more wholesome studies to survey the wide field of sensational literature, it is difficult to realise the idea which its multifarious contents necessarily suggest, that these books must form the staple mental food of a very large class of readers. On first turning over a few pages of the average productions of this school, he is tempted to exclaim '*Quis leget hæc?*' but the doubt is checked as it rises by the evidently commercial character of the whole affair.

affair. These books would certainly not be written if they did not sell; and they would not sell if they were not read; *ergo*, they must have readers, and numerous readers too. The long list of works standing at the head of this article is, with a few exceptions, but a scanty gleanings from the abundant harvests of the last two seasons. Great is the power of fiction in attracting readers by its name alone. We have heard of a lady who was persuaded into reading 'Plutarch's Lives' by being told that the book was a delightful novel, and who was indignant at the trick, when she discovered that history had won her approbation under the guise of fiction. If the name of a novel can carry down, with readers of this class, the bitter pill of solid merit, it may easily have its influence in seasoning the less unpalatable morsel of trash. It would be well, indeed, if this were all. Unhappily there is too much evidence that the public appetite can occasionally descend from trash to garbage. We have ourselves seen an English translation of one of the worst of those French novels devoted to the worship of Baal-Peor and the recommendation of adultery, lying for sale at a London railway-stall, and offered as a respectable book to unsuspecting ladies; and the list now before us furnishes sufficient proof that poison of the same kind is sometimes concealed under the taking title of the circulating library.

A sensation novel, as a matter of course, abounds in incident. Indeed, as a general rule, it consists of nothing else. Deep knowledge of human nature, graphic delineations of individual character, vivid representations of the aspects of Nature or the workings of the soul—all the higher features of the creative art—would be a hindrance rather than a help to a work of this kind. The unchanging principles of philosophy, the 'thing of beauty' that 'is a joy for ever,' would be out of place in a work whose aim is to produce temporary excitement. 'Action, action, action!' though in a different sense from that intended by the great orator, is the first thing needful, and the second, and the third. The human actors in the piece are, for the most part, but so many lay-figures on which to exhibit a drapery of incident. Allowing for the necessary division of all characters of a tale into male and female, old and young, virtuous and vicious, there is hardly anything said or done by any one specimen of a class which might not with equal fitness be said or done by any other specimen of the same class. Each game is played with the same pieces, differing only in the moves. We watch them advancing through the intricacies of the plot, as we trace the course of an  $x$  or a  $y$  through the combinations of an algebraic equation,

equation, with a similar curiosity to know what becomes of them at the end, and with about as much consciousness of individuality in the ciphers.

Yet even the dulllest uniformity admits of a certain kind of variety. As a shepherd can trace individual distinctions in the general air of sheepishness which marks the countenances of his fleecy charge; as the five sons of Sir Hildebrand Osbaldistone exhibited an agreeable variety in the mixture of the ingredients of sot, gamekeeper, bully, horse-jockey, and fool; so in the general type of character which marks a novel as belonging to the sensational genus, there may be traced certain minor differences constituting a distinction of species. A great philosopher has enumerated in a list of sensations 'the feelings from heat, electricity, galvanism, &c.,' together with 'titillation, sneezing, horripilation, shuddering, the feeling of setting the teeth on edge, &c. ;' and our novels might be classified in like manner, according to the kind of sensation they are calculated to produce. There are novels of the warming-pan, and others of the galvanic-battery type—some which gently stimulate a particular feeling, and others which carry the whole nervous system by steam. There are some which tickle the vanity of the reader, and some which aspire to set his hair on end or his teeth on edge; while others, with or without the intention of the writer, are strongly provocative of that sensation in the palate and throat which is a premonitory symptom of nausea. To go through the details of any minute division would be impossible with such a voluminous list as we have before us: they may, however, all be classified under two general heads—those that are written merely for amusement, and those that are written with a didactic purpose. ✓

Of the two, we confess that we very much prefer the former. As a fly, though a more idle, is a less offensive insect than a bug; as it is more pleasant that the exhilaration of a noisy evening should be forgotten in the morning than that it should leave its remembrance in the form of a headache; so it is better that the excitement of a sensation novel should evaporate in froth and foam, than that it should leave a residuum behind of shallow dogmatism and flippant conceit. For what other results can be expected from the popular novelist's method of prejudice teaching by caricature? There is nothing under the sun, divine or human, to which this method cannot be applied; reversing the power of Goldsmith in Johnson's epitaph, it leaves nothing untouched, and touches nothing which it does not deface. As universal as the oracles of the Athenian sausage-seller, it is ready on the shortest notice to discourse on all subjects—



‘ About the Athenians,  
 About pease-pudding and porridge, about the Spartans,  
 About the war, about the pilchard-fishery,  
 About the state of things in general,  
 About short weights and measures in the market,  
 About all things and persons whatsoever.’

Let a writer have a prejudice against the religion of his neighbour, against the government of his country, against the administration of the law, against the peerage, against the prohibition that hinders a man from marrying his grandmother, against plucking in examinations, against fermented liquors, against the social position of women who have lapsed from virtue, against capital punishments, against the prevailing fashion in dress, against any institution, custom, or fact of the day—forthwith comes out a tale to exhibit in glowing colours the evil which might be produced by the obnoxious object in an imaginary case, tragic or comic, as suits the nature of the theme or the genius of the writer, and heightened by every kind of exaggeration. The offensive doctrines are fathered on some clerical Tartuffe; the governmental department is exhibited as a ‘Circumlocution Office;’ the law ruins the fortunes of some blameless client, or corrupts the conscience of some generous young practitioner; the nobleman of the tale is a monster in depravity, or an idiot in folly; the table of prohibited degrees breaks two loving hearts who cannot live without each other; the promising youth is plucked for his little-go, and plunges into reckless dissipation in consequence; the single glass of port or sherry leads by sure stages to brandy and *delirium tremens*, and the medical virtues of pure water work cures in defiance of the faculty; &c. &c. The method is so far perfectly impartial that it may be applied with equal facility to the best things and the worst; but an argument that proves everything is of precisely the same value as an argument that proves nothing. Mr. Dickens, we regret to say, is a grievous offender in this line; and, by a just retribution, the passages that are written in this spirit are generally the worst in his works. He never sinks so nearly to the level of the ordinary sensation-novelist as when he is writing ‘with a purpose.’ Unfortunately, *decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile*; the vice of a great writer has been copied by a hundred small ones, who, without a tithe of his genius, make up for the deficiency by an extra quantity of extravagance.

The sensation novel, be it mere trash or something worse, is usually a tale of our own times. Proximity is, indeed, one great element of sensation. It is necessary to be near a mine to be blown up by its explosion; and a tale which aims at electrifying the

the nerves of the reader is never thoroughly effective unless the scene be laid in our own days and among the people we are in the habit of meeting. We read with little emotion, though it comes in the form of history, Livy's narrative of the secret poisonings carried on by nearly two hundred Roman ladies; we feel but a feeble interest in an authentic record of the crimes of a Borgia or a Brinvilliers; but we are thrilled with horror, even in fiction, by the thought that such things may be going on around us and among us. The man who shook our hand with a hearty English grasp half an hour ago—the woman whose beauty and grace were the charm of last night, and whose gentle words sent us home better pleased with the world and with ourselves—how exciting to think that under these pleasing outsides may be concealed some demon in human shape, a Count Fosco or a Lady Audley! He may have assumed all that heartiness to conceal some dark plot against our life or honour, or against the life or honour of one yet dearer: she may have left that gay scene to muffle herself in a thick veil and steal to a midnight meeting with some villanous accomplice. He may have a mysterious female, immured in a solitary tower or a private lunatic asylum, destined to come forth hereafter to menace the name and position of the excellent lady whom the world acknowledges as his wife: she may have a husband lying dead at the bottom of a well, and a fatherless child nobody knows where. All this is no doubt very exciting; but even excitement may be purchased too dearly; and we may be permitted to doubt whether the pleasure of a nervous shock is worth the cost of so much morbid anatomy if the picture be true, or so much slanderous misrepresentation if it be false.

Akin to proximity is personality, and its effect is similar in creating a spurious interest. Personality, moreover, has an additional advantage, resembling that which Aristotle attributes to the use of metaphors in rhetoric. It gives rise to a kind of syllogism, whereby, without too great an exertion of thought, the mind of the reader is enabled to conclude that this is that. Of these advantages our novelists are not slow to avail themselves. If a scandal of more than usual piquancy occurs in high life, or a crime of extraordinary horror figures among our *causes célèbres*, the sensationist is immediately at hand to weave the incident into a thrilling tale, with names and circumstances slightly disguised, so as at once to exercise the ingenuity of the reader in guessing at the riddle, and to gratify his love of scandal in discovering the answer. Sometimes the incident of real life is made the main plot of the story, sometimes it figures as an episode in the history of two imaginary lovers, with whom the flesh-and-blood criminal comes in contact, like the substantial Æneas on board

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the shadowy bark of Charon, nearly making shipwreck of the frail vessel of their fortunes. The end and moral of the narrative, in the one case and in the other, is much the same; namely, to elicit from the gratified reader the important exclamation, 'I know who is meant by So-and-so.'

✓ Of particular offences, which are almost always contemporary and sometimes personal, undoubtedly the first place must be given to Bigamy. Indeed, so popular has this crime become, as to give rise to an entire sub-class in this branch of literature, which may be distinguished as that of Bigamy Novels. It is astonishing how many of our modern writers have selected this interesting breach of morality and law as the peg on which to hang a mystery and a dénouement. Of the tales on our list, no less than eight are bigamy stories:—'Lady Audley's Secret,' 'Aurora Floyd,' 'Clinton Maynyard,' 'Recommended to Mercy,' 'The Law of Divorce,' 'The Daily Governess,' 'Only a Woman,' 'The Woman of Spirit,' all hang their narrative, wholly or in part, on bigamy in act, or bigamy in intention, on the existence or supposed existence of two wives to the same husband, or two husbands to the same wife. Much of this popularity is, no doubt, due to the peculiar aptitude of bigamy, at least in monogamous countries, to serve as a vehicle of mysterious interest or poetic justice. If some vulgar ruffian is to be depicted as having a strange influence over a lady of rank and fashion, it is a ready expedient to make him conscious of the existence of another husband, or the child of another husband, supposed to be long dead. If lowly virtue is to be exalted, or high-born pride humiliated, the means are instantly at hand, in the discovery of a secret marriage, unsuspected till the third volume, which makes the child of poverty the heir to rank and wealth, or degrades the proud patrician by stripping him of his illegal honours. It is really painful to think how many an interesting mystery and moral lesson will be lost, if Sir Cresswell Cresswell's Court continues in active work for another generation. Bigamy will become as clumsy and obsolete an expedient for the relief of discontented partners as the axe was in Juvenal's day, compared with the superior facilities of poison. With such an easy legal provision for being 'off wi' the auld love,' it will be worse than a crime, it will be a blunder, to have recourse to illegitimate means of being 'on wi' the new.'

Of our list of Bigamy Novels, some will be noticed under other characters, and some are not worth noticing at all. The two first-named claim a notice as bigamy novels *par excellence*, the whole interest of the story turning on this circumstance. Though both exaggerated specimens of the sensational type, they  
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the works of an author of real power, who is capable of better things than drawing highly-coloured portraits of beautiful fiends. Lady dley, *alias* Mrs. George Talboys, is a Vittoria Corombona transferred to the nineteenth century and to an English drawing-room. But the romantic wickedness of the 'White Devil of Italy' suffers by being transplanted to home scenes and modern associations. The English White Devil, however, if not quite so romantic and interesting, is more than the rival of her prototype in boldness and guilt. She does with her own hand what Vittoria does by means of others. She has married a second husband, knowing or suspecting her first one to be still living ; and the desperate means to which she has recourse to avoid discovery furnish an abundance of incidents of various degrees of enuity and villany. She advertises her own death in the newspapers, having previously procured a young woman who resembles her in person to die and be buried in her stead ; she drowns her first husband down a well, whence he finally emerges, but is not told how, with a broken arm ; she breaks into a lawyer's chambers during his absence, and destroys his papers ; she burns down a house to get rid of a dangerous witness, having locked the door of his room to prevent his escape. Yet, notwithstanding all the horrors of the story—and there are enough of them to furnish a full supper for a Macbeth—notwithstanding the glaring improbability of the incidents, the superhuman wickedness of the principal character and the incongruities of the incidents ; notwithstanding the transparent nature of the 'secret' from the very beginning ; the author has succeeded in constructing a narrative the interest of which is sustained to the end. The talent of the builder deserves to be employed on better materials. It is difficult to do justice by extracts to a work whose chief merit consists in the cleverness with which an interesting whole is made out of faulty parts. The following description is not, perhaps, the best specimen of the author's powers ; but it is worth noting, not only in itself, but as exhibiting in strong contrast the personal fascinations of the lady whose character and actions have been described above. Here is a portrait of the heroine under her supposed maiden name of Lucy Graham :—

Wherever she went she seemed to take joy and brightness with her. In the cottages of the poor her fair face shone like a sunbeam. She would sit for a quarter of an hour talking to some old woman, apparently as pleased with the admiration of a toothless crone as she had been listening to the compliments of a marquis ; and when she tripped away, leaving nothing behind her (for her poor salary had no scope to her benevolence), the old woman would burst out  
into

into senile raptures with her grace, her beauty, and her kindliness, such as she never bestowed upon the vicar's wife, who half fed and clothed her. For you see Miss Lucy Graham was blessed with that magic power of fascination by which a woman can charm with a word or intoxicate with a smile. Every one loved, admired, and praised her. The boy who opened the five-barred gate that stood in her pathway ran home to his mother to tell of her pretty looks and the sweet voice in which she thanked him for the little service. The verger at the church who ushered her into the surgeon's pew; the vicar who saw the soft blue eyes uplifted to his face as he preached his simple sermon; the porter from the railway-station who brought her sometimes a letter or a parcel, and who never looked for reward from her; her employer; his visitors; her pupils; the servants; everybody, high and low, united in declaring that Lucy Graham was the sweetest girl that ever lived.'

Aurora Floyd, as a character, is tame after Lady Audley. The 'beautiful fiend,' intensely wicked, but romantic from the very intensity of her wickedness, has degenerated into a fast young lady, full of stable talk, deep in the mysteries of the turf, and familiar with 'Bell's Life,'—a young lady with large beautiful eyes, and with very little else to command any feeling either of love or the reverse. She runs away from school to contract a secret marriage with a consummate blackguard of a groom—

'A bridegroom, say you? 'tis a groom indeed.'

She separates herself from him after a short and bitter experience of his character, comes home, and deceives her father by assuring him that 'that person' is dead when she knows him to be alive; afterwards, on the report of his death, deceives two worthy men by accepting one and marrying the other without breathing a word of her previous escapade (we are informed that 'her natural disposition is all truth and candour'); and finally deceives her husband again, when she discovers that the man she had supposed dead is alive, by making arrangements for sending the obnoxious individual to Australia and retaining the second and illegal spouse as the more agreeable personage of the two. She is inferior to Lady Audley, as a pickpocket is inferior to a thug; but there is this important difference,—that Lady Audley is meant to be detested, while Aurora Floyd is meant to be admired. The one ends her days in a madhouse; the other becomes the wife of an honest man, and the curtain falls upon her 'bending over the cradle of her first-born.' By a fortunate arrangement of nature, which is always at the command of novelists, the birth of the infant is delayed beyond the usual time, till the groom is really dead and a re-marriage has repaired the irregularity of the bigamy. Fortunately also, there is no  
little

little pledge of affection born to the Damasippus of her first vows.

Though the moral teaching of the story is more questionable than that of its predecessor, and the interest, on the whole, less sustained, the individual characters are drawn with greater skill. Aurora, with all her faults, is a woman and not a fiend; and John Mellish, the honest, genial, tender-hearted, somewhat hen-pecked husband, is a portrait superior to any in the more romantic volume. As a companion to the picture of Lucy Graham in a calm may be exhibited the following description of Aurora Floyd in a storm. The 'stable-man' of the piece is not the one whom she has acquired a conjugal right to chastise, but another of the same profession, by no means so good-looking, but as great a scoundrel:—

'Aurora sprang upon him like a beautiful tigress, and catching the collar of his fustian jacket in her slight hands, rooted him to the spot upon which he stood. The grasp of those slender hands, convulsed by passion, was not to be easily shaken off; and Steeve Hargraves, taken completely off his guard, stared aghast at his assailant. Taller than the stable-man by a foot and a half, she towered above him, her cheeks white with rage, her eyes flashing fury, her hat fallen off, and her black hair tumbling about her shoulders, sublime in her passion. . . . . She disengaged her right hand from his collar, and rained a shower of blows upon his clumsy shoulders with her slender whip; a mere toy, with emeralds set in its golden head, but stinging like a rod of flexible steel in that little hand.'

In direct opposition to the bigamy-novels are those which, instead of multiplying the holy ceremony, betray an inclination to dispense with it altogether. There is a school of fiction the practical lesson of which seems to be to reduce marriage to a temporary connexion *durante bene placito*, and to exalt the character of the mistress at the expense of that of the wife. This is a favourite theme with French novelists of a certain class; and the tale entitled 'Recommended to Mercy' may claim to be considered as an English exponent of the same doctrine. It has, indeed, an episode of bigamy, to show the inconveniences of matrimony; but the chief interest centres in a heroine whose ideas on this subject are rather on the side of defect than of excess. Helen Langton, *alias* Mrs. Vaughan, is a young lady whose opinions on the conjugal relation are borrowed from Eloisa, filtered through the dregs of Mary Wollstonecraft:—

'Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to prove;  
No, make me mistress to the man I love'—

reappears from the mouth of this strong-minded young lady in  
the

the form of the following declaration volunteered to a male cousin :—

‘ I consider the ceremony of marriage as one of the most absurd inventions ever inflicted on human beings by mortal men. . . . In the first place, do we not swear to *love* always and to the end, when to do so is too often clearly and simply out of our power? Is human love the growth of human will? Certainly not; and as certainly is it only as words of course, that we vow to “ honour and to obey ” the man who may turn out a dishonourable wretch, or a monster of tyranny and oppression.’

The practice of this fair philosopher is in accordance with her theory. She lives for some years as the mistress of the man she loves; is discarded, as a matter of course, on his marriage; leads a life of virtuous and ill-used poverty for a time; returns to her lover again when he has separated from his wife on suspicion of her infidelity; becomes the legatee of his whole property on certain peculiar conditions of trust; and is thus enabled to become a model of virtue in wealth, as formerly of virtue in poverty (her charities furnishing some graphic illustrations of the manners and customs of the ‘ social evil ’); and finally makes a magnanimous surrender of her riches to the rightful heir, on making a discovery which enables her to do so according to the conditions of the will.

Such is the outline of the story. The moral that would be drawn by the author may be conjectured from the title of the book; that which will be drawn by many of its readers may be summed up in the comfortable doctrine of Hans Carvel’s wife,—

‘ That if weak women went astray,  
Their stars were more in fault than they.’

In truth, we much doubt the wisdom or the morality of drawing fictitious portraits of noble-minded and interesting sinners, by way of teaching us to feel for the sinner while we condemn the sin. We do not deny that the feeling is a right one, nor that such characters may actually exist; but it makes all the difference in the world to the moral whether we meet with the persons in real life or in a novel. The real person is a human being, with human qualities, good or bad, to which the particular sin in question attaches itself as one feature out of many. The fictitious character is but the sin personified and made attractive as the source and substance of many virtues. In the one, the person is the principal figure, the sin is accessory; in the other, the sin is the primary idea, to embellish which the rest of the character is made to order. And when, as a foil to this diamond with but a single flaw, is drawn the ‘ respectable ’ woman whose  
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chastity is beyond the breath of scandal, but who sullies that one virtue by a thousand faults—cold, selfish, pharisaical, hollow-hearted, ill-tempered, &c.—to what does such a story naturally lead, but to the conclusion that, whatever a censorious world may say to the contrary, female virtue has really very little to do with the Seventh Commandment? Novelists of this school do their best to inculcate as a duty the first two of the three stages towards vice—‘we first endure, then pity, then embrace;’ and, in so doing, they have assisted in no small degree to prepare the way for the third.

‘No Name’ is principally a protest against the law which determines the social position of illegitimate children. But the prosecution of this main purpose involves, as a subordinate purpose, a plea in behalf of the connexion to which such children owe their existence. Hence the same stage-trick of exhibiting the virtuous concubine in contrast to the vicious wife is brought forward to give effect to the piece. Andrew Vanstone, when a mere boy, is privately married in Canada to a wife whom he afterwards discovers to have been a woman of profligate character; but, inasmuch as her irregularities are all antenuptial, there is no pretext for dissolving the marriage, and the only resource of the husband is to pension her off, on condition that she shall never trouble him by asserting her conjugal rights. Mr. Vanstone then returns to England, and finds an accommodating young lady, who is content to discharge the duties and assume the name of his wife, without being too particular in demanding a legal right to them. On the death of his real wife, Mr. Vanstone marries the mother of his children, but is prevented by an untimely death from making a new will, his former one being invalidated by the second marriage. The consequence is that his property goes to the heir-at-law, and his children are left penniless, because a cruel jurisprudence does not permit them to be made legitimate by the subsequent marriage of their parents. Against this state of the law, Mr. Collins, through the mouth of the family solicitor, declaims in the following strain:—

‘I am far from defending the law of England, as it affects illegitimate offspring. On the contrary, I think it a disgrace to the nation. It visits the sins of the parents on the children; it encourages vice by depriving fathers and mothers of the strongest of all motives for making the atonement of marriage; and it claims to produce these two abominable results in the names of morality and religion. But it has no extraordinary oppression to answer for, in the case of these unhappy girls. The more merciful and Christian law of other countries, which allows the marriage of the parents to make the children legitimate, has no mercy on *these* children. The accident of their



their father having been married, when he first met with their mother, has made them the outcasts of the whole social community : it has placed them out of the pale of the Civil Law of Europe.'

We have often heard an illegal connexion and its result euphemistically designated as a 'misfortune;' but this is the first time, as far as we are aware, in which a lawful marriage has been denominated an 'accident.' Unfortunately for the author, it is of that kind which is known among logicians as an 'inseparable accident.' This, however, is not the only *fallacia accidentis* of the author's argument. Let us, as we are at liberty to do, suppose all the other accidents of the case reversed. Let us suppose that a heartless husband has deserted an innocent and amiable wife to live with an abandoned mistress, and that, late in life, having quarrelled with his virtuous relatives, he is enabled, by a marriage with his paramour, to provide himself with a ready-made family of lawful children, and to ruin the prospects of some exemplary and ill-used brother or nephew, upon whom the property is settled in the absence of direct heirs; thus securing, through the mercy of the law, the pleasures of adultery during his youth, and the advantages of matrimony in his riper years. Would not such materials, in the hands of a skilful story-teller, make quite as good a case against the new law which Mr. Collins would enact, as he has made against the old law which he desires to repeal? Does not he see that all the virtues which he heaps on the erring couple, and all the vices which he attributes to the lawful wife, are simply so much dust thrown in the eyes of the reader, to blind him to the real merits of the argument? Does he not see that the existing law would have been exactly as just, or exactly as unjust, had the forsaken wife been the most admirable of women, and her illegal successor the most shameless of harlots? Or can any law be contrived by human wisdom which may not be made to appear oppressive by this sort of special pleading? Does not the punishment of a felon inflict a stigma on his children? And should there be, therefore, no punishment for felony?

As a pendant to the practical philosophy of the author, it is only fair to subjoin a specimen of his speculative meditations. It is instructive as showing the sort of sententious platitudes which can be penned by a really able writer, when he condescends to lower himself to the sensation level:—

'Nothing in this world is hidden for ever. The gold which has lain for centuries unsuspected in the ground, reveals itself one day on the surface. Sand turns traitor, and betrays the footstep that has passed over it; water gives back to the tell-tale surface the body that has been drowned. Fire itself leaves the confession, in ashes, of the substance

substance consumed in it. Hate breaks its prison-secrecy in the thoughts, through the doorway of the eyes; and Love finds the Judas who betrays it by a kiss. Look where we will, the inevitable law of revelation is one of the laws of nature: the lasting preservation of a secret is a miracle which the world has never yet seen.'

It would be strange, indeed, if the world had seen it, since, in order to see it, the secret must no longer be preserved. The most completely preserved secret is, of course, that whose existence is least suspected; and if ten thousand such secrets existed, the world, simply because they are preserved, could not possibly know them to exist. The marrow of all this wordy wisdom is contained in the self-evident proposition, that a secret, so long as it is a secret, is a secret. Surely never was truism so pompously expanded in the mouth of a *spruch-sprecher*, or *sayer of sayings*, since the oracular declaration of the clown in 'Twelfth-Night': '*Bonos dies*, Sir Toby; for as the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and ink, very wittily said to a niece of King Gorboduc, *That that is, is*; so I, being master parson, am master parson. For what is *that* but *that*, and *is* but *is*?'

Our next tale of this class is one which gives us some ground of hope that this folly at least is in a fair way of curing itself by its own extravagance. When a fashion becomes vulgar, there is a prospect of its ceasing to be fashionable; and there is some chance for matrimony when fornication is patronised by Mr. James McGrigor Allan. This zealous propagandist, having compounded a very insipid mixture of dulness and self-conceit in the 'Last Days of a Bachelor,' has ventured to flavour these ingredients with a seasoning of immorality and unbelief in 'Nobly False.' The character of the hero, who bears the romantic name of Gerald Lindor, 'is suggested,' as the author tells us, 'by that of Shelley the poet, . . . a man who was in advance of his age, and consequently in some degree a martyr to his invincible and uncompromising love of truth.' But the 'pard-like spirit, beautiful and swift,' evaporates in Mr. Allan's crucible, leaving a *caput mortuum* in the likeness of a vulgar infidel demagogue. The author has about as much appreciation of his hero as the Roman imitators who went with bare feet and unshorn beards in admiration of the virtues of Cato. He is quite incapable of understanding that there is a difference between loving or admiring a man in spite of his errors, and loving or admiring him in consequence of them. He selects, as the prominent features of Shelley's character, his religious scepticism and his lax opinions on marriage, and transfers them, according to the approved receipt for a sensation novel, to the hero of a tale ending in the year 1861. Gerald, the son of a rich baronet, falls

in love with a peasant girl, named Miriam Groves; but having promised his dying mother not to marry before he is twenty-five, he keeps the promise to the letter by taking Miriam as his mistress instead of his wife. Another match being in contemplation for Gerald, Miriam resolves to sacrifice herself to his family interests, but thinks that the sacrifice will be incomplete unless she also makes him hate her memory. In pursuance of this design she makes an assignation with another man, and appears with him in public at the representation of *La Traviata*, having previously fortified herself with brandy, or, as the author elegantly expresses it, with 'alcoholic stimulus.' Having thus laid in a stock of courage, she follows up the brandy by strychnine, and finally dies in a hospital, after an interview with her lover, in which she frustrates her purpose by explaining it. A year after her death, Gerald marries the lady intended for him by his family, and completes the sacrifice by shooting himself on his wedding-night. The *moral* of the story, as expressed by its title, is, that the noblest sacrifice a woman can make to her lover is the surrender, first of her virtue, and then of her fair fame.

There is, however, a grander sacrifice in the book—and that is, the self-immolation of the author. Not Dogberry himself ever manifested such anxiety to be 'writ down an ass' in the discharge of his duty, as does Mr. M'Grigor Allan to appear in the same character in behalf of his darling theories. The preliminary bray of his preface is a direct challenge to the reader, to forewarn him what sort of an animal he is to expect:—

'Respecting my heroine, Miriam, an ideal of womanly love and disinterestedness, of which I have dreamed for years before I attempted to fix the image of my fancy; I have doubtless been influenced in the conception of her character by such world-renowned types as those contained in "Undine," "Paul and Virginia," the "Haidée" of Byron, "Marguerite" in Faust, "Atala," "Romeo and Juliette" (*sic*), "The Bride of Lammermoor," &c. &c. . . . It is superfluous for me to say that I do not for an instant *compare* my humble work with any of these master-pieces. All I would say, while bowing before my intellectual liege lords, and gratefully and reverently acknowledging the inspiration I have received from them, is, that in Miriam I have dared to dream of striking a still higher chord of sympathy, of a woman's devotion more sublime and complete than I have yet seen presented in fiction; a devotion even more heart-moving than that exemplified in Jephtha's (*sic*) daughter cheerfully offering her bosom to the sacrificial knife, since it is illustrative of the strongest of human ties—Love.'

The author further tells us that the incidents of his tale 'have been wrought with an eye to future adaptation to the stage.' Imagine the dramatic effect of the two following scenes:—

'All was done which medical science and skill could suggest, to  
neutralise

neutralize the effects of the strychnine which Miriam had swallowed. The stomach-pump was used, and the proper antidotes, emetics, decoctions of bark, and warm water, liberally applied, and with tolerable success, so far as counteracting the direct agency of the poison was concerned.'

\* \* \* \* \*

' "It is too late," said Gerald, with a ghastly look. "God alone can read your heart! If you truly repent! Oh, my heart is on fire! I carry death in my veins! My will is below! Downey! This poison is too slow! It racks, and does not kill! Miriam, I come!" and pressing the pistol to his forehead, he pulled the trigger, and fell against the picture of Miriam, which was stained with his blood!'

Our exhibition would be incomplete without the following specimen of the author's adoption of the favourite cant of a certain school of theology of the present day:—

'Your mind is not of the calibre to understand that *higher faith* which may exist with honest doubts, or even a bold denial of that puerile conception, the God of the Priests.'

'The Law of Divorce,' like 'Recommended to Mercy,' is a tale written to illustrate the superiority of illegal over legal connexions between man and woman, though using a somewhat different machinery for the purpose. Roland Elsmere, the hero of this tale, though not exactly guilty of bigamy, nevertheless finds himself hampered by the opposing claims of two simultaneous wives—one the wife *de facto*, the other, in the opinion of the author, the wife *de jure*. In plain language, he has divorced his first wife, for the most sufficient of all causes, and has married a second; and the purpose of the tale is, by means of various arguments, theological, moral, and artistic, to hold up to execration the law which has permitted him to do the one and the other. The theological and moral arguments we shall not attempt to discuss. They belong to a question which is admitted by the highest authorities to be one of exceeding difficulty and delicacy, and which assuredly cannot be satisfactorily treated in connexion with a work of fiction. But, in the name of common reverence and common decency, we are bound to protest against the levity which mixes up the solemn reflections which belong to these aspects of the question with the claptrap devices and theatrical artifices of a fourth-rate sensation story. Side by side with quotations from Scripture and appeals to the authority of the Church, the reader is regaled with an artistic commentary consisting of the same kind of special-pleading that is conspicuous in the novels previously noticed. There is an exhibition of highly-coloured fancy portraits of repulsive virtue and attractive vice. Catherine, the second wife, the wife by law, is

described as cold-hearted, suspicious, mean, hard, coarse, violent. Harriet, the first wife, and still, in the author's opinion, the wife *jure divino*, is gentle, affectionate, fascinating, with every moral and religious excellence that can adorn a woman—except, of course, the one which society has perversely selected as the cardinal virtue of the sex.

‘ True it is, she has one failing :  
When had woman ever less ? ’

She is an adulteress, and that under aggravating rather than extenuating circumstances, being, by her own confession, the seducer as well as the seduced. But the moral teaching of this class of novels is to extenuate this particular sin, as compared with many others towards which society is more lenient. From all this licentious twaddle it is really refreshing to turn to downright old Johnson's coarse but honest reply to a similar strain of sophistry : ‘ My dear Sir, never accustom your mind to mingle virtue and vice. The woman's a ——, and there's an end on't. ’

Besides having two wives, the hero of this tale has also a sister-in-law ; and his position between the divorced wife and her sister might almost suggest that other marriage laws besides that which gives the title to the book were acting as a cruel restraint on his capacious affections :—

‘ He sat between her and Harriet on the couch ; his right arm clasped the one sister, and his left was twined round the waist of the other ; and the head of each lay warm, glossy, odorous, and beautiful, on his anxious bosom. ’

The sister, however, soon finds a lover of her own in the person of an Italian patriot, who is burning to fight the battles of his oppressed country under the banner of Garibaldi ; and only remains in inglorious peace because he ‘ has received a blow under the right eye which has materially enfeebled its sight. ’ The effects of this blow are described by the sufferer himself :—

‘ The purpose of my life was frustrated. One half hour of anger and wounded pride had robbed me of my career of glory. Again and again I have sought to serve even as a private soldier in the cause of my country ; but no army-surgeon will admit me into a regiment, in consequence of the impaired vision which I owe to that unhappy duel. ’

We tremble to think what might have become of Greek and Roman history, if Philip of Macedon and Hannibal had been subjected to the inspection of these fastidious army-surgeons, to say nothing of the double disqualification of John Zisca and ‘ blind old Dandolo ! ’ It is difficult to match this exquisite  
absurdity ;

absurdity; but the following interrogative sketch of the Galatea to this warlike Polyphemus may perhaps be thought not unworthy to stand beside it:—

‘Was there no counterpart to these questionings in the breast of Lizzy—gentle, thoughtful Lizzy? Were her slumbers unbroken? Did her beauteous head lie motionless and unturned on its pillow? Did no mellifluous voice ring in her ears through the passages of the night? Did no vision of a young and noble-hearted patriot haunt her in her dreams?’ &c. &c.

From vice to crime, from the divorce-court to the police-court, is but a single step. When fashionable immorality becomes insipid, the materials for sensation may still be found hot and strong in the ‘Newgate Calendar;’ especially if the crime is of recent date, having the merits of personality and proximity to give it a nervous as well as a moral effect. Unhappily, the materials for such excitement are not scanty, and an author who condescends to make use of them need have little difficulty in selecting the most available. Let him only keep an eye on the criminal reports of the daily newspapers, marking the cases which are honoured with the especial notice of a leading article, and become a nine-days’ wonder in the mouths of quidnuncs and gossips; and he has the outline of his story not only ready-made, but approved beforehand as of the true sensation cast. Then, before the public interest has had time to cool, let him serve up the exciting viands in a réchauffé with a proper amount of fictitious seasoning; and there emerges the criminal variety of the Newspaper Novel, a class of fiction having about the same relation to the genuine historical novel that the police reports of the ‘Times’ have to the pages of Thucydides or Clarendon. More than one of the books on our list belong to this class. The very dull tale called ‘Wait and Hope,’ consisting for the most part of insufferably tedious conversations, aims at enlivening its general torpor by exciting a momentary shudder at the carpet-bag mystery of Waterloo Bridge; while the author of ‘Recommended to Mercy’ deals out the same wares on a larger scale, under the appropriate title of ‘Such Things are.’ The latter author ventures to remind the reader of the fact that all which trenches on either the mysterious or the horrible has for the present generation an apparently irresistible attraction; and by way of feeding this depraved taste, has ‘brought again to the light of recollection a shadowy vision of two past, but as yet undiscovered crimes,’—in other words—the Road murder and the Glasgow poisoning. These two crimes are taken out of their original associations, and, with some change of circumstances, are fastened upon two ‘fast young ladies,’ bosom friends  
to

to each other, and who, by a most marvellous coincidence, become the wives of two brothers. The one, some time after her marriage, is discovered by her horrified husband to be the person principally suspected of 'the famous Bogden murder;' the other, on the eve of her marriage, being threatened with an exposure of some passages in her earlier life, quietly gets rid of the obnoxious witness by a dose of strychnine, and, on the day but one following, figures as a bride in a 'quiet and unostentatious wedding at St. George's, Hanover Square.'

✓ There is something unspeakably disgusting in this ravenous appetite for carrion, this vulture-like instinct which smells out the newest mass of social corruption, and hurries to devour the loathsome dainty before the scent has evaporated. When some memorable crime of bygone days presents features which have enabled it to survive the crowd of contemporary horrors, and, by passing into the knowledge of a new generation, has in some degree attained to the dignity of history, there is much to be said in defence of a writer of fiction who sees in the same features something of a romantic interest which makes them available for the purposes of his art; but it is difficult to extend the same excuse to the gatherer of fresh stimulants from the last assizes. The poet or the philosopher may be allowed to moralise over the dry skeleton turned up to view in the graveyard or the battlefield, but we doubt whether the strongest-stomached medical student would find a theme equally poetical or equally instructive in the subject laid out in the dissecting-room.

But all this is done, as the author tells us, 'with a purpose,' to warn fast young ladies, forsooth, of the fatal consequences to which fastness may lead them! As if any moral end could be served by a real crime tacked on to an imaginary criminal, without even a *callida junctura* to disguise the clumsy patchwork! Crimes of this horrible individuality are the very last from which  
 ✓ any one will draw a general moral: they are the crimes of their perpetrators, and of no one else. Even the plain lesson that might be drawn from the real dying speech and confession of the actual criminal is lost in this diluted mixture of fact and fiction. Everybody knows that the crimes as described were not really committed by the persons to whom they are attributed in the story, but by very different persons and under very different circumstances; and the whole moral is at once destroyed by the glaring untruthfulness and incongruity of the story. A book of  
 A this sort is simply a chamber of horrors without even the merit of giving a correct likeness of the criminals exhibited. To think of pointing a moral by stimulants of this kind is like holding a religious service in a gin-palace.

Where

Where the excitement of a real police-report is wanting, the novelist of criminal life may supply its place by variety and strangeness of imaginary adventure. Of all heroes of the felonious class, commend us to George Messenger, *alias* Scarisbrick, *alias* Dandy Dangerfield, the prominent figure in the group of blackguards of both sexes who form the principal *dramatis personæ* of the 'Old Roman Well.' This marvellous personage, within the compass of two volumes, goes through adventures enough to furnish half a dozen Turpins or Jack Sheppards. He begins life, where George Talboys is supposed to end it, at the bottom of a well—scarcely in this case the habitation of truth—though his biographer, more communicative than the narrator of 'Lady Audley's Secret,' is kind enough to explain the circumstances under which he got out unhurt, after falling a depth of a hundred and fifty feet. 'I expex, ye know, it's owin' to its bein' so light—all gristle instead of bones—and p'raps its clothes spread out as it wint down, and so sunk its fall like.' Thus marvellously preserved, the child is doubtless destined to be a great man; but unfortunately his greatness is of the wrong kind—that of a scoundrel, not of a hero. He first figures as a juvenile poacher in the country; then runs away to London, and falls into the meshes of a beautiful fiend, a sort of Lady Audley of low life (these female fiends are a stock article with sensation novelists), and passes through various stages of town rascality, under the tutorage of a gentleman who has graduated in the successive honours of a 'shiverer,' a 'cadger,' a 'duffer,' an 'area-sneak,' a 'shop-bouncer,' a 'fogle-buzzer,' a 'swell-mobbite,' a 'rampsmen,' and a 'cracksman.' Under this hopeful instructor, he ascends from theft to robbery, and from robbery to murder, with interludes of softer vice as a lady-killer; is hanged, very justly, in the middle of his course; is brought to life again through a wonderful elixir administered by an old ferryman, who turns out to be the husband of the beautiful fiend; is sent by the said ferryman to America, furnished with medical secrets by which he makes his fortune as a doctor; comes back to England in ten years, rolling in wealth, and with a 'supernatural paleness' (the remains of the *sus. per coll.*) which disguises his identity from all his former friends; spends untold thousands in all kinds of charitable works; succeeds to the estates of his ancestors, whom he discovers to be of an old family in his native county; becomes a husband and a father; and dies at last in the odour of sanctity, under the influence of which 'his face glowed with a heavenly light.' The reader closes the book impressed with a conviction (not in the judicial sense) of the beneficial effects of hanging as a moral restorative,

if



if the patient is only fortunate enough to survive the operation, and of the author's profound acquaintance with thieves' Latin, which he coins *ad libitum* by the simple process of spelling words backwards.

A very brief notice will be sufficient to dispose of some of the smaller fry on our multifarious list.

'Miriam May,' 'Crispin Ken,' and 'Philip Paternoster' are specimens of the theological novel, which employs the nerves as a vehicle for preaching in the literal sense of the term. The object of these tales is to inculcate certain doctrines, or rather a hatred of certain opposite doctrines, by painting offensive portraits of persons professing the obnoxious opinions. The two former preach on the High-Church side, by exhibiting villanous specimens of Low-Churchmen and Dissenters; the third preaches on the Low-Church side, by drawing ludicrous caricatures of Tractarians, and by the original and ingenious witticism of calling St. Barnabas St. Barabbas. 'The Weird of the Westworths' (a sensation title) teaches a lesson the very opposite of theological, being chiefly remarkable as showing the agreeable varieties which it is possible to introduce into the art of profane swearing. 'Passages in the Life of a Fast Young Lady' (another sensation title) is one of those tales of personal scandal of which we have already spoken. 'Only a Woman,' a tale of feminine passion and masculine weakness, is chiefly remarkable for the author's high estimate of the female sex—the heroine being a young woman whose animal charms are dwelt upon with unnecessary minuteness; but who is described as having 'no troublesome moral principles to keep her in check;' while at the same time she is 'as far above' another young woman 'as Cotopaxi is above Primrose Hill.' 'Harold Overdon' and 'Liberty Hall, Oxon,' are offenders of another and a far worse kind—coarse tales of unblushing profligacy, which would be mischievous were not their immorality counteracted by their stupidity. 'Ashcombe Churchyard' is an attempt to combine the sensational with the domestic. The double purpose extends the story to a tedious length, and the glowing tints of the former ingredient harmonise badly with the sober background of the latter. In connexion with the quiet history of an impoverished family, and commonplace moral reflections coloured to match, we are dazzled by fitful flashes of the pathetic and the horrible, comprising a cruel father and a victim daughter; a seduction transacted in a *more ferarum* style, which it is to be hoped is not often to be met with in fact or in fiction; a murder, or something very like one, through medical breach of trust; a mysterious legend and a family doom; a second murder—

murder—this time by a pistol—and three broken hearts, leading respectively to immediate death, imbecility, and lunacy. The hero or villain of the piece (in tales of this kind the two terms are nearly synonymous) is a certain fascinating dispensary doctor, whose charms beguile his female patients into a forgetfulness, sometimes of prudence, sometimes of duty, sometimes of common decency; who is attached, rather beyond Platonic bounds, to another man's wife; is assailed with fierce love by an earl's daughter on one side, and an heiress of vast wealth on the other; and is finally married, sorely against his will, and shot on his wedding-day; after which we are confidently told that his spirit waited at the gates of Paradise till it was joined by that of a married lady (not his own wife), with the following celestial results:—

'They had found the star that had shone a moment on their early youth and then disappeared, leaving them to grope to the end of their pilgrimage in darkness. They had found the harp that they had strongly swept in life's morning, but which, as soon as it was touched, "passed in music out of sight," leaving them in a howling wilderness of discord. They had found the solution of that dark enigma which had been propounded to them when they began their rugged march through earth, and the meaning of which seemed till now hidden from them by a thousand mystical wrappings. They had found the missing verity.'

The above samples may be considered as belonging to the aristocratic branch of sensational literature, so far at least as high prices and hotpressed paper can make them so. But the craving for sensation extends to all classes of society—

'Plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum;'

and our task would be incomplete without some notice of the cheap publications which supply sensation for the million in penny and halfpenny numbers. These publications are not directly included in the list of works contemplated in our previous observations, and to examine them in detail would require a separate article, and a somewhat different method of treatment; but, indirectly, they belong to our subject, as the anatomy of the skeleton frame belongs to the surgical treatment of the living body. In a rigidly scientific study of the subject they would perhaps claim the principal place, so far as science aims at studying effects in their causes, at analysing compounds and exhibiting their simplest elements. These tales are to the full-grown sensation novel what the bud is to the flower, what the fountain is to the river, what the typical form is to the organised body. They are the original germ, the primitive monad, to which all the varieties of sensational literature may  
be

be referred, as to their source, by a law of generation at least as worthy of the attention of the scientific student as that by which Mr. Darwin's bear may be supposed to have developed into a whale. Fortunately in this case the rudimental forms have been continued down to the epoch of the mature development. In them we have sensationism pure and undisguised, exhibited in its naked simplicity, stripped of the rich dress which conceals while it adorns the figure of the more ambitious varieties of the species. A few specimens will serve the purposes of study better than many descriptions. The reader is requested to observe the compact structure of the sentences, as well as the exciting nature of the theme. In these infinitesimal doses is contained the whole virtue of sensationism, as surely as the virtue of a homœopathic medicine is contained in the concentrated globule, whatever may be the volume of water in which it is diluted. Here is a dose, labelled 'May Dudley, or the White Mask,' possibly the original of 'Mokeanna, or the White Witness.' The scene, it should be remembered, is laid in the reign of George III., with the manners of whose Court the author displays an intimate acquaintance:—

'The Queen began to fan herself, and unable to restrain his curiosity, the King strolled towards May. She opened the book of prints, and placed her finger on what she had written.

'The words were like fire to the King.

"In half an hour the White Mask will arrive at the Palace, with the roquelaire (*sic*) of the fair Susannah, and ask for a private audience of the Queen."

"Yah! Bah! Boo!" cried the King.

'The Queen started to her feet.

'The ladies of honour looked about them in amazement.

'The King pretended to limp, and held up one foot.

"The corn again!" he said. "The pain in our right toe—a dreadful pain! Good morning, ladies—good morning. Forced to go away to look after our toe. Forced to go to the—the—Red Room at top of the back stairs. Hem! hem!"

'The King limped from the room.

'May Dudley, in the confusion, had quietly torn out the picture from the book of prints on which she had written the few words that had so affected the King.

'The Queen rose.

"Ladies, till three o'clock we have no occasion for your kind service."

'The ladies all bowed low, and the Queen left the room.'

From this contemplation of the state and ceremony of royalty we may proceed, under the guidance of the same author, to a study of the gentle loves of aristocracy, and the lawless violence  
of

of plebeian criminality. We are thus favoured with an introduction to all classes of society. Here is a picture of refined love painted to the life:—

‘ For one short hour !

‘ Only one circlet of the golden hands of the costly Sèvres time-piece on the chimney-piece of that fair and luxurious boudoir of May Dudley, let us, O reader, step back with you into the realms of time past.

‘ While May is contending with Sir Reuben Digby in the Park, Rachael is at home with a heart so full of fears—so full of love—so full of deep anxiety to do something that shall testify to all that love and all that devotion she felt for May Dudley, that at times it seemed as though it would burst the confines of her bosom with its swelling emotions.

‘ And had Rachael, too, no deep feelings and anxieties specially of her own ?

‘ Oh, yes !

‘ She, too, loved.

‘ She loved May, but it was as the cold glitter of the moonbeams upon alpine summits in comparison with another love that had found a home in her heart.

‘ She loved Joseph Digby.

‘ How strange a woven web is human life !

‘ How ill-assorted, at times, seem the colours, and how oddly mixed the fabrics ! Here were four people—May Dudley, Rachael, Justin Rivers, and Joseph Digby.

‘ They all loved.

‘ All had warm, affectionate natures—all ‘gentle and noble aspirations—and yet they were all unhappy !

‘ Some with fear.

‘ Some with the hopeless agony of a lost passion.

‘ It was only a narcotic—only the drowsy influence of the nodding poppy—that brought slumber to the vexed brain of Justin Rivers ; for his every nerve, his every sense, was in a state of powerful tension—in the constant fear that some evil would befall his darling May.

‘ And she—she, the beautiful, admired, and courted May Dudley—was she happy ?

‘ No, no !

‘ Her thoughts were with her wounded lover, and were full of all those vague surmises which torment the soul when suffering sits on the brow of the loved one.

‘ But still May and Justin were comparatively happy.

‘ That is, comparatively with Rachael.

‘ Comparatively with poor Joseph.

‘ They knew that they loved, and were beloved in return ; but poor Rachael and poor Joseph had no such blessed consolation.

‘ Little did Joseph Digby imagine that he had lit up in the bosom of Rachael a flame that was consuming her existence.

‘ She

'She loved him as such a nature as hers only can love.

'Once and for ever.

'Perhaps had Joseph Digby not been so much blinded by his own hopeless passion for May Dudley, he would have observed something in the looks, in the tone, in the manner of Rachael, which would have let him perceive the state of her affections.

'But he did not. His view in that house was limited, and bounded by the sweet eyes of May.

'And now we go back that brief hour we have mentioned, and we find ourselves in the principal drawing-room of the mansion of May Dudley.

'Rachael is there, resting her head upon her hand, mourning her lost affections.

'Quite lost affections, since she knew so well that the heart of Joseph was another's.

'There is a tap at the door of the apartment.

'Listlessly Rachael gives the permission to enter. She scarcely looks up, but there is a something in the very atmosphere that surrounds the loved one, ever proclaiming his or her presence.

'Before the visitor was across the threshold of the room, Rachael knew that it was Joseph.

'With a flush, and then a paleness, and then a flush again of colour that was deeper than before, she rose to meet him.

'Then she half shrieked, for there was a look upon the face of Joseph that was horrible to see.

'It was not sickness!

'It was not fear!

'It was something heroic mingled with something despairing.

'The sort of look with which some martyr might go to death to testify to some sublime truth against which the hand of persecution had been armed.

'And that was just the feeling of Joseph.

'He was going to die for May Dudley!

'That was the look!

\* \* \* \* \*

'She sunk to his feet.

'She uplifted her hands in the attitude of prayer.

'“Joseph! Joseph! you must not, you shall not die, even for Justin Rivers and for May, since you too are loved!”

'The looks!

'The attitude!

'The tone!

'All sufficient to proclaim the cherished secret of Rachael's heart. Joseph knew then that she loved him!

'“Oh! this is very sad,” he said gently.

'Rachael burst into tears.

The plebeian scene represents an attempt made by May Dudley, in the disguise of the White Mask, to rescue the captive Joseph from

from 'the old Gatehouse in Westminster,' in which he has been imprisoned by his father, Sir Reuben Digby, 'the chief of the Secret Police.' She has summoned to her assistance a fraternity of thieves residing in a subterranean vault under Hungerford Market :—

' May spoke now, in cold, harsh tones of command.

" ' I, the White Mask, demand of you by what right you hold here, as a prisoner, one Joseph Digby ? "

' " Joseph—Digby ! A warrant ! "

' " I granted no warrant, and I do not permit any one to be here a prisoner, without one, who is a friend of mine."

' " A friend ? "

' " I have said so. We are three."

' " Three ? "

' " Yes. As this is ! "

' May touched the White Mask.

' " Three highwaymen ! Three White Masks ! One, two—oh ! "

' The Governor was getting bewildered.

' May spoke again.

' " You will surrender to me, and to freedom, Joseph Digby."

' " I—I—dare not ! "

' " But you will."

' May took a gold repeater from her pocket, and cast it to the floor at the feet of the Governor.

' " If you have light enough, see that one minute more elapses not on that dial before you obey me, or you die ! "

' " I can't see it."

' " We can, then, provide you with death easier than with more light."

' " Joe the Cracker stepped forward, and put right into the ear of the Governor the muzzle of a pistol.

' " Shall I settle him, noble Captain ? "

' " No ; he will obey."

' The Governor was white as—ay, as white as the White Mask, only that upon his face there was the expression of intense fear, and upon that there was none.

' " I cannot ! " he said. " A man can but do what he can."

' " Don't make any excuses," said Joe. " Where's the goldfinch ? "

' " Let me get up."

' " With all the pleasure in life."

' The Governor was assisted to his feet.

' " I cannot help all this," he said. " If you ring my bell again twice, it will bring the prison clerk, and the man you speak of can then be released. Ah, no ! Ha, ha ! Corn in Egypt ! Ha, ha ! The Light Horse ! Rescue, rescue, rescue ! "

' With a dash and a clatter, a party of the King's Light Horse, escorting a coach, reached the door of the prison.'

This specimen belongs to one of the lower forms of sensational life.

life. The following is from a journal of higher character, and may be regarded as representing a transition stage to the superior organisation. The taste for revelations of the inner life of the aristocracy displays itself with unabated vigour, accompanied by the genuine sensation device of a pre-matrimonial secret:—

“ But,” cried the marquis, eagerly, “ it is precisely before our marriage——”

“ With which you have nothing to do,” interposed the marchioness, sternly. “ Let me not have to repeat that I wish to see the man no more. I shall make it my endeavour to prevent the chance arising of ever meeting him more. And now, my lord, I have brought our interview to a close. All that I could have expected from it has taken place. Whatever may have been your anticipations, you must be content with the result, and take it as it is. We now, and at this moment, part for ever, or resume our relations as they have been, without, however, one allusion being made at any time to what has just passed between us. If it is your will that we shall part for ever, I shall know it by receiving from you no communication between my departure from this room and an hour hence. If, on the contrary, you are content to let the world maintain its inflated sense of your untarnished dignity, you will send to me, ere the expiration of an hour, a note which will contain only the words, ‘ I assent.’ I shall follow the receipt of that note by ordering preparations to be secretly made—you will not, my lord, object, I know, to that part of the arrangement—to proceed abroad, say Rome, where we can make a stay for at least one, perhaps two years, the term will depend on your lordship, and—a——”

“ She hesitated: a flush of colour went across her face, disappeared instantly, and left her deathly pale.

“ What ?” he inquired curiously, as she paused.

“ Her voice faltered.

“ The duration of one of our lives,” she added. “ In such case the survivor would naturally return to England. Lord Westchester, I leave the decision in your hands. Do not complain if, in making your election, you should err, and your mistake should prove fatal. You, and you alone, will be to blame.”

“ She bowed stiffly and grandly to him, and glided from the room.

“ He made a movement to stay her, but she was gone.

“ Bewildered, excited, astounded, overwhelmed by the mastery over him, which from the first she had seized, and to the last maintained, he gave way to an ebullition of frantic emotion, and flung himself upon the ground with all the wildness and frenzy of a maniac.’

To these specimens of the sensationist’s power of making, may we venture to add one more as a sample of his ability in marring? Even the genius of Scott must succumb to his touch. Behold the ‘Heart of Mid-Lothian’ metamorphosed into ‘Effie Deans, or the Lily of St. Leonards,’ by George Armitage, author  
of

of "The Felon's Daughter, or Pamela's Perils." The author, as will be seen, is smitten with a desire to emulate the poetry as well as the prose of his great original:—

' The night was mirk and drear.

' The scene, a piled up mass of rocks, terminating in the wild and picturesque boulders known as Salisbury Crags, near to the town of Edinburgh.

' Lightning from storm-riven clouds each instant imparted a ghastly reality and radiance to the desolate scene.

' The roar of a cataract close at hand drowned all minor sounds in the tumbling rush of its waters.

' " Help!—oh, help me now, husband! Geordie, I do love you—I did love you! In the sight of heaven I am yours—your own wife, Effie!"

' " Peace, girl, or this knife shall soon drink the life-blood of the bairn!"

' These last words were uttered by what might be a woman by the dress and general appearance, although the tall, unfeminine stature, and the fierce attitude, combined with the hoarse voice, that was heard above the roar and tumult of the storm, seemed to give a negative to the supposition.

' Crouching down close to a rock, the slippery surface of which afforded no hold to her, although she strove in vain to grasp it with one disengaged hand, was a young girl.

' So young, so child-like, so lovely in her deep distress and tears; her flood of golden hair, all dishevelled and streaming to the wild night blast; her tartan cloak and hood streaming from her in the wind like the banner of some clan of the Highland heaths; agony upon her fair and gentle face; her voice raised to a shrieking cry, that gathered echoes as it flew from rock to rock, repeating the word " Help! help!"

' And clasped to her breast, with the other hand—held closely, and wrapped up in the folds of a cloak of costly cloth, clasped by a jewel, this young girl, who called upon heaven and earth to aid her, held a child!

' An infant!

\* \* \* \* \*

' " No, mother—no!" screamed a strange voice, and the uplifted hand and arm of the hag was stayed. " No, mother, you must not kill the bairn, for poor Meg's sake. Geordie will love her again if she has a little bairn to show him! Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! I like the sea-bird's shriek, and I can mock it!

" Meg o' the Sea—Meg o' the Sea,  
She loved too well her bonny lad;  
Joy was dancing in her e'e,  
But her heart was sore and sad.

' Nay,



Nay, mother, you shall not kill the bairn. Geordie loves her for the bairn, and he will love poor Meg Murdochson again, if she hold it to his lips for a bonny kiss.

“ A bairn’s a bairn, for a’ that,  
And a’ that, and a’ that,  
A bairn’s a bairn, for a’ that ;  
Whoe’er the lassie be.”

‘ Bless thee, Bottom ! bless thee ! thou art translated.’

It is unnecessary to multiply our examples, whether of the higher or the lower order. Evidence enough has been adduced to show that sensation novels must be recognised as a great fact in the literature of the day, and a fact whose significance is by no means of an agreeable kind. Regarding these works merely as an efflorescence, as an eruption indicative of the state of health of the body in which they appear, the existence of an impure or a silly crop of novels, and the fact that they are eagerly read, are by no means favourable symptoms of the conditions of the body of society. But it is easier to detect the disease than to suggest the remedy. The praiseworthy attempts of individual proprietors of circulating libraries, to weed their collections of silly or mischievous works, have been too partial and isolated to produce any perceptible result, and have even acted as an advertisement of the rejected books. A more general and combined attempt in this direction is a thing rather to be wished than expected. Could a taste for the best class of fictions be cultivated in the minds of the rising generation, it might, perhaps, have its effect in lessening the craving for this kind of unnatural excitement ; and could any check be imposed on the rapidity of production, it might improve the quality of the article produced. It is difficult to believe that the habitual devourers of sensation novels have ever read Scott ; indeed, we have known young persons, familiar with the latest products of the circulating library, who not only had never read Scott, but who had no idea that he was worth reading. It is as easy to imagine that the blessed sun of heaven should prove a micher and eat blackberries, as that one capable of appreciating the creations of the great magician should relish the sort of stuff of which three-fourths of the books on our present list are made. But, alas ! Scott himself has well-nigh shared the fate which he lamented as having befallen Richardson, Mackenzie, and Burney.—A new generation of readers has sprung up, who have reversed the fault of which Horace complains, and gone back to that for which Homer apologises. We have no need of the subtlety of ‘ the rule that laid the horsetail bare ’ to argue against readers who admire no  
authors

authors of less than a hundred years old : we have rather to echo the comment of Telemachus on the taste of his day :—

‘ For novel lays attract our ravished ears,  
But old, the mind with inattention hears.’

By way of experiment, and to give the old at least a fair chance of competing with the new, we should like to see a lending library established somewhat on the principle of the ‘Retrospective Review,’ which should circulate no books but those which have received the stamp of time in testimony of their merits. No book should be admitted under twenty years old, a very liberal allowance for the life of a modern novel, and which is long enough to give rise to a new generation who could not have read the book on its first coming out. Such an establishment, if the public mind could be persuaded to tolerate it, would have at least one commercial advantage which is denied to some of its present rivals. It would be relieved from the necessity, which is often imposed upon them, of buying up nearly the whole impression of the last work of some popular author, which, having been already published for a very trifling sum in the pages of some magazine, is forthwith reprinted at five or six times the price, as a separate work.\* A real competition between old favourites and new would have a good effect, not in destroying, which is not to be wished, but in weeding the luxuriant produce of the present day. The appetite, even of a novel-reader, has its limits ; and if the best of the old books could be brought in, the worst of the new must drop out to make way for them. There would be an increased struggle for existence, under the pressure of which the weaker writers would give way, and the stronger would be improved by the stimulus of effective competition.

Even if no remedy can be found, it is something to know the disease. There is a satisfaction in exposing an impostor, even

\* The following comparative table of the prices of some of our most popular novels, on first and second publication, has been furnished through a friend. It is curious, as showing how much of the cost of a book is due to the ‘getting up’ of it.

		Published Separately.	
		s. d.	s. d.
‘A Strange Story,’ in Nos. of ‘All the Year Round,’	.. 4 4 ... 2 vols.	24	0
‘The Woman in White’	ditto .. 6 8 ... 3 vols.	31	6
‘No Name’	ditto .. 6 8 ... 3 vols.	31	6
‘Great Expectations’	ditto .. 4 4 ... 3 vols.	31	6
‘Verner’s Pride’	‘Once a Week’ ... 8 0 ... 3 vols.	31	6
‘The Channings,’ 24 penny Nos. of ‘The Quiver’	... 2 0 ... 3 vols.	31	6
‘Mrs. Halliburton’s Troubles,’ 34	ditto ... 2 10 ... 3 vols.	31	6
‘Lady Audley’s Secret,’ 12 Nos. of ‘The Sixpenny Mag.’	6 0 ... 3 vols.	31	6
Vol. 113.—No. 226.		2 l.	when

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when we feel sure that the world will continue to believe in him. The idol may still be worshipped, yet it is right to tell its worshippers that it is an idol; grotesque, it may be, or horrible in its features, but mere wood or stone, brass or clay, in its substance. The current folly may be destined to run its course, as other follies have done before it; and it must be confessed that there are as yet but few signs of its abating. But the duty of the preacher is the same, whether he succeed or fail. Though we cannot flatter ourselves with the hope that our protest will have the disenchanting influence of 'Dian's bud o'er Cupid's flower,' we are not the less bound to place on record the grounds of our belief, that, when the reading public wakes up from its present delusion, it will discover, with regard to some at least of the favourites of the day, that its affections have been bestowed upon an object not very different in kind from the animal of which Titania was enamoured.

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ART. VIII.—*The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan.*  
By Alexander William Kinglake. Edinburgh and London, 1863.

IT is now twenty years since Mr. Kinglake published *Eöthen*. The book was original, startled the public, and was successful. Its style was fresh and vigorous; its descriptions vivid and picturesque. A lively banter and polished irony gave zest to the narrative. A biting sarcasm levelled against things usually held sacred offended certain tastes, and jarred upon the feelings of most English readers. Yet as men like to see the true imprint of other men's minds, they were willing to forget the offence in the undoubted ability and originality of the work. Mr. Kinglake renounced—as we are accustomed to renounce the Evil One and all his works—'all details of geographical discovery or antiquarian research, all display of sound learning and religious knowledge, all historical and scientific illustrations, all useful statistics, all political disquisitions, and all good moral reflections.'\*

He has been taken at his word,—*Eöthen* is read as an amusing record—and only as an amusing record—of what the French term 'impressions of travel.' It has never been seriously quoted as an authority upon any one subject connected with the country

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\* Preface to '*Eöthen*.'

it describes. After a rest of a quarter of a century Mr. Kinglake comes before the public in a more serious character than the writer of a romance founded upon travel. He appears as an historian who claims to be the authorized and destined relator of one of the most important chapters of our national history—the war with Russia and the invasion of the Crimea.

Mr. Kinglake cannot expect that the same canon of criticism should be applied to such a history as to Eöthen. The critic who seriously questioned the literal truth of the traveller's dialogue with the Pacha of Belgrade, or disputed the beauty and the smiles of the laughing maidens of Bethlehem, would simply make himself ridiculous. But when conversations are related upon which the fate of nations is gravely said to have turned, and facts stated which involve the reputation of the living and the dead, Mr. Kinglake must no longer consider himself exempt from the most stringent ordeal of criticism. We have too much respect for his character as a man of honour and truth to doubt that he himself would invite the inquiry.

There are passages in the *Invasion of the Crimea* not surpassed in the best parts of Eöthen. But we cannot commend the style in general. It frequently displays an absence of good taste surprising in so fastidious a writer as Mr. Kinglake. No one would have criticised the work more unsparingly than himself if he had not written it. The attempt at lofty display is sometimes so absurd as to excite laughter. The style is too laboured and artificial, and palls from the sustained pomp and polish of the language. Events of the most unequal importance are related in the same stilted and magniloquent periods, and the mind at last gets weary from the constant strain.

But we have no wish to criticise the style of Mr. Kinglake's book. It is rather the facts and inferences so far as they concern the history which he professes to relate with which we have to deal. We had a right to expect from him either the truthful narrative of the conscientious historian, or the broad views of a statesman. We find neither in this work: his hate and his theories render both impossible.

It is the more incumbent upon us to examine the statements made by Mr. Kinglake as he claims to write with no common weight and authority. He was intrusted, he informs us, with the official and private papers of Lord Raglan by those to whom they came after his death, and who, we cannot help thinking, showed some want of proper discretion in thus parting with them. He undertook to vindicate the memory of that estimable man. How he has performed his task will be seen in the following pages.

The first volume of the work is devoted to an investigation of the reasons which led to the invasion of the Crimea. The opening chapters describe the condition of the great Powers of Europe before the Russian War. We agree with Mr. Kinglake in the main in his estimate of their relative strength and position, and in his views as to their policy. He has well described the weakness of Turkey and the ambitious schemes of Russia. He has pointed out, with much truth, that in the great though silent struggle ever going on between these two empires, and ever threatening to burst into a consuming flame, Austria is the Power which, exposed to most harm and having the most to fear from Russian aggrandisement, is the one bound to be the most watchful of Russia, and the most earnest in resisting her encroachments. With equal justice Mr. Kinglake points out that the true policy of France is to maintain unchanged the territorial limits of Europe, and is consequently opposed to that of Russia. His views of the policy of England in the East are somewhat vague, or at any rate he fails to convey them clearly to his readers.

Having thus prepared the ground, Mr. Kinglake proceeds to show what he considers to have been the real cause of the Russian war. According to him, as we understand, the Emperor Louis Napoleon, and he alone, brought it about. Having taken up his brief, he uses it with all the keenness and ingenuity of a practised lawyer, and urges with the triumphant scorn of a successful advocate the indictment against the mighty criminal.

Let us endeavour to point out with more calmness and impartiality the origin of this war, in which England and France took a part for the sake of great principles and great interests. For a long period of time Russia had been gradually, but surely exciting the jealousy, the suspicions, and the fears of Europe. Since the peace of 1815 she had rapidly increased in strength as a great military power. The Emperor Nicholas was believed to command almost a million of men under arms. He was the only monarch who had so extended the boundaries of his empire, and so established his influence in other states, as to threaten the balance of power in Europe. The man who wielded this vast military strength was proud, ambitious, passionate, and impatient of control. He had scarcely deigned to veil his designs upon Turkey, the conquest and fall of which would give him additional power dangerous to the liberties of Europe. His influence over Prussia and Austria was gradually reducing these states almost to the condition of dependents, upon whose political and military support he could always rely. It was suspected, not without cause, that he had designs upon India, and had con-  
trived

trived artfully-devised schemes to secure Denmark, and obtain the entire command of the outlets of the Baltic Sea. An uneasy feeling was day by day growing up in Western Europe, and especially amongst those who loved freedom and constitutional government. In England it was probably greater than elsewhere. It had been nourished and excited by certain politicians who saw, in the extension of the eastern frontiers of Russia, danger to our Indian empire. It had been fomented by several ingenious writers, who, in passionate appeals to the English people, denounced the rapid encroachments of a semi-barbarous Power, and described the Imperial eagle as hovering over our Indian possessions, and only awaiting the favourable moment to pounce upon its prey. Sir John M'Neill's '*Progress of Russia in the East*' will not be readily forgotten. But Mr. Urquhart probably contributed most to bring about this feeling of anxiety and suspicion. Between this writer and Mr. Kinglake there are many points of resemblance. Both are possessed of rare powers of language, and both are capable of following up with singular energy and fixity of purpose any preconceived idea. They are both curiously deficient in those logical powers which enable men to deduce true conclusions from facts. The object of Mr. Urquhart's horror and detestation was Russia, as that of Mr. Kinglake is France. Mr. Urquhart saw in events, however contradictory, new proofs of the matchless cunning of the Emperor Nicholas, and of the complicity of Lord Palmerston, his tool and his dupe,—as Mr. Kinglake sees in every European difficulty the devilish fingers of Louis Napoleon, and the sordid schemes of his brother conspirators. Such exaggerated and one-sided views lead to a loss of weight and authority. Mr. Urquhart's denunciations of the Emperor Nicholas and Lord Palmerston sent the House of Commons into shouts of laughter, and turned a clever man into an unheeded bore. Mr. Kinglake's denunciations of the Emperor Napoleon have been met by an indignant protest from every right-thinking Englishman, and have deprived him of that position in the House of Commons which his eminent abilities if guided by a more sober judgment must have commanded.

The policy of Russia in the East had been sometimes crafty and insidious, sometimes violent and overbearing. Her object was to obtain such a paramount hold over the Turkish Empire as to render it entirely dependent upon her will and caprice, and to ensure the inheritance when the time came, so long predicted, of its dissolution. She was ready to go to war for this purpose, as she had done in 1828, but she preferred the influence which a community of religion and a seeming community of language

language and race enabled her to exercise over a large portion of the subjects of the Sultan. Of the inhabitants of European Turkey between seven and eight millions are Christians, mostly of the Orthodox Greek faith. It has been the policy of Russia so to deal with these Christians as to detach them altogether from their allegiance to the Sultan, and to make them all but in name her subjects. She hoped that thus without any great convulsion, or any necessity of violent interference on her part, they would, in the process of time, throw off or slip from the Turkish yoke, and be joined, as a matter of destiny, to their fellow-Christians under Russian rule. To this end no means were spared to establish her influence, and to extend a protectorate to which treaties afforded some semblance of a claim. The agents upon which Russia relied in carrying out this policy were the Greek priests. So long as Russia held the priesthood, her sway over the Slave and Greek races was complete.

France had, since the time of Louis XIV., exercised a protectorate over certain religious establishments in the Holy Land. This privilege, obtained through the toleration or indifference of the Turkish Sultans, was gradually extended by capitulations, encroachments, and prescription, until she claimed some kind of actual right to protect all the Roman Catholic subjects of the Porte. The Roman Catholic priests, who were successfully engaged in spreading the doctrines of their faith, were gradually brought into rivalry with the Greek priesthood. The latter appealed in their fears to Russia, and excited her jealousy by describing the progress made by their rivals. Russia and France, as representing the opposing faiths, were soon brought into a political struggle. Mr. Kinglake has ridiculed, with his wonted sarcasm, the keys and gates of the Holy Places. The things ostensibly in dispute were, no doubt, foolish and trivial. The Key and the Silver Star were merely the outward signs of the fierce contest between two great Powers. Nor were the claims of the Roman Catholic Church specially put forward by any one French ruler for his own special purposes. The question was one which went deep into the hearts of the French people, and it had never been more vigorously or openly pursued than during the reign of Louis Philippe.

Thus it was that in the year 1851 the bitterness of England against Russia, long suppressed, was ready to overflow, and the anger of the French people was excited by the endeavours of the Emperor Nicholas to curtail what they considered the legitimate influence of France in the East. The people of both countries, without reference to their rulers or to their forms of government, were at this time specially predisposed to take some measures

measures which might bridle the dangerous ambition of Russia. Mr. Kinglake leads his readers to infer that the French Emperor had suddenly provoked the contest between the Latin and Greek Churches in the East, for the accomplishment of certain ambitious and personal objects. 'There was repose in the Empire of the Sultan, and even the rival churches of Jerusalem were suffering each other to rest,' when the President took up, in cold blood, the forgotten cause of the Latin Church at Jerusalem. The first despatch he quotes in support of this view is of the 28th January, 1853 (vol. i. p. 44). He omits to state that the claims of France to certain portions of the Holy Places, founded upon the Treaty of 1740, had been strongly urged in 1850; not by the 'overzealous and unskilled' M. de Lavalette, but by General Aupick, a man of a calm temper, who was Ambassador at Constantinople under the Republic. He passes over the important fact that France was not acting alone in this matter, but in concert with other Catholic Powers—with Austria, Spain, Sardinia, Portugal, Belgium, and Naples—whose representatives were directed to support General Aupick's demands. Sir Stratford Canning foresaw the gravity of the case, and warned his Government of the coming struggle to arise out of the conflicting claims of the rival Churches. When M. de Lavalette succeeded General Aupick, in the spring of 1851, one of his first communications to the Porte was on the subject of the Holy Places. He intimated at the same time his readiness to treat the points at issue in a spirit of moderation and fairness. But however sincere may have been the desire on the part of France to come to an amicable understanding with the Turkish Government, Russia was determined to spare no means to prevent an arrangement if it involved the tittle of a concession to her rival. The question was to her one of vital importance. Even as early as the autumn of 1851, the Russian Ambassador, M. de Titoff, had hinted his intention to break off his relations with the Porte if any concession were made to France.

So far from correct is the assertion of Mr. Kinglake (vol. i. p. 47), that after the *coup d'état* of the 2nd December, increased violence had been imparted to the instructions of M. de Lavalette, that the first step taken by the Government of the Emperor was to disavow the tone of menace which had been assumed, without instructions it was averred, by M. de Lavalette. M. Turgot, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, although pressed to back the French claims at Constantinople by ordering a French fleet to the Dardanelles, declined to make any demonstration of this nature.\*

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\* 'Eastern Papers,' Sir S. Canning to Lord Granville, Feb. 18th, 1852, and Lord Cowley to Lord Malmesbury, March 8th, 1852.



His successor, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, expressed his desire, no less strongly, to see the question of the Holy Places amicably settled, and was willing to rest satisfied with a simple declaration on the part of the Porte, that there was no intention of departing from the promises made to France.\* The Emperor, indeed, both before and after his election, repeatedly expressed his regret that the question had ever been raised, and his earnest desire to bring it to a speedy end. The first warlike threat came from the Russian Government, and even then M. Drouyn de Lhuys was desirous to disregard it.† Mr. Kinglake would lead us to believe that that threat was not made until the beginning of the year 1853. But it was virtually made, when in the month of October of the previous year the Emperor Nicholas ostentatiously expressed his intention of visiting the several ports and arsenals in the south of Russia.

M. de Lavalette was recalled in consequence of the menacing and overbearing tone he had adopted at Constantinople. It must in justice be admitted that the conduct of the Emperor of the French and of his ministers was moderate and conciliatory towards Russia, and that the determination to hazard anything—even a war—was not the determination of Napoleon III., but of Nicholas. With the mission of Count Leiningen, which so exasperated the Czar that he determined to make those demands upon the Porte which rendered peace impossible, the French Emperor had nothing to do. Prince Mentschikoff was sent to Constantinople to achieve an absolute triumph of the cause of the Greek faith, protected in Turkey by Russia. His arrival was announced to the Orthodox Greeks as the signal for their deliverance from the Moslem yoke. When the boat which bore the Ambassador from his war steamer to the shores of the Bosphorus glided to the quay, a vast crowd of Greeks in their holiday dresses received him with noisy shouts of joy, and escorted him in procession to the Russian Palace in Pera.

The proceedings of Prince Mentschikoff after he had landed were in harmony with the forebodings of his mission. His insolent treatment of the Sultan's ministers, and consequently of the Sultan himself, was unworthy of the dignity of the representative of a great country and of the manners of a gentleman. That such conduct would lead to anything but an open breach it is scarcely possible to conceive. All the moderation, forbearance,

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\* 'Eastern Papers,' Part I., No. 43.

† In 'Eastern Papers,' especially Part I., Nos. 45, 46, 59, and 67. Mr. Kinglake has most unfairly omitted all mention of these important despatches. An impartial *résumé* of the whole question in dispute, and the part played by each Power in it, is contained in a despatch from Colonel Rose—No. 60.

tact, and high-bred dignity of the Turkish ministers, to which Mr. Kinglake bears full testimony, could not prevent it.

The news of Prince Mentschikoff's mission induced the British Government to send Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, then on leave of absence, back to his post. The description of his return furnishes Mr. Kinglake with an opportunity of gratifying his love of dramatic effect and of 'sensation' writing, and the English Ambassador is introduced upon the stage in the character of the great 'Eltchi.' That this character is a mere fancy portrait we need scarcely say.

It is not surprising that a man of Lord Stratford's temper, remembering what had been his relations in former years with the Emperor Nicholas, should have chafed under the haughty mission of Prince Mentschikoff. But it would be unjust to attribute to any act of revenge on his part, as Mr. Kinglake more than insinuates, its defeat. Whatever his opinions and feelings may have been, they had but little effect upon the great question of peace or war. The demands of Russia were such as no Turkish ministers could have accepted without humiliating the Sultan and angering his people, and such as no ambassador either of France or England could have advised them to accept. A representative of less experience than Lord Stratford might have hastened the crisis; he could not have stayed it.

We agree with Mr. Kinglake in his estimate of the evil influence which Lord Aberdeen's accession to power and the teachings of the Manchester Peace party had upon the Emperor Nicholas. There can be no doubt that the Czar thought he could venture much upon the longsuffering and forbearance of the English people when he knew that their Prime Minister openly avowed, in season and out of season, his hatred of war and determination at all hazards to maintain peace: the more as Lord Aberdeen had the earnest and cordial support of men of considerable ability, though really in this matter not of much influence, who, because they had represented the opinion of the majority of the public in one question, were believed by those who did not understand this country to represent it in all. But in justice to the memory of Lord Aberdeen, we would protest against what is perhaps rather an insinuation than an actual assertion of Mr. Kinglake's,\* that when Lord Clarendon warned Sir H. Seymour that the conduct of Russia was gradually rousing the warlike spirit of England, the Prime Minister requested the Russian Ambassador to tell his Govern-

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\* Possibly Mr. Kinglake may mean that Lord Aberdeen prevailed upon Lord Clarendon to revoke his own words. A perusal of the different passages (pp. 193, 473, 492) in which this subject is mentioned leaves us in hopeless uncertainty as to what it is that Mr. Kinglake wishes us to believe.

ment to put no faith in the Foreign Secretary's words. That a man of the high and scrupulous honour of Lord Aberdeen should have so betrayed his colleague, no one will readily believe. Baron Brunow, we understand, explicitly denies the statement. It is possible that Lord Aberdeen, in familiar and unofficial conversation with the Russian Ambassador, may have indiscreetly held more conciliatory language than that which, embodied in a despatch, had received the sanction of the Queen and of the Cabinet, and was consequently the solemn expression of the opinions and policy of the Ministry of which he was the chief. It is probable that the Russian Ambassador, in his reports to his own Government, may have dwelt upon the more peaceful tendency of the Prime Minister. The Emperor's faith in Lord Aberdeen induced him to go even beyond his first demands concerning the Holy Places, which had been settled, and to put forward claims which, if conceded, would have virtually placed under his rule about seven millions of the Christian subjects of the Sultan. It was the conviction that Lord Aberdeen would suffer any outrage upon Turkey rather than go to war which induced the Czar to send his battalions into the Principalities, a step which rendered peace impossible. Had Lord Palmerston been at the Foreign Office, the war would probably have been prevented, because the Emperor Nicholas would have known the penalty which awaited him for this breach of international law. The country believes this, and their faith in the Peace Party has for ever departed.

Supported by England, France, Austria, and Prussia, the Turkish Government refused to accede to Mentschikoff's demands, put forward under the various guises of a convention, a note, and a sened, but all tending to the same end,—the direct protectorate of the subjects of the Sultan professing the Orthodox Greek faith. The Russian Ambassador, baffled in all his attempts to intimidate the Porte, left Constantinople, and on the 2nd of July the Russian army entered the Principalities.

The step taken by Russia met with the general disapproval of Europe. The four great Powers, we are told, were prepared to act in perfect unison. But that unity of action which might still have bridled Russia and prevented war was frustrated by one crafty, unscrupulous man, who by almost superhuman duplicity was working out a different issue, which was to be the stepping-stone to his mere personal ambition. The Emperor Napoleon had resolved in his unfathomable mind to detach England from this European agreement, and to make her the accomplice of his guilt by forcing her into a separate alliance with himself. Such is Mr. Kinglake's theory. Suddenly breaking off the narrative of the events which led to the war, he carries

carries us to Paris in the beginning of the winter of 1851, and introduces us to a 'small knot of middle-aged men who were pushing their fortunes' in that great city.

The chapter which contains the history of the *coup d'état* of the 2nd December illustrates the tendency of Mr. Kinglake to warp every fact so as to suit his own particular theories; to receive any evidence, however untrustworthy, which may support his own preconceived views; and to reject any testimony, however weighty, which may be at variance with them. The truth of history is sacrificed to the most malignant persecution of the object of his rancour and hate. With reckless ingenuity he mingles fact and fiction: whilst avoiding positive statements, he cunningly insinuates inferences opposite to the truth, dives into the gutter for every remnant of personal scandal, has recourse to the vulgarest arts of rhetoric, and leaves no means untried to prejudice the minds and to influence the passions of the reader.

It happens that those English writers who have written about the Emperor, and the condition of France under his rule, have for the most part derived their opinions and their information from the leading members of the two great political parties who have been deprived of power by him, and are consequently hostile to him. The most distinguished French literary and political men have belonged to the Orleanist party. These writers and thinkers have exercised, and justly, a certain influence on the literary men and women of this country. They have given a certain hue to the opinions of English society and of the English press with regard to France and her ruler. Moreover, those whose object it has been to discredit the Emperor, and to bring him into hatred and contempt, have been persons of great activity and ready resource. They have moved restlessly about with their mouths full of slander, and their pockets full of pamphlets.

Into the hands of these persons Mr. Kinglake seems to have helplessly fallen. He goes even beyond them in the intensity of his hate and in the bitterness of his tongue. He pursues the Emperor and those about him with a rancorous animosity and a fierce, fiery invective which savours more of the unforgiving vengeance of one who has experienced some great personal wrong, than of the calm judgment of the historian. He so overwhelms them with taunts, sarcasm, and sneers, that at length the reader, however unfavourable his opinion of the men may originally have been, feels a sympathy for human beings so remorselessly persecuted. Louis Napoleon, Persigny, more properly Fialin, St. Arnaud, formerly Le Roy, Maupas, or de Maupas, and Fleury, become, from bad men who should

should be objects of our hatred, martyrs and victims to be pitied. By this ill-advised and unscrupulous, and, let us add, un-English course, Mr. Kinglake has frustrated his own object. It has brought about a reaction in favour of the Emperor, and has led people to forget his faults and his misdeeds in a manly indignation at the injustice done to him. Those who in this country had from the beginning denounced his political sins—those who in his own capital had held aloof from him because they could not condone acts which they conscientiously condemned—have gathered for the first time about him to prove at least that they protest against the reckless accusations contained in Mr. Kinglake's book.

We have not been amongst those who have justified the *coup d'état*, or applauded the men who brought it about. We have held it as a crime wrought against the liberties of France, and aggravated by the violation of a solemn oath and compact. It was accompanied by deeds of treachery and a shedding of innocent blood repugnant to English feelings. We, who have long enjoyed free institutions, and have resolutely and successfully resisted every encroachment upon them, cannot look without sorrow and indignation upon their violation elsewhere. But we are bound to take into consideration the peculiar condition of the country in which the events we may condemn have occurred, and the character, wants, and demands of its people. Mr. Kinglake seems entirely ignorant of both country and people. According to him, free and constitutional France was suddenly and in one night bound and trampled down by a small band of conspirators—men of no character or reputation, and of small ability and means. A plot hatched by them within the walls of the Elysée sufficed in a few hours to change the destiny of France and to influence the public policy of Europe. The President and his accomplices having secured the services of some unscrupulous men, and having bribed the army, effected this great crime to the dishonour of their country, but to their own personal gain.

But let the truth be told. It was not the Emperor, who, aided by his associates, had alone conspired against the liberties of France. The great body of the nation were in this conspiracy, if conspiracy it was, and he, from a variety of causes, became their leader. The *coup d'état* of the 2nd December was no unexpected event. If ever conspiracy was public in the hatching, it was this one. For months beforehand people in Paris daily asked themselves when the end would come. It was rather thought that the President was tardy in taking the step which the vast majority of the French people were almost audibly calling upon

upon him to take. The corruption of the government of Louis Philippe,—the events, domestic and foreign, which angered the nation and hastened his fall,—the discredit of the republic,—the bloody scenes in the streets of Paris,—the ill-disguised schemes of the Red Republicans, who seemed at one moment about to clutch the reins of government,—the squabbles and incapacity of the representative Chambers under the President,—the general feeling of uncertainty, disquiet, and insecurity,—and the universal yearning after something firm and stable,—turned the thoughts of the nation towards an empire under a strong hand. Louis Napoleon was the only man who united in his person the various qualities and conditions which could give him a title in the eyes of the great mass of the people to govern France. That he fulfilled their wishes in assuming supreme power, there can be no doubt. That he was condemned by many great and good men, who had the liberties of their country dearly at heart, is equally true. But when these men, whose influence with a certain section of the people was to be feared, were carried off, as Mr. Kinglake has described, like felons in a prison van, where in France was the hand raised in their defence, or where the voice of sympathy heard in their behalf? To say that the French nation was so held down and terrified that it dared not act or speak, is to assert that which is palpably absurd. If their feelings had been seriously outraged, the people would have risen as they had risen before.

Mr. Kinglake's sketch of the character of the Emperor, his sneer at his personal courage, and his merciless and reckless abuse—sometimes uttered in words scarcely befitting, at other times in unbecoming sarcasm—have been so generally and justly condemned, that we have no wish to dwell upon them. As regards the private characters of his ministers and friends, assuming all Mr. Kinglake says to be true, which, however, we are far from doing, it is no concern of ours.

Mr. Kinglake is constrained to admit the total indifference with which the *coup d'état* was viewed by the vast majority of the population of Paris. The chiefs of the extreme democratic party—of that party which was most feared by moderate men and by the commercial classes of France—sought, after the arrest of the deputies, to excite a popular tumult, and, with the help of the Reds, to raise a barricade at the corner of the Rue Ste. Marguerite, in the Faubourg St. Antoine; but Mr. Kinglake confesses that they received little sympathy and no aid from the people. One battalion of the 19th regiment of the line sufficed to disperse them, but not without bloodshed: Charles Baudin and another deputy of the democratic faction were killed.

killed. The Committee of Resistance then caused barricades to be thrown up in the streets between the Hôtel de Ville and the Boulevards—that part of Paris which up to this period had always been the centre of such attempts at revolution. Still the great mass of the population of the capital took no part, and up to the 4th of December the Government had no fear of any organised resistance to its authority. On the afternoon of that day, however, the barricades becoming more numerous, General Magnan received orders to take them and to disperse those who had raised them. He sent a strong column to occupy the broad boulevards stretching from the Madeleine to the first barricade near the Porte St. Denis. Notices, as Mr. Kinglake admits, had been previously posted in the public places, and distributed, calling upon the people not to assemble in or to encumber the streets, and cautioning them that any crowd would be dispersed by force without further summons. Ample warning seems thus to have been given. Mr. Kinglake describes General Magnan as ‘wavering, and throwing away the whole of the morning, and the greater part of the afternoon.’\* The fact was that, acting upon the experience of General Cavaignac and others who had been engaged in quelling similar risings, instead of scattering his troops, he kept them together until the insurgents were collected at the principal barricades, which were then taken without difficulty or much bloodshed. The column on the Boulevards had captured the barricade near the Porte St. Denis. All resistance had ceased. The troops were resting on their arms; the officers collected in knots; idlers were gathering together on the pavement, and appearing at the windows. Suddenly some shots were fired from a house upon the soldiers. They were seized with a sudden panic, not uncommon to men so placed, and, facing round along the whole line, and, it would seem, without any order from their officers, they commenced firing upon those who stood as spectators at the windows and in the streets. A field-piece was brought to bear against one house, from which, there is reason to believe, shots had been fired.

Accounts differ as to the time during which the firing continued. According to the testimony of one who was present, it scarcely lasted more than five minutes, and few of the men had time to reload before their officers interposed and stopped them.

\* It is not true, we believe, that, as stated by Mr. Kinglake, Magnan wished to shelter himself behind an order from the Minister of War. He was ready to accept all the responsibility, but was desirous of shielding those who acted under him. When he collected the Generals together he did not disclose his plans, but merely warned them that their services would speedily be required, and cautioned them not to act except under his express orders.

Even according to the witness cited by Mr. Kinglake, it only lasted a quarter of an hour. However that may be, many victims fell in what may be admitted to have been an unprovoked and barbarous attack, equally disgraceful to the troops which committed it, and to those who were in a position to prevent it.\* It might have been thought that the bare statement of the facts as they occurred would have sufficed even so virulent a writer as Mr. Kinglake. But, as usual, he goes out of his way to heap up story upon story without sifting the evidence upon which they may be founded, so long as they tell against the object of his hate—the Emperor Napoleon. The principal witness he produces is one Captain Jesse, who stood in a balcony near the corner of the Rue Montauban, and who sent an account of what he saw to the ‘Times.’ We all know how easily a man’s judgment may be influenced and affected by an event as alarming as that witnessed by Captain Jesse, and how natural is the tendency, under such circumstances, to exaggerate it. But every statement that in any way contradicts him, Mr. Kinglake unhesitatingly rejects (vol. i. p. 268, note). In other parts of Paris fighting was going on, and much blood was no doubt shed, especially as the street barricades were more obstinately defended than those on the Boulevards. Mr. Kinglake states that men and women innocent of any share in the fight were made prisoners and deliberately shot. Others, he declares, were killed in the court-yards of the Prefecture by police-officers, with loaded clubs, as men would kill bullocks. For this fact he quotes M. Xavier Durrieu, a Red Republican, and one of those ‘who strove to raise the people’ in the Faubourg St. Antoine (p. 254), who says that he saw something of the kind from his prison window, but whose words, as given by Mr. Kinglake in a note (p. 274), do not quite bear out the somewhat exaggerated statement in the text. Mr. Kinglake willingly gives currency to stories of ‘whole batches of men shot by platoons’ in cold blood and by night in Paris. It is surprising that, as a lawyer, he should have produced in support of his belief such evidence as that of the ‘Judge-Substitute,’ who ‘understood’ that men were carried off from the gaols to be shot; who, ‘indeed, was certain that they were so shot,’ although he had no personal knowledge of the fact (p. 279). Sounds of platoon firing, accompanied by shrieks,

\* In order to understand this deplorable event, it should be remembered that the troops engaged in the brutal warfare of the Barricades from time to time between 1830 and 1851, had been repeatedly exposed to similar discharges from concealed enemies in houses lining the streets. A memorable instance occurred in the terrible street-fight of 1834, when the troops and National Guards, irritated by the cold-blooded slaughter of their comrades from a house in Rue Transnonain, broke into it, and put to death every man, woman, and child they found within.



were heard in the dead of the night in 'one of the undisturbed quarters of Paris'—in the Faubourg St. Germain, probably, where the Paris gobemouches who nourish Mr. Kinglake chiefly dwell. He adds, without one atom of proof, that the bodies of men thus murdered were buried in batches in pits. Such things are denied by well-informed persons and by the more respectable leaders of the Republican party themselves, and we have never met with an impartial Frenchman who believes in them.

To the most exaggerated accounts of the number of the slain Mr. Kinglake, in spite of his comical assertion that 'it is hard to believe such things,' seems to give credit. According to a nameless Colonel, one regiment alone killed 2400 men! As the regiments 'operating against Paris' were between thirty and forty, twenty of which were on active work, he believes that 'a very high number would be wanted for recording the whole quantity of the slaughter.' Taking his own arithmetic, this would give a total loss of 48,000 killed! We presume that from 20,000 to 25,000 would scarcely satisfy him. In great battles where large armies have stood face to face in serried ranks and in deadly strife from dawn to dark, such slaughter has probably never been witnessed: the total of the British killed at Waterloo was only 2109. How could it have been inflicted upon passengers in a street and spectators at a window, who at the first shot would at once flee in all directions? The very sight of a dozen dead bodies would naturally lead peaceful citizens to think that there had been a general massacre. Their evidence in the midst of these alarms, or in the anguish of remembrance, would be of little value to the historian. Mr. Kinglake, forgetting the character of a judge in that of the partisan, accepts all without scruple.

Two documents, however, exist, bearing an official character, of returns of the killed and wounded in December, 1851. One of them, stating the loss of soldiers and officers at 25 killed and 184 wounded, is quoted by Mr. Kinglake (p. 282). How comes he to omit all allusion to the corresponding list, published at the same time, of the civilians killed? It would be an insult to the labours and researches of eight years to suppose that he is not aware of its existence.

The list to which we refer was drawn up by the 'Chef de la Salubrité' at the Hôtel de la Préfecture, whose duty it is to examine every dead body at the hospitals of Paris and at the Morgue previous to giving licence for its interment. The name and character of this officer, the late eminent surgeon M. Trebuchet, is a guarantee for its veracity. According to it the *surgeon*, not belonging to the army, killed on the

the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th of December, 1851, or dead of their wounds,' amounted to ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE! \* No attempt could be made to ascertain the number of the *wounded*, who were, of course, concealed by their friends to keep clear of the police.

The reason of Mr. Kinglake's silence with respect to the document we have quoted is evident. It demolishes at once his monstrous insinuation that the massacre of peaceful citizens on the Boulevards on the 4th December was the result of a cunningly devised scheme on the part of the Emperor Napoleon to awe the inhabitants of Paris, to establish his rule, and to make himself the arbiter of the destinies of France and of Europe. It was the evident interest of the Emperor that the inhabitants of Paris should be conciliated, and that bloodshed should be avoided as much as possible. It was to prevent it that he had arrested the leading deputies, including 'the street captains and the chiefs of secret societies' (p. 253), and the heads of parties who might have organised resistance. Mr. Kinglake would surely not wish us to believe that there had never been an *émeute* in Paris. There had been many a one before; there has been none since.† They had preceded and followed most political changes

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\* M. Trebuchet was the successor of the more distinguished Parent Duchatelet, and owed his appointment, not to Louis Napoleon, but to a former Government, and made a similar return in June, 1848, after the far more sanguinary conflict under the Republic (mentioned in the next note). The list includes the name, address, and profession of every person, with the exception of six not identified.

† Beginning from 1830, there were the three days of July. On February 14 and 15, 1831, the sack of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and the Archevêché. In June of the same year, riots at the trial of Polignac. On June 5 and 6, 1832, Paris was in insurrection, and declared in a state of siege at the funeral of General Lamarque; great slaughter of the insurgents ensued; but the troops and National Guard alone under Soult lost 102 killed and 396 wounded. Garnier Pagès, Cabet, Labousserie, Châteaubriand, the Duc de FitzJames, Hyde de Neuville, Berryer, &c., were arrested within a few days of each other, and confined in the Conciergerie—the precedent, perhaps, for 'the seizure of some of the foremost men in France' on the 2nd Dec. 1851. In 1834, April 13 and 14, there were émeutes and barricades in Paris, and great slaughter. What occurred in the Rue Transnonain has been already stated (*supra*, p. 527, note). In 1835, July 5, Fieschi's plot. In 1839, May 12, insurrection under Barbès and Bernard. In 1848, after serious fighting and bloodshed, the Republic was proclaimed; in February the mob attacked the Hôtel de Ville; on the 15th they invaded the National Assembly. In June the bloodiest insurrection that had ever taken place in Paris occurred: 60,000 well-armed men, from the clubs, secret societies, and ateliers nationaux, were opposed by 30,000 troops, 'bataillons de guerre,' brought up to Paris by the Republican General Cavaignac; 11 general officers were killed or wounded, the Archbishop of Paris was murdered whilst conveying a message of peace to the insurgents, General Breaux was assassinated in a parley, and 1440 insurgents killed. In 1849 there were two attempts at insurrection, and in 1851 two more. There have been no émeutes or barricades in Paris since 4th Dec. 1851. This fact should be

changes in France, and Louis Napoleon dealt with the thing as others had dealt with it before him. But the episode of the 2nd December must be dragged into the narrative by Mr. Kinglake for the purpose of proving that the war with Russia was brought about by the Emperor Napoleon to restore his shattered reputation—to give him that rank and position amongst his brother Sovereigns which had been denied him on account of the ridicule attaching to his previous history—and to remove the disgust with which he had inspired the French nation, and the contempt with which he was viewed by the rest of Europe!

To carry out his scheme more completely, a close and intimate alliance with England was needed. Mr. Kinglake proceeds to show how that alliance could only be obtained by adopting the Eastern policy of this country, and engaging in a war to support it; and how, in order more effectively to bring about that war, the Emperor devised a most crafty scheme to detach Austria and Prussia from that quadruple alliance which was the best pledge of peace. England fell so completely into the trap, that she allowed herself to be severed from her ancient and natural allies, to become the accomplice of an unscrupulous and dishonoured adventurer. Mr. Kinglake produces no fact in support of this theory. The evidence is only to be found, he gravely tells us, 'lurking in private notes, and in the recollection of private individuals.' We do not know in whose notes or in whose recollection, but we are well satisfied that whoever has imparted them to Mr. Kinglake has grievously misled him. A short account of what really took place will prove this.

When Russia in the month of January, 1853, first assumed a threatening attitude towards Turkey, by concentrating her troops upon the frontier of the Principalities, no joint action was taken by the great Powers. When by the withdrawal of the Russian mission from Constantinople and the passage of the Pruth by the Russian army hostilities were imminent, the English Government first expressed a desire to act in concert with that of France. France, no doubt, took the first step by sending her fleet to the East. But soon after, the orders were given for the allied fleets to proceed to the Dardanelles. It was the wish at this time of England and France that Austria and Prussia, who had loudly expressed disapprobation of the conduct of Russia, should join in measures against her. France even

remembered, and this one, moreover—that after the 4th Dec. the French funds rose at once, and France emerged from almost a state of bankruptcy into a condition of daily-increasing material wealth and prosperity. So much for Mr. Kinglake's assertion that 'the great city was struck down as though by a plague' (p. 283).

suggested

suggested to Austria that a Congress of the four Powers should be summoned at Vienna, to come to an understanding upon the nature of those measures. The offer was, however, declined. Austria still believed that Russia would abstain from any action which might end in war.

Prussia from the first had officially announced her intention of retaining her freedom of action. England endeavoured in vain to shake the resolution of the Austrian and Prussian Governments, and to induce them to take part even in diplomatic proceedings which might lead to peace. Lord Clarendon lost no opportunity of urging this upon the Austrian and Prussian representatives in London. Count Buol went so far as to declare that Austria would take no engagement whatever. She would neither promise to support Turkey, nor undertake not to oppose Russia. It was rather England than France that made due allowance for the position of these two Powers towards Russia, and who hesitated to induce them to enter into any agreement on the subject of Turkey. All that the English Government could hope for was their moral support and co-operation, in compelling Russia to keep the peace. As the prospects of war became more imminent, Austria declared her intention of preserving a complete neutrality in the event of hostilities. At the same time she increased the armies in garrison on her eastern frontiers, to prevent the invasion of her territory by armed parties from either of the belligerents. Prussia was dissatisfied with this policy, and declared herself ready to unite more closely with England; but still, with Austria, she claimed an entire liberty of action.

The entrance of the Russian troops into the Principalities alarmed and angered Austria. She had taken no step to prevent it. By her want of decision and energy she had probably, in no small degree, contributed to it, and her slackness was thus one of the causes of the war. She still, notwithstanding the repeated and urgent appeals of both France and England, maintained her uncertain and timid attitude, only pledging herself vaguely not to make any engagement with Russia, and hinting that if any armed intervention on her part became absolutely necessary, it would be in support of the independence of the Turkish empire. When at last Turkey declared war against Russia, both Prussia and Austria announced their determination to maintain a strict neutrality, and to await the time when they might effectively appear as mediators on the scene.

The Emperor Nicholas affirmed, in the face of Europe, that the advance of the allied fleets to Besica Bay led to the occupation of the Principalities. Lord Clarendon indignantly exposed the falsehood, by showing that the orders for the passage

of the Pruth were given before the intention of moving the fleet was known. Mr. Kinglake declares that the Emperor Napoleon 'forced this measure upon England;' and that the subsequent movements of the allied fleets are to be attributed to his deep-laid plots to drag England into a war, in which he at last succeeded. The facts are these:—

In the beginning of September, M. Drouyn de Lhuys proposed that the allied fleets should obtain a safer anchorage in the Dardanelles, as towards the end of the month Besica Bay would be exposed to northerly gales. He argued that such a step was absolutely necessary, as any retreat would have a dangerous moral effect. He suggested, at the same time, that Russia should be informed that the step had been taken from 'purely nautical considerations,' and that the fleet should be at once withdrawn on the evacuation of the Principalities. Lord Clarendon thought that it would be better to wait until the answer had been received from St. Petersburg to the proposed modifications in the Vienna Note. It was Lord Stratford who suggested, 'as an opinion of his own,' that an additional steam force should be called up to Constantinople,\* as danger was threatening in the Turkish capital. The English and French Governments then agreed that as the presence of a few vessels in the Bosphorus broke through the principle upon which the fleet had hitherto been excluded, the whole force ought to follow. But the French Government, whilst consenting, expressed fears lest the Porte should be excited into taking hostile measures by this show of enthusiasm in its favour.

As a last effort to preserve the peace, the celebrated 'Vienna Note' was proposed by the four Powers for the acceptance of Russia and Turkey. Mr. Kinglake not being able to deny that the Emperor of the French warmly supported it, and that the French Ambassador at Constantinople did all in his power to induce the Porte to accept it, seeks to explain, after his usual ingenious fashion, a policy so much in contradiction to his previous statements. This was only a fresh and patent proof of the infinite duplicity and cunning of Louis Napoleon! Having sought to establish himself by war, he now, within a few days, sought to attain the same end by peace. In fact he seems to have had that spirit of duality in thought, word, and deed, which Sir Rutherford Alcock ascribes to the Japanese. 'He was obeying,' Mr. Kinglake suggests, 'that doubleness of mind which made him always prone to do acts making one with another.' The Russian Government had

\* Kinglake, vol. i., p. 361. *Eastern Papers*, No. 114.

been consulted, and had agreed to accept the Note—the Porte had not been consulted beforehand, and rejected it. Lord Stratford, says Mr. Kinglake, whatever may have been the language he ostensibly held under instructions from home, was the real cause of this rejection. But this was scarcely so. No Turkish ministers could have accepted the Note. In their ignorance of the condition of Turkey, the representatives at Vienna did not understand the real meaning of the concession they asked. That the Porte was right in refusing to accept it, was proved by the admission of Russia that the interpretation placed upon it by the Turkish Government was the right one, and by the subsequent approval of the four Powers.

Turkey, menaced by Russia and humiliated by the occupation of two of her provinces, declared war. The English Government asserted that she had a right to do so. The disaster of Sinope quickly followed. Its effect upon the English people is not forgotten. Not only was it considered, rightly or wrongly—Mr. Kinglake says wrongly—a gross and treacherous outrage, but, what touched them more, the result of negligence on the part of those who had the fleet of England under their charge. Mr. Kinglake has shown that there was due notice of the impending attack, and that more energy on the part of the British ambassador might have prevented it. The Admiral, too, had received such instructions as would have enabled him to pass the Bosphorus. It is probable that already had commenced that unfortunate misunderstanding between Lord Stratford and Admiral Dundas, to which Mr. Kinglake does not allude; but which had such fatal results during the early part of the war, and which Lord Lyons in vain endeavoured to remove.

The indignation felt against the Government, and the conviction that his colleagues would do nothing to revenge the disaster of Sinope, induced Lord Palmerston, Mr. Kinglake infers, to resign his office. It is true that at that period Lord Palmerston did tender his resignation, but his determination had nothing to do with the question of war or peace, upon which the Cabinet had already decided: it was consequent upon a matter of home politics—a proposed Reform Bill.

War between the Western Powers and Russia had now become inevitable. Lord Aberdeen thought differently. He saw the shadow of war looming over us, and yet he had an inner persuasion that the monster itself would never come. These mixed feelings gave birth to half-measures. Hence arose that confusion, that want, and that suffering which marked the commencement of the war, and led to so many disasters, which still weigh heavily and sorrowfully upon the memories of the people of this country.

country. As Lord Aberdeen's love of peace had led us into a war, so it rendered us unprepared for war when we were in it.

The Emperor of the French made one last effort to preserve peace by instructing General Castelbajac to take every means to bring the Emperor of Russia over to moderate counsels, and by an appeal to Nicholas himself, in an autograph letter couched in earnest yet friendly language. It met with a haughty and defiant reply. Mr. Kinglake sees in this new attempt to avert the horrors of war, after having by 'his subtle and dangerous' proposal that the Russian fleet should not be allowed to leave the harbour of Sebastopol made war inevitable, a fresh scheme on the part of Louis Napoleon, by which he inveigled England still more into his net, and was able to venture upon the incredible audacity of speaking in her name. What Mr. Kinglake only infers is true. The Emperor communicated to the English Government his intention of writing the letter, and received their sanction to it, although they believed that it would be of no avail.

But not satisfied with this further success of his Machiavelian plots, we are told that the Emperor insisted upon the very letter of the 'bond' by which he had enslaved the English Government; and that as 'for good reasons it was of some moment to the French Emperor to be signally named,' he actually compelled Lord Aberdeen 'to submit to a form of words,' to be inserted into the Queen's Speech on the opening of Parliament on the 31st of January, 1854. To such lengths will the credulity of passion carry even a man of Mr. Kinglake's acute intelligence!

When a summons was sent by England and France to the Emperor Nicholas, calling upon him to withdraw his troops from the Principalities by the 30th of April and making war the alternative, Austria and Prussia fell, as Mr. Kinglake says, 'posterously short' of what the Western Powers had a right to expect of them,—in fact, deserted the allies. It might be supposed that in this, at least, the Emperor of the French was blameless. But, no! It was he, ever ready with his crafty devices, who contrived this 'baneful summons,' which brought England and France into a separate agreement and a separate course of action, and plunged them into war.

Mr. Kinglake begins his second volume with biographical sketches of the generals who were chosen to command the armies of France and England. He elevates to the dignity of heroes of romance the men whom he loves to honour, and drags down into the depths of infamy those who have incurred his anger or his hate. Of his account of Lord Raglan we will say little.

little. We have already given our estimate of his character.\* We would only protest against the silly bombast and inflated rhodomontade in which a plain, honest Englishman is described, in a style more worthy of the pages of the journal of a sentimental young lady than of sober history. But as regards Marshal St. Arnaud, the justice which is due to the memory of a brave man who laid down his life in our joint enterprise demands that we should expose some of Mr. Kinglake's misstatements and unworthy insinuations.

According to Mr. Kinglake, this man—twice expelled from the French army, unscrupulous in the prosecution of any scheme, however dishonourable—was selected by the Emperor Napoleon for his instrument in his own deeds of darkness and blood. If St. Arnaud had thrice commenced a career in the French army, and had risen to the highest rank in it, this unexampled success was accomplished not under the corrupting system of Louis Napoleon, but under the rule of the Bourbons and of Louis Philippe, and in a field where competitors were many, and where only deeds of valour and eminent military abilities led men to the higher places under the eyes of the most accomplished commanders and the Royal Princes of France. Mr. Kinglake insinuates that he had been twice dismissed or had twice left the service for dishonourable or infamous acts. What these acts were, he does not inform us, nor does he produce any evidence even on hearsay of them.† But by a silly and wearying repetition of his name, as 'St. Arnaud, formerly Le Roy,' he would lead us to infer that, like some escaped or once-convicted felon, St. Arnaud had changed his name to avoid the recognition of the police, or to spare the shame of his friends. St. Arnaud, whose family name was 'Le Roy de St. Arnaud,' had, however, done what thousands of Frenchmen had done before him—he had dropped one of his two names. But he made no secret of it. In his letters (published after his death) he always addresses his brother as M. Le Roy de St. Arnaud. And as, in 1848, he married a lady of one of the noblest families of Belgium, it is not probable that the disparaging stories repeated by Mr. Kinglake were very generally believed.

St. Arnaud had fought and led in the ruthless war which

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\* *Quarterly Review*, vol. cl.

† 'In 1836 for the third and last time he entered the military profession' (vol. ii. p. 4). St. Arnaud, on the death of his wife in 1836, *exchanged* from his regiment, the 64th, to the Foreign Legion (retaining his rank of Lieutenant), in order to serve in Africa; but there is no reason whatever for believing that he left the army at all. So far from the change arising from any disgraceful conduct on his part, he considered it in the light of a privilege, and had great difficulty in effecting the exchange ('*Lettres*,' vol. i. p. 92).



for a long period was waged in Algeria between the French and the Arab tribes. There was probably no French commander who in that exterminating struggle had not been guilty of acts, the remembrance of which in his calmer moments might bring a blush to the cheek of a sensitive and humane man. St. Arnaud appears to have been engaged in one of the most reprehensible.\* There are few countries which in such a war have not had some deeds to answer for, over which it is well that a veil should be drawn. We cannot claim to be an exception. But whatever may have been his excesses or his crimes in Algeria or elsewhere, no impartial man can doubt that he was a skilful, experienced, and resolute commander. His letters convey the impression that he was an able and an amiable man, with more than an average amount of the vanity peculiar to his countrymen. It was not extraordinary that the President, about to break with those Generals who had acquired Parliamentary influence in France, should have turned to St. Arnaud. The fact of his having done so scarcely needs the explanation offered by Mr. Kinglake—that St. Arnaud was already so dishonoured that no dishonourable proposals could alarm him; and that he was known to be a fit tool for executing any bloody or ruthless deed that Louis Napoleon meditated upon the French people. Mr. Kinglake says that he was brought back to Paris and made Minister of War with a view to the great plot of the 2nd December (vol. ii. p. 9). We learn from his letters, that after a successful expedition in Algeria he was made General of Division, and that on the resignation of General Baraguay, and the promotion of General Castellane, the command of a division at Paris came to him against his wishes.†

He resigned the Ministry of War, and cheerfully accepted the command of the army about to be sent to Turkey. When it is remembered that at that time he was sinking under a mortal disease, that his oft-recurring agonies were such as to excite feelings of deep pity in those who witnessed them, and were such that no man who had not extraordinary resolution and self-control could bear up against, and that he gave up the comfort and tender care of his home, which might have prolonged life and spared him so much suffering,—the courage, the devotion,

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\* Mr. Kinglake, in describing the destruction of the Arabs in the cave, garbles the extract from St. Arnaud's letters, and omits all mention of the events which led to it. In like manner, in giving the account of the burning house at Belfort, in which he wishes to make it appear that St. Arnaud had performed the part of a mountebank, he suppresses the fact that the fire was close to a powder-magazine, and that St. Arnaud exposed himself to save the life of a child (Kinglake, vol. ii. p. 5; 'Lettres de St. Arnaud,' vol. i. p. 88), an act for which he received a medal from the Government.

† 'Lettres,' vol. ii. pp. 349, 352.

and the self-denial of the man would have drawn from a generous and high-minded adversary something more than a cold, sarcastic sneer at his courage, and a tumid invective against the indiscretions of his youth.\*

Lord Raglan was sent to Paris on his way to the East to concert measures with the Emperor and St. Arnaud for the conveyance of the allied armies to Turkey, and for the prosecution of the war. This very natural incident gives occasion to Mr. Kinglake to indulge in one of those explosions of sentimentality which excite infinite surprise when we find them in the writings of so keen a satirist. Forsooth, the English Government dishonoured Lord Raglan, the friend and companion in arms of the late Duke of Wellington, because they had allowed him to meet 'St. Arnaud, formerly Le Roy, the henchman' of Louis Napoleon! The less Lord Raglan, in his nobleness of heart, cared about his honour, the more careful should English Ministers have been of the precious commodity! Mr. Kinglake places in the mouth of one of his colporteurs of scandal and gossip an heroic and indignant speech upon this momentous subject (vol. ii. p. 22). It is scarcely possible that Mr. Kinglake himself should have written such nonsense. We presume that it was furnished him with other articles of the same sort cut and dry from Paris. But Lord Raglan had, as Mr. Kinglake with sorrow admits, a loftier and better pride—a pride which consisted in doing his duty, and obeying the commands of his Sovereign.

The Emperor treated Lord Raglan with the utmost confidence. He spoke with him in private, and communicated to him his instructions to St. Arnaud. He afterwards introduced him to his Minister of War and to the Marshal, and asked his opinion upon the many important questions which were connected with the arduous enterprise in which the Allies were about to engage. How, according to Mr. Kinglake, was that confidence repaid? Lord Raglan, whilst assuming an air of frankness and courteous consideration, studiously avoided saying anything on material questions, putting off the Emperor by allusions to insignificant matters, and carefully concealing his own opinion.

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\* We cannot help giving the following extract from the work of an honest English soldier, as offering a gratifying contrast to Mr. Kinglake:—'During the morning (of the battle of the Alma) Marshal St. Arnaud rode along the front of the two armies to meet Lord Raglan and make final arrangements for the battle. In personal appearance the French Marshal was pale, thin, bent, and emaciated; but he seemed in good spirits and pleased when the English cheered him heartily as he passed. There was certainly something touching and chivalrous in the feeling which induced him, even in his last hours, when suffering from a mortal disease, and daily growing more feeble, to remain still at the head of his army and lead it in the field' (Adye, p. 47).

Lord Raglan ought to have taken one of two courses. If his sense of dignity and self-respect forbade him to act with a man of St. Arnaud's character, he should have stated his scruples to the British Government; and if there were no means of overcoming them, he should have declined the command of the English forces. Or he should have forgotten the man in the General, and banishing from his memory all that he may have heard to his harm, should have brought himself to act cordially and frankly with him as his colleague. No other line of conduct was open to a man of high principle and even moderate wisdom. Any other must have endangered either the army or the alliance. But we are asked to believe (such, we think, is the general effect of Mr. Kinglake's account of Lord Raglan), that, though loathing and scorning the man St. Arnaud, Lord Raglan, from the first interview with him at the War Council at Paris, secretly determined, whilst acting as his colleague, to despise his advice, to thwart his plans, and to follow other and different ways. He would apparently acquiesce in his views, and with a smile, of which the mixed irony and contempt were so little concealed that it came to be well known to those about him, he would bow the French Marshal out of his presence, and lead him to believe that he cordially agreed with him, meditating the while his own schemes, and resolved upon betraying his colleague when he had scarcely left his door. This incredible and unparalleled duplicity, worthy perhaps of an Italian condottiere chief of the middle ages, but so little consonant with the character of an English gentleman, is painted with the skill of an artist by Mr. Kinglake, and is apparently honoured with his approval. No one who knew Lord Raglan will recognise this portrait of him. If a French writer should paint him after this model, upon Mr. Kinglake will be the responsibility.

Mr. Kinglake describes (vol. ii. p. 81) the cheerful help given by the French troops to the English regiments which landed at Gallipoli. He does not explain why Admiral Dundas, whose duty it was to have afforded this assistance, did not send even one ship to this part of the Dardanelles.\*

St. Arnaud, when at Constantinople, according to Mr. Kinglake, actually sought to unite under his orders the French and Turkish armies, and even had the audacity to propose that he should be entrusted with the occasional command of English troops! But he was awed and humbled by the 'Canning brow' and 'thin, tight, merciless lips' of the great Eltchi; and by the polished, pitiless contempt of Lord Raglan! He slunk away in

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\* 'Staff Officer,' p. 5.

silence and confounded, and no more ventured to put forward such intolerable pretensions. There are some persons not unskilled in war, and not forgetful of the honour of England, although they might be exposed to the scorn of Mr. Kinglake, who still believe that if the Allied armies in the East had been placed under one direction and control, greater successes would have been achieved at a less cost of life and treasure. The idea of the land forces serving under a French General, and the Allied navies under an English Admiral, had been discussed in high quarters. If Lord Stratford and Lord Raglan had received St. Arnaud's suggestion as Mr. Kinglake states they did, they would simply have shown a want of good breeding.

St. Arnaud next suggested a plan of campaign. A portion of the French army was to be placed in position behind the Balkans, and only one division sent to Varna. The plan may have been a good or a bad one. It was discussed, disapproved by Lord Raglan, and rejected. But it is quite sufficient for Mr. Kinglake that it was proposed by the French commander: he jumps at the conclusion that it was to be attributed to a want of bravery on the part of the French, and almost sneers at the personal courage of St. Arnaud (vol. ii., p. 101). The French army was to take up 'a mere defensive—a timidly-defensive—position,' he significantly says. But he is himself forced to admit, unwillingly enough, that, considering the inadequate preparations which had been made for a campaign, 'the hesitation of the French strategists' was not without justification. General Burgoyne had proposed to fortify the peninsula of Gallipoli, to prevent the Russians seizing the Dardanelles by a *coup de main*, and trapping the Allied fleets in the Sea of Marmora. It was this proposal which first induced the Emperor Napoleon to send troops to the East, to the great satisfaction of the English Cabinet. This was the first step, indeed, which led to the joint military operations in Turkey. The works at Gallipoli were actually commenced.\* It must not be forgotten that by a despatch to Lord Raglan, of the 10th April, quoted by Mr. Kinglake (vol. i., p. 106), it was laid down that his first duty was to prevent the advance of the Russians upon Constantinople; and that up to the end of June it was still believed that the capture of the Turkish fortresses on the Danube was merely a question of time.† The fact was that the whole scheme of the campaign was changed after the successful resistance of the Turks. It was then no longer necessary to protect the capital. Secrecy, Mr. Kinglake says, was maintained

\* Hamley's 'Story of the Campaign,' p. 3.

† This fully appears from St. Arnaud's 'Letters:' see particularly vol. ii. p. 427.

as to these humiliating and irresolute counsels. But so far from such having been the case, St. Arnaud describes his plan to his brother, on the 30th May, in a letter from Gallipoli, and enters fully into his reasons for suggesting it.\* Mr. Kinglake has carefully omitted any reference to the arguments there given.

The victories of Omar Pasha and the successful resistance of the Turkish fortresses on the Danube led the Emperor Nicholas to evacuate the Principalities. Here, then, the object of the alliance between England and France was accomplished; and peace, securing all the ends for which war had been hazarded, was within our reach. But, says Mr. Kinglake, the Emperor Napoleon again stepped in with his malignant devices. War now suited him; and as the warlike spirit of the English people was fairly roused, he had only to encourage it, and, 'if necessary, make his own plans yield to those of his ally' (vol. ii. p. 68). So the capture of Sebastopol was resolved upon, and the English ministers, like Dr. Faustus, the helpless dupes of this Imperial Mephistopheles, were led by an inevitable destiny to do his bidding.

But it was the people and Parliament of England who insisted that the time was not yet come to yield. Was it not the fact that Russia had refused to give even the moderate guarantees which the Allied Powers had asked of her, and which might have placed some restraint upon her ambitious designs on the Turkish Empire?† The English Ministers consequently felt, and felt rightly, that there could be no lasting peace in Europe, and no safety from the ambition of Russia, as long as Sebastopol protected a Russian fleet in the Black Sea. They were not impelled to attack that stronghold against their better judgment, as Mr. Kinglake would lead us to believe, by the popular outcry finding its echo in the columns of the 'Times.' On the contrary, the determination was calmly and resolutely taken long before public attention was directed to Sebastopol.‡ On the morning of the 15th of June the manifesto came forth in 'the great newspaper,' says Mr. Kinglake (vol. ii. p. 86). On the 3rd of June we find St. Arnaud writing from Gallipoli, that he contemplated a furtive visit to Sebastopol, at the risk of being taken by the Russians, as it was his belief that that was the proper place for attack.§

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\* 'Lettres du Maréchal de St. Arnaud,' vol. ii. p. 427.

† We allude, of course, to the four points put forward by the English and French Governments in their despatches of the 22nd July, and to which Austria afterwards acceded.

‡ See despatch from Duke of Newcastle to Lord Raglan, dated 10th April, 1854, quoted in the despatch of June 29, and in the Report of the Committee on 'the State of the Army before Sebastopol.' See also the Emperor's letter of April 23 to Marshal St. Arnaud.

§ 'Lettres,' &c., vol. ii. p. 434.

The British Government had resolved that the Crimea should be invaded, and it became the duty of the Duke of Newcastle to communicate this determination officially to Lord Raglan. Now occurred 'an incident very trifling in itself, but so momentous in its consequences,' that Mr. Kinglake gives us full details of it, and constantly refers to it afterwards as one of the main causes of the expedition to Sebastopol. It was the custom in those days for the members of the Cabinet to dine alternately at the residence of one of its members. It chanced that the place of meeting, at which the draft of the despatch to Lord Raglan was to be read, was Pembroke Lodge. Either Lord John Russell's dinner and wines were detestable, or the Emperor Napoleon, in his ubiquitous mischief, had got hold of his Lordship's cook. 'Some narcotic poison' lurked in the Ministers' meat. 'The Cabinet except a small minority' thrice fell fast asleep, and, after repeated vain attempts to keep open their heavy eyelids, the Duke read the draft to himself—only once disturbed by a colleague tumbling from his chair! This despatch, smelling of gunpowder and bristling with sentences breathing war, received drowsy approval, and one of the greatest and most momentous steps ever taken by English Ministers was taken in their sleep! Such is the story palmed upon his readers, in rounded periods and in terms of solemn indignation, by Mr. Kinglake!

The Allied Generals were ill prepared to carry out the orders from home. Their troops were unprovided with the means of descending upon an enemy's coast or entering upon a campaign. Although the Commissariat officers had been six weeks at Constantinople, they had neglected to purchase baggage-horses. That was owing to the state of our military establishments, and our hitherto wavering policy at home. Lord Raglan was without any information as to the number of the Russian forces in the Crimea, or as to the state of the land defences of its great naval arsenal. That was the fault of Lord Stratford and of Admiral Dundas; and, partly, according to Mr. Kinglake, of Lord Raglan himself (vol. ii. p. 98). In vindication of the latter, he puts forward probably the most extraordinary excuse that was ever invented to cover the incapacity or justify the negligence of a commander. 'The duty of gathering knowledge by clandestine means is repulsive to the feelings of an English gentleman,' he says; and 'no two men could be less fit for the business of employing spies than Lord Stratford and Lord Raglan!' 'More diligence,' adds Mr. Kinglake with his usual unworthy sneer at our allies, 'might have been expected from the French.' As well might he say that it is unbecoming in an English commander to deceive the enemy by a false move, or  
mislead

mislead him by well-devised strategy; or that Lord Raglan's great master in war had never used a spy! If Lord Raglan had any such morbid feelings of honour, he was surely not fit to command an army. Although the Allied Generals were within a few hours' sail of the Crimea, the only information they received as to the strength of the land defences of Sebastopol they received from home; and as Lord Raglan altogether distrusted such information, he was, as Mr. Kinglake observes, 'simply without knowledge.'

Mr. Kinglake asserts that the Duke of Newcastle's despatch was so stringent that it gave no latitude to Lord Raglan. There were—through the strange sleep of the Cabinet—no 'qualifying words' (p. 117). And yet he publishes extracts\* from the despatch itself, in which the Duke of Newcastle, though strongly urging the expedition to Sebastopol, distinctly says, three times over, that it was to depend upon Lord Raglan's opinion of the sufficiency of the Allied armies, their preparation to meet the Russians, and the means at his disposal (vol. ii. p. 108). When Lord Raglan received the despatch, he tossed it somewhat contemptuously across the table to his friend Sir George Brown, who, Mr. Kinglake is careful in telling us, was sixty-six years old (adding, we believe, a couple of years to the age of the gallant veteran), and went on with his writing. When Sir George had read and considered its contents, he suggested that they should ask themselves 'how the Great Duke would have acted and decided under similar circumstances.' In this view Lord Raglan concurred, but his decision was precisely the opposite to that at which the Duke of Wellington would probably have arrived. He determined to act against his own better judgment and deliberate opinion. Mr. Kinglake believes that the fear of his personal courage being called into question if he decided otherwise weighed upon him. When the thought crossed his mind, 'if mortal eyes could have looked upon him they would have seen him turn crimson,'—a habit in which Lord Raglan, according to Mr. Kinglake, was wont to indulge.

The Allies having determined that the expedition should take place, Admiral Dundas declared himself openly against it. Mr.

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\* At length, in his third edition, Mr. Kinglake prints the whole of this despatch, because, as he asserts in an 'Advertisement,' 'the reason which made it a duty to withhold some portions of it has ceased to operate.' Will our readers believe that this document was printed at full length in the evidence taken before the Sebastopol Committee in 1855 (3rd Report, p. 116)? Of the passages which were omitted, the first suggests the occupation of the Isthmus of Perekop, in order to cut off all communication by land between the Crimea and the other parts of the Russian dominions; the second touches upon operations in Circassia and in Georgia; and the effect of the whole is certainly adverse to Mr. Kinglake's opinion that the despatch left no discretion to Lord Raglan.

Kinglake having now to deal with a friend and a host, and not with a Frenchman, actually declares that the Admiral was quite right in giving 'a bold expression to his views!' (vol. ii. p. 101.) He, unfortunately, did more. By designed negligence he would seem almost to have set himself to frustrate the operations of the Allied armies. Whilst the French were making their preparations, and were buying and building flatbottomed boats and lighters, the English Admiral was idle.\* Lord Lyons remonstrated against this fatal delay. At length, angry and impatient, he went himself to Constantinople, and bought some vessels and boats at his own risk.

The inadequate preparations made by Admiral Dundas retarded the embarkation of the English army.† On the other hand, St. Arnaud, anxious to remove his troops from the fatal valley in which they had been struck down by cholera, had placed them on board the French fleet, and had put to sea with the intention of cruising in the neighbourhood of Varna until the English were ready, hoping thus to restore the health of his suffering men, and acting upon the advice of Admiral Dundas. Mr. Kinglake actually declares that the French Marshal had purposely 'broken away from his colleague,' hoping all the while that Lord Raglan would send back for him, and that he left the English General without tidings of him—a statement at variance with fact. Disappointed, he returned ashamed and abashed, for 'he had offended against the English General,' and was exposed to 'the stern reproof' of Lord Raglan. Even Mr. Kinglake might have felt some sense of shame when penning such passages as these, had he remembered the generous words written by St. Arnaud at that very time—'Quand je t'ai souligné la loyauté de Lord Raglan, ce n'était pas un doute que j'émettais, mais un double affirmation. Lord Raglan est la loyauté même; plus on apprend à le connaître, plus on l'apprécie. Nous sommes au mieux sur tous rapports, et je le considère comme un ami.'‡

\* See 'Staff Officer,' p. 39.

† Amongst the many inaccuracies in this part of Mr. Kinglake's work he states (vol. ii. p. 60) that Lieutenant Glyn and the Prince of Leiningen, with thirty seamen and as many sappers, went up the Danube with some gunboats. This would have been then impossible. They went on ponies. At p. 132 he says that St. Arnaud marched three divisions into the Dobrudja. He only, we believe, marched one, that under General Epinasse. It is very significant that Mr. Kinglake does not even allude to Lord Cardigan's unfortunate reconnaissance in the Dobrudja—one of the many instances of suppression of facts which shake all confidence in his narrative. At p. 144 he says that an English division was left behind at Varna. No division was so left.

‡ 'Lettres,' vol. ii. p. 452. There was an admiration for and an absence of jealousy of Lord Raglan in St. Arnaud, which are singularly at variance with Mr. Kinglake's estimate of the character of the man.



Up to the last moment some of the French Generals, and probably one or two of the English, doubted whether it would be prudent to attempt to disembark near Sebastopol, and proposed a landing at Kaffa. Mr. Kinglake ascribes this misgiving to 'an ebullition of prudence' on the part of the officers of the French army; and yet he tells us that in Lord Raglan's own judgment the venture was a most hazardous one, and was only persisted in by him because he considered it his duty to obey the orders of a Secretary of State; and that the Emperor's 'express instruction,' as communicated by Colonel Trochu, and the opinion of the French Admiral Bruat, were in favour of the enterprise. A last council was held when the combined fleets were at sea. St. Arnaud, broken down by the agony of his disease, showed a confidence and trust in Lord Raglan which a generous writer would have hastened to acknowledge. He left the decision to his English colleague.

The decision having been taken to land to the north of Sebastopol, Lord Raglan proceeded in the 'Caradoc,' accompanied by some of the French Generals and Admiral Lyons, to examine the coast, and to choose a suitable place for the landing of the armies. The French were in favour of the valley of the Katcha. The reason for the selection was obvious. A small stream furnished an abundant supply of fresh water. The beach was particularly favourable. A short march would take the Allies to Sebastopol, and the strong position of the Alma would have been turned. On the 11th September, when off Cape Tarkan, St. Arnaud wrote to his brother: 'My opinion is not changed, and I am still in favour of a landing "de vive force" at the Katcha. The English have not thought it practicable. I have yielded: we will land at the Old Fort.'\* Lord Raglan's objection was, that as a considerable body of Russian troops had been observed in the valley of the Katcha, ready to dispute the landing, it would be imprudent to attempt it with raw troops. St. Arnaud did not sneer at the courage or the motives of the English General, although even after the disembarkation at the Alma he was convinced that the Allies ought to have landed at the Katcha, and could have effected the operation without serious difficulty; but he writes with an honourable delicacy of feeling: 'Je ne fais pas trop sentir aux Anglais que j'avais raison.'† Even Englishmen of no mean authority believe that, had we landed as St. Arnaud proposed, Sebastopol would have fallen on the same day.

The plan and details of the landing had been carefully

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\* 'Lettres,' vol. ii. p. 483.

† *Ib.*, p. 488.

prepared by an admirable officer and Sir E. Lyons's Flag Captain, Mends. Although Mr. Kinglake does not describe these arrangements, a little incident of no real importance, but which enables him to malign the French, is related with painful minuteness, and is exaggerated to the dimensions of an international difficulty. Lord Raglan, he states, understood that the small bay to the south or right of Old Fort was to be the landing-place of the Allied armies. A buoy placed in the centre of this bay was to mark the limits between the two fleets. It was to be laid down by the French Admiral. When the 'Agamemnon,' with Sir E. Lyons on board, conducting the English flotilla to the place of disembarcation, arrived early in the morning upon the coast, it was found that this buoy was farther north, and in front of a low bluff point which divided the bay supposed to have been chosen from a second bay of larger dimensions. Mr. Kinglake unhesitatingly declares that this was a sheer act of treachery on the part of the French Admiral, Bruat, who, wishing to oust the English from the spot selected for their landing, had deliberately, in the dead of the night, laid down the buoy in the wrong place, and thus violated his engagement with the English General. Lord Raglan thought that the buoy had been wrongly placed,\* but he does not, nor does Sir E. Lyons, appear to have attached any importance to the circumstance, or to have called for any explanation. Captain Mends, who had the general direction of the landing, was not aware that any arrangement had been made with the French; nor was Captain Spratt, who commanded the 'Spitfire,' and whose duty it was to mark the place for the anchorage of the convoy. A glance at the plan of the bays, furnished by Mr. Kinglake himself, will show that the French (if the French be responsible) were right in the selection of a position for the buoy. To have placed it in the middle of the small bay and to have landed the three armies there would (whether the landing was resisted or not) have led, as Captain Mends has truly stated, to the most hopeless and fatal confusion. The French officers probably thought they had a discretion in the matter, and we have Mr. Kinglake's own authority for the opinion 'that the immense advantage of having two extended landing-places instead of one was not counterbalanced by any inconvenience resulting from the severance of the two armies.'

Mr. Kinglake says that 'Lyons without stopping to indulge his anger darted upon the means of dealing with the evil,' and

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\* This story of the buoy came to be so much misunderstood, that the 'Staff Officer' says the French 'took up one of our buoys as [on?] their left' (p. 55).

that he and Lord Raglan determined that the landing of the British forces should take place on the beach to the north of Old Fort (p. 170). This is not quite correct. Lord Raglan did not join Sir E. Lyons until some time after the incident, and when the transports were already taking their places.

The French had landed by the evening of the first day (Sept. 14). No doubt they had fewer troops than the English, and no cavalry.\* They offered to lend us their flat-bottomed boats. The offer was only partly accepted. On the second day a light breeze caused a surf on the beach, which for some hours prevented the boats from approaching. It was only on the fifth day that the English were ready. St. Arnaud had been impatient to advance. He had been incessantly urging Lord Raglan to do so, and had even threatened to march without the English. He felt that precious days were being lost by our backwardness, and, as we afterwards learnt, he was right. Had we advanced at once, the Russian army at the Alma would have been less, some say, by 20 battalions and 36 guns. He felt, too, as he touchingly writes, that his own hour was fast drawing near.† And he had good cause to complain. The truth must be told. It was the English Admiral who was to blame. Mr. Kinglake describes with pride the English fleet sailing in the open sea and keeping watch and ward over the vast crowd of transports from the Bay of Eupatoria to the entrance of the harbour of Sebastopol. But this was not the duty assigned to it. It had been agreed, as part of Captain Mends' plan, that the whole of the boats of the men-of-war should aid in the landing. Admiral Dundas did not leave Eupatoria until late in the morning, and some hours elapsed before any except a small portion of the boats of the fleet were employed in disembarking the troops. Had Admiral Dundas performed his part in the arrangement, the great bulk of the army would probably have been landed before nightfall.‡

The disadvantages of the Old Fort as a landing-place were soon apparent. Water, so essential to men marching in hot and sultry days—for the summer weather had not yet passed—was wanting. Cholera, which had been checked for a time by a change to the

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\* Colonel Adye, in his sensible and impartial work, 'A Review of the Crimean War,' bears witness to 'the admirable arrangements' of the French (p. 36).

† 'Lettres,' vol. iii. pp. 481, 489. 'Avec mes souffrances dix neuf sur vingt seraient au lit, moi je suis à cheval, et je commande une armée; mais tout se paye, la corde se détend un jour, et alors . . . à la volonté de Dieu.'

‡ The delay caused by Admiral Dundas breaking through the arrangements expressly agreed upon by himself is mentioned by the 'Staff Officer,' p. 55. Mr. Kinglake has carefully kept this fact out of sight.

sea air, but had not ceased, broke out with fresh virulence in both armies.

At length, on the morning of the 19th September, the Allied armies commenced their march. Then, says Mr. Kinglake boastingly, 'The belief in the quality of the English soldier was seated so deep in the mind of the French army,' that it quietly and resignedly placed itself under the protection of the British troops, and sought the safe side, next to the sea, leaving the post of danger, and of course of honour, to the English! Lord Raglan, with something like archness, remarked 'that although the French were bent upon taking the precedence of him, their courtesy still gave him the post of danger.' He might have explained to Mr. Kinglake, that the reason why the English army had taken the left or inner side was the fact of its possessing cavalry, in which arm the French were entirely deficient. Would it have been seemly that the English, with a thousand sabres, should 'hug the sea,' leaving the French exposed during the march to the attacks of the enemy's cavalry on their flanks?

The description of the march of the Allies towards the Alma is one of the best in Mr. Kinglake's book, although the order of the march is not accurately or intelligibly given.\* We pass over his elaborate account of the very simple affair of the Bulganak, where shots were first exchanged with the enemy; his explanation of all the thoughts which passed through Lord Raglan's mind; Lord Raglan's delicacy as to issuing an order which was necessary to extricate a portion of his small cavalry force from danger; the happy interposition of Airey, who never needed an order; and Mr. Kinglake's obliging allusion to the not very friendly relations of Lords Lucan and Cardigan.

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\* What really did happen was this: After providing in the usual manner advanced guards of cavalry and riflemen, with flank patrols, Lord Raglan ordered that the mass of the infantry should move in such order as would afford ready means of deploying to the front, while at the same time a line, four deep, could be formed rapidly to the left, should danger threaten from that quarter. The nature of the ground, an open undulating plain, with the known superiority of the Russians in cavalry, suggested these precautions, and the army was accordingly disposed into two great double columns of companies. These double columns were formed at half distance on the centres of the second and Light divisions, the third division following the second, and the first following the Light, in the same order; while the fourth division followed the first in single column of companies, covering the convoy of reserve ammunition, and the small quantity of provisions which the army carried in its train. Had Lord Raglan disposed his army, as Mr. Kinglake tells us that he did, in close columns, a rapid formation to the flank, at least, would have been impossible. But by arranging his double columns at half distance, the wheeling up of the sub-divisions of the left brigade, and the prolongation of the line, by the successive formation on its right of the other brigade, would have given him in a few minutes a formation combining the solidity of the square, with such a front of fire as neither cavalry nor infantry attacking in column could have long withstood.

While these things were going on in front, the main body of the army continued its progress. In an evil hour Lord Raglan had consented that the infantry should leave their knapsacks on board ship. He seems to have been persuaded into this by the representations of men none of whom had ever seen war before; and who, thinking only of the burden to be carried by the soldier, overlooked the importance to the man of always having at hand the means of shifting when he is wet. But the arrangement, which proved one main cause of all the subsequent misfortunes, failed, even thus early, to produce the desired results. Though loaded only with their blankets, in which were wrapped up a few light articles, such as socks and bits of soap, the men soon began to fall out. Some dropped from sheer exhaustion—others in the agonies of cholera—several died where they fell. At last the columns reached the Bulganak, in the waters of which the troops, as they came up, slaked their thirst; and on the further side of the stream the camp was formed for the night. Mr. Kinglake's description of that encampment is probably correct in the main. We are a little surprised, however, that an historian who affects to be so minutely accurate should have forgotten to say in a single sentence where and how the pickets were placed; for we cannot suppose that a Quartermaster-General so transcendently able as Airey omitted, in a position so critical as this is assumed to have been, to cover his own front and to connect himself with the French by a line of outposts.

There was a post-house at the point where the road crossed the river, and there Lord Raglan established his head-quarters. Mr. Kinglake has made it the scene of one of the most extraordinary occurrences of which we ever read. Late in the evening Marshal St. Arnaud, attended by Colonel Trochu, presented himself to Lord Raglan, in that post-house. He came to concert with his colleague a plan of attack upon the enemy's position for the morrow. Was there anything unbecoming in this? Was it not exactly the course which it behoved one or other of these two Generals to take? each being in separate command of his own army, yet both acting in concert. Mr. Kinglake, and, according to his showing, Lord Raglan, appear to have considered the course as unbecoming in the extreme. Mr. Kinglake seems to be of opinion, and so, if we may believe him, was Lord Raglan, that plans of battle arranged beforehand are the work of pedants and coxcombs. But is Mr. Kinglake likewise of opinion that it is praiseworthy in one of two generals acting in concert deliberately to deceive the other, and to send him away, after a lengthened conference, relying on the execution of certain movements which were not to be executed at all? Such,  
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however, must have been Lord Raglan's treatment of Marshal St. Arnaud, assuming Mr. Kinglake's account of the interview to be correct; for what else could be the effect of a general's 'assenting or not dissenting' when a plan of operations in which he is to take part is submitted to him? Now, we are free to confess that if driven to choose between two conclusions, both of them unsavoury, we must believe Mr. Kinglake to be inaccurate rather than that Lord Raglan was dishonest. That Lord Raglan may have expressed to Marshal St. Arnaud a general approval of his plan is exceedingly probable. It is equally probable that, not having himself had an opportunity of reconnoitring the position of the Alma, he would approve with caution. But that Lord Raglan, while his colleague was explaining himself, 'sat quiet, with governed features, restraining, or only, perhaps, postponing his smiles; listening graciously, assenting, or not dissenting, putting forward no plan of his own, and, in short, eluding discussion;' that 'he followed this method, deliberately and on system, in his intercourse with the French;' that 'he dealt as though he held it to be a clear gain to be able to avoid entrusting the Marshal with a knowledge of what our army would be likely to undertake;' that he either insulted Marshal St. Arnaud by his manner, or sent him away anticipating results which the English General had determined should not come to pass;—all this we utterly disbelieve. Lord Raglan was too courteous, too much of a gentleman, to mock even an impertinent intruder thus. To have so dealt with the Commander-in-Chief of the French army under the critical circumstances in which the Allies were then placed, would have been not only discourteous, but base. We cannot see the slightest impropriety in the Marshal's submitting to his colleague the plan of operations which appeared to him most suitable. Lord Raglan had withdrawn for the night into the post-house on the Bulganak, to all practical purposes ignorant of the whereabouts of the Russian army. That they could not be far distant, and might possibly attack him before daylight next morning, he knew well enough. But he had not had an opportunity of looking at the position of the Alma; he could only know by reports from the fleet that such a position existed and that it was occupied. Marshal St. Arnaud, on the other hand, had not only satisfied himself of these facts, but, as the event proved, he had taken a tolerably accurate measurement of the position itself. He knew, for example, that the Alma was fordable near its mouth; that the heights on the Russian left, though perpendicular towards the sea, were accessible in front by more than one road, and that the occupation of these heights, if successfully achieved, would  
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render untenable the range of hills which trended off from them to the right. He came to the conclusion, therefore, that the weight of the French attack should be thrown against the extreme left of the Russian position, and in this he judged correctly. Whether or not that portion of his plan was equally judicious which urged the English to turn the enemy's right, is another question. But surely there was nothing in the proposal to stir the bile of the English General or the English historian. It deserved, what it has certainly not received from the latter, at least, respectful consideration. Whatever else may have been arranged between the Marshal and Lord Raglan, it was certainly agreed that Bosquet and his division should advance at five in the morning, and that two hours later the rest of the Allied forces should begin their march upon the enemy's position.

The morning of the 20th dawned. St. Arnaud, at least, was true to his promise. The day had scarcely broken when the French troops were wending their way along the road near the coast. Suddenly the order came to them to halt. St. Arnaud looked wistfully towards the English lines: there was no sign of movement. 'The determination as to the time for marching was almost the only fruit which St. Arnaud drew from the interview,' says Mr. Kinglake (vol. ii. p. 243). But even that was taken from him. Instead of marching at seven o'clock, as agreed the previous evening, it was nearly eleven before the English troops were in line with the French.

Mr. Kinglake explains the delay by stating that 'the position taken up by the English *for the defence of the Allied armies on the Bulganak*' (a sneer at the French) required a show of front towards the east, which had to be effected by a long and toilsome evolution before the divisions so employed could be brought into the order of march; and that in consequence of the relative positions of the two armies the English had to make a longer march than the French to come into line with them. Moreover, Lord Raglan insisted upon waiting until the baggage-train, left exposed by the required movements, was placed under proper protection. But surely all this was known, or ought to have been anticipated, by the English General the night before, and should have been communicated to the French Commander. To justify Lord Raglan to some extent, Mr. Kinglake endeavours to throw the blame upon somebody else, and Sir George Brown is accused of blundering stupidity. Because an order given the night before to march at seven o'clock was not repeated in the morning it was not obeyed! Upon such ground as the English army then occupied, an order to march, not specifying the direction in which the movement was to be made, would have been an order which  
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it was impossible to obey, and therefore a mere nullity. But our persuasion is, that no order of the kind was ever issued. All, indeed, that seems to be known upon the subject is, that Lord Raglan did not communicate with any of his Generals of division after he had seen Marshal St. Arnaud, and that although the troops were under arms on the 20th, an hour before daylight, no orders reached them of any kind till long after the time when Marshal St. Arnaud is supposed to have expected that they would be in full march to co-operate with his attack on the Russian left. For an explanation of this mysterious delay we refer Mr. Kinglake to General Airey, not merely because that gallant officer is represented by the historian as having been deep in the confidence of his chief, but because it is the peculiar duty of a Quartermaster-General of an army to set down in writing and to make known to the Generals of division the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief (not, of course, without his instructions to do so), and so to arrange as that these written instructions shall be received in good time, by those to whom they are addressed. Let anybody who doubts this fact look into the 'Wellington Despatches,' and he will find there evidence incontestable that every movement of every corps, division, and even brigade was minutely laid down for it, in orders bearing the signature of George Murray. Take for example the advance of the British army to Vitoria. Not only is each column instructed, the evening before the battle, upon what point it is to march, and at what hour it is to start, but the very order of its marching, right or left in front, is clearly defined. Why did not 'Airey' on the eve of the battle of the Alma, imitate Sir George Murray on the eve of the battle of Vitoria? Was Lord Raglan so reticent as to keep his Quartermaster-General ignorant of what he proposed to do; or had he no plans to communicate? Or did the Quartermaster-General after receiving the instructions of his chief trust to the intelligence of his own subordinates for making them sufficiently clear to the Generals of division on the morrow? These are questions for correctly answering which we have no data, but they are very important questions, inasmuch as the professional characters of two men of mark are involved in them. Let that, however, pass for the present.

But not satisfied with justifying the tardiness of the English, Mr. Kinglake, we observe, with his usual fairness, endeavours to adjust matters between the two nations, by stating, on the authority of a private letter from Lord Raglan, 'that when the Allies reached the ground which sloped down towards the Alma, the heads of our leading columns were abreast of the French skirmishers.'



mishers.' This is likely enough. The French skirmishers having been halted for some time, were lying down—many of them, perhaps, asleep. Is their courage or that of their leaders to be called in question because they retained their peaceful attitude till quite satisfied that their more deliberate Allies had really come up with them, and were ready to act?

The position, which the Allies were approaching, and which Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud reconnoitred together about midday, may be described in few words. It was a range of broken ground, extending from the sea eastward about five English miles, and covered along the whole of its front by the river Alma. To an army coming from the north, the Alma itself, except near its mouth, presented no serious obstacle. Where the British troops forded, it was a mere rivulet, dammed back, indeed, here and there, so as to form deep pools, with felled trees and other incumbrances obstructing the passage; but the volume of water discharged into the sea is stated, on good authority, to have been not more than sufficed to 'turn a mill.' On the north or right bank the ground sloped gently into gardens and vineyards, having numerous low stone walls dividing them and extending quite to the margin of the stream. The rise on the left bank was much more abrupt, presenting everywhere, but especially towards the sea, the aspect of a scarp or scarped steep, which, however, was penetrated by several roads, all approachable by fords or bridges. As you ascended the stream, this scarp lost more and more its rugged character, till it became at last a bank, rising with a slope somewhat abrupt, but by no means difficult of ascent either for man or horse. Finally, the hills which surmounted the southern bank ranged from 300 or 400 feet to half that altitude. They were highest where they overlooked the sea—at a place called the Telegraph Hill,—and at the Kourgané; and being very rocky they were impracticable for wheeled carriages except where natural valleys occurred. The most important of these valleys was that through which the road from Eupatoria to Sebastopol runs, and which conducts the traveller round the Telegraph Hill to the eastward. The Kourgané Hill, thrown back from the river about 600 yards, was so placed that, however convenient it might be as a point whence to overlook the field of battle, it would cease to be important as soon as the Telegraph Hill should have fallen into the hands of an enemy, because the enemy could then get into the rear of the force holding the Kourgané Hill and cut them off from Sebastopol.

On the north or right of the river stood several villages; Almatamack nearest to the sea; then a hamlet, marked in Mr.

Kinglake's

Kinglake's plan as the 'white homestead;' then Bourliouk, and higher up still, farm-buildings and huts, scattered about, so to speak, in groups, though well nigh touching one another.

Prince Mentschikoff having at his disposal something under forty thousand men, could not possibly occupy the whole of this ground. He appears, moreover, to have greatly over-estimated its natural strength, especially upon his own left; for he took no steps to block the mouths of the valleys in that direction with works, or to command the fords with guns. He placed his left on the Telegraph Hill, and his right on the Kourgané Hill, and left the whole space between the Telegraph and the sea empty; except, indeed, that a battalion and a half-battery of field guns observed the combined fleet from a distant village called Oulou-coul Akles. The Prince's excuse for thus denuding the hills was, that they were commanded by the fire from the shipping. Undoubtedly they were. But there was no occasion for placing any portion of his force on the summits, or along the slopes facing the sea. The destruction of the roads leading from Oulou-coul Akles, and through Almatamack, by a circuitous route towards the Telegraph Hill, would have stopped the approach of guns in either direction, while a few field works, held by riflemen and armed with light artillery, would have greatly strengthened the position. These obvious precautions Prince Mentschikoff neglected to take upon his left, and he suffered for it.

Of his right he was more careful, though even in that direction little skill was evinced in making the most of the ground. About two hundred yards from the river, or perhaps a little more, on a sort of platform in front of the Kourgané Hill, he had thrown up a work, which Mr. Kinglake first describes as 'a breastwork, a work of a slight kind;' and then calls, throughout his narrative, the Great Redoubt. Mr. Kinglake's first account of this work, which was a mere *fêche* or *redan*, is the correct account. He mistakes, however, in asserting that it was armed with fourteen heavy guns. We believe that its armament consisted of six or eight, not guns of position, but field guns and howitzers. Higher up on the same hill the enemy had a second battery, covered like the first by a breastwork. Except these two, there was not a field-work on the ground, which, however, was protected by 106 pieces of artillery, well placed, looking to the plan of battle which the Russian General had arranged for himself, but, as the event proved, not in every instance so distributed as to avert the danger with which he was principally threatened. His cavalry, of which he had upwards of three thousand in the field, he kept massed upon his extreme right, the  
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ground being favourable for its operations in that quarter. For to the front it was a plain covered with coarse herbage, to the rear a succession of open downs, of which the swells and falls were everywhere easy.

From this description it will be seen that the plan of attack proposed by Marshal St. Arnaud would have carried Lord Raglan away from his communications with the sea, on which he depended for everything; exposed him while in march over an extensive plain to the danger of being attacked by a superior force of cavalry; and separated him from the French. The Allied armies, though superior to the Russians, were scarcely strong enough to spread themselves in a continuous line along the enemy's front, and to outflank his right at the same time. Such at least appears to have been the opinion of Lord Raglan, and he explained to Marshal St. Arnaud, at the close of their joint reconnaissance, that he declined to turn the enemy's right, while he approved of the Marshal's purpose of throwing the weight of the French army on the Russian left.\*

It was one o'clock before the Allied armies could move forward. Bosquet, whose advance had been checked for so many hours owing to the delay of the English troops, threw out his skirmishers, and went onwards, and there was an advance along the whole line of the Allies. Bosquet marched on the extreme right, and about fifteen hundred yards in advance of the line; next to him was Canrobert, then Prince Napoleon. To the left of Prince Napoleon was the English second division, under Sir De Lacy Evans; and to their left the Light Division, commanded by Sir George Brown. Still farther to the left was the cavalry. The whole front was covered with a chain of light infantry. The two leading English divisions (the Light and Second), on coming within range of the enemy's guns, deployed into line (two deep), and, whilst waiting for the further development of the French attack, were ordered to lie

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\* Lord Raglan says (see Adye, p. 44), in the despatch which he wrote after the battle: 'It was arranged that Marshal St. Arnaud should assail the enemy's left by crossing the river at its junction with the sea, and immediately above it; and that the remainder of the French divisions should move up the heights in their front, whilst the English army should attack the right and centre of the enemy's position.' St. Arnaud in writing to the Minister at War says:—'It had been arranged with Lord Raglan that his troops should perform a movement to their left, turning the enemy's flank, analogous to that which General Bosquet effected at the right; but in assaulting, threatened by cavalry and outflanked by the Russians on the heights, the English army was obliged to relinquish this part of the programme.' It is plain that the arrangement to which St. Arnaud alludes was that which he conceived to have been come to the night before; while the arrangement to which Lord Raglan refers, is that which was made by him in conference with St. Arnaud, during the reconnaissance on the 20th.

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down, so as to present as small a mark as possible. When the deployment had taken place, it was found that the line of the Light Division extended so far to the right as to overlap a battalion of the 2nd division: and hereupon Mr. Kinglake discovers that Sir George Brown had got too far to the right in the course of the march; that Lord Raglan, though he perceived the mistake, was too good-natured to give a simple order which might have saved a number of valuable lives; and that Sir G. Brown was too blind to repair the fault himself! Sir George, he tells us, was near-sighted, and had not accustomed himself to repair the defect, as some commanders have done, by a constant and well-practised use of glasses. But not only was Sir George very blind, and foolishly ashamed to make confession of his blindness, but 'the very fire and energy of his nature, and his almost violent sense of duty, prevented him from getting into the habit of trusting to the eyes of other men.' There are certain great fallacies, not to use a harsher expression, in this statement which we must interrupt our narrative for a moment to expose. Sir George Brown is not so near-sighted as to require the use of glasses. He is an excellent shot on the moors, and a successful deer-stalker; neither of which a short-sighted man who rejects the use of glasses is likely to be; and in former days he was selected because of his remarkable quickness and decision to command the advanced-guard of an army which had a very difficult and woody country to pass through, and an active enemy on all sides of it. As to his use of other men's eyes we shall speak presently.

Sir De Lacy Evans's division, together with that which immediately followed it in the advance, was formed on the morning of the battle in a line of battalion columns at deploying distance. But as considerable bodies of Russian cavalry had been seen on the previous evening and were still in sight, Sir George Brown, whose division, forming the left of the whole Allied army, lay most open to their attack, thought it best, after consulting with the Quartermaster-General, to continue his march in double column of companies, keeping up his communication with the 2nd division, by the movements of which he had necessarily to be guided. As long as both divisions were moving to the front little inconvenience ensued, as the distance between them could always be corrected by a slight alteration in the direction of the march. But when they halted and began to prepare for deployment into line, this could not be so easily or conveniently accomplished. Sir George on this occasion seems to have laid aside his scruples, if he ever had any, about trusting to the eyes of other men. He placed

placed one of the best staff-officers of the army, Captain (now Colonel) Hallewell, on the right flank of his column, holding him responsible for maintaining a proper space for deployment between it and the 2nd division. This was no easy task. As the 2nd division was moving in battalion columns right in front, and would necessarily deploy to its left, whilst Sir George Brown's right brigade would have to deploy to its right, room would be required for four whole battalions between the two columns, or something more than half a mile. This distance had been fairly kept; but as the Light division was coming under the range of the enemy's guns and approached the ground on which it became expedient to deploy, the 2nd division—whether from being pressed upon by Prince Napoleon's division on its right, or because its battalions required to correct their intervals previous to deployment—began to take ground rapidly to its left, and to steal from Sir George Brown a considerable portion of the interval that he had previously preserved. Sir George Brown thought it better to deploy where he then was than to show an appearance of unsteadiness and indecision when immediately under the enemy's observation and within range of his guns.\* He thus brought the whole of his right brigade directly opposite to the mouth of the valley through which the road led up into the pass. As he deployed, his line overlapped one of the battalions of the 2nd division; and it was not his fault if the 95th Regiment was allowed, as stated by Mr. Kinglake, to detach itself from its proper brigade and to break itself up.

The French advance ought to have been completed before Lord Raglan brought the English army so far forward. 'If the whole body of the Allies had been one people, under the command of one general,' says Mr. Kinglake (ii. p. 261), 'their advance would have been effected in échelon, and the left would have been kept out of fire whilst the effort on the right was in progress; but the pride of nations must sometimes be suffered to deflect the course of armies; and although there was no military value in any of the ground north of the vineyards, Lord Raglan, it seems, did not like to withhold his infantry whilst the French were executing their forward movement.' That is to say, that Lord Raglan, having first deliberately rendered any combined movement impossible, then without necessity, merely for the gratification of a reprehensible pride, exposed his troops, from head to foot, to 'a studious fire from thirty guns'!

Mr. Kinglake tells us that some of the suite were vexed and

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\* He would have had to move, not only his own division, but the first; besides guns and cavalry. He could not do this under fire.

half angry with the personal conduct of Lord Raglan during this part of the battle, for they knew the value of their chief's life, and they conceived that he was affronting great risk without due motive, and from mere inattention to danger. He rode with his staff close in the rear of the troops, who had been ordered to lie down, recklessly offering himself as a mark for the enemy. There was a perfect storm of missiles—shell, round-shot, and bullets—above and around him, and yet neither the English General nor any of the brilliant staff which surrounded him were touched. A French critic might fairly apply to this statement (in some degree, for the scanty staff of Lord Raglan could not be compared to the large escort of the Emperor) the test that Mr. Kinglake himself applies to the account of the Emperor's bearing at the battle of Solferino (vol. i. Appendix), and might come to the conclusion that Lord Raglan could not have been under fire, —the more so as, whilst it was not pretended even by the 'Moniteur' that the Emperor was the particular object of the enemy's aim, Lord Raglan, according to Mr. Kinglake, offered himself as a willing mark to the Russian cannon. Lord Raglan, no doubt, acted as he did in order that he might be enabled to direct his troops in the best manner, after obtaining information for himself, and ascertaining the fit moment for them to advance. The Russians had set fire to the villages and homesteads on the Alma; a blinding smoke came between him and the power of observing what the enemy was about, or of directing the movements of his own army; and he would naturally move here and there, trying to discover some point which should be free from interruption to his vision.

Bosquet, with his division, now began to ascend the steep cliffs occupied by the Russian left. Of course Mr. Kinglake must sneer at the advance of the French, and accordingly he relates an anecdote to prove that, although their skirmishers carried on a sharp fire, there was nobody to fire at.\* The Zouaves, with singular daring and activity, clambered up the overhanging cliffs, and formed on the height under the enemy's fire. The British Guards, with that generous impulse which leads Englishmen to do justice to brave men, but in which Mr. Kinglake seems singularly deficient, looked with admiration on this advance of our allies, and a shout of applause, still remembered, ran along their line. In a short time the French had established themselves upon the heights to the left of the Russian army—had, in fact, whether owing to the carelessness of Prince Mentschikoff,

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\* The 'Staff Officer' does justice to the advance of the French (p. 66). He writes in a very different spirit from Mr. Kinglake.

as Mr. Kinglake states, or by their own skill and boldness—succeeded in seizing the real key of the position. Mr. Kinglake is fond of describing what he calls ‘the key of the Russian position.’ Sometimes he gives that title to what he calls ‘the Great Redoubt,’ in the centre of the mouth of the valley; at another to the Kourgané Hill. In fact, the position of the Alma seems to have had a bunch of keys. ‘The key of a position’ is defined to be some point which, if an enemy possesses himself of and cannot be dislodged from, renders it compulsory for the army occupying that position to withdraw. Accepting this definition, the key to the Russian position of the Alma was the height to the left, which had been occupied by the French, who had it in their power to move into the enemy’s rear, and intercept his line of communication with, and his retreat by, the great road to Sebastopol. If the loss by which they had gained this important point was small, the French General might fairly claim credit for skilful strategy. The proof of military skill does not consist, as Mr. Kinglake seems to suppose, in the number of men an army may lose, but rather in obtaining the maximum of success with the minimum of loss. The loss of the Highland brigade at the Alma was very small indeed, yet, according to Mr. Kinglake, it performed the critical operation of the battle.

With a large military force established on the heights to its left, and threatening its flank, the Russian centre must have lost heart; and without detracting from the magnificent courage of the British troops, or from the important part played by the two guns—of which more hereafter—there can be no question in the judgment of an impartial man, that the fact of the French having gained this position, and the knowledge of it, was the principal cause of the unsteadiness and final retreat of the Russian centre. The consternation of Prince Mentschikoff, when he perceived the error he had committed in not sufficiently strengthening his left, and his own admission that, the French having turned his left wing, it was impossible to maintain the position of the right wing and centre, prove that he at least perceived that the battle was virtually lost. This does not detract from the glory of the English troops, or give undue credit to the French.\* We

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\* Let us see what Colonel Adye says of the attack of the French:—  
 ‘The enemy, taken by surprise at an attack on their left where they had least expected it, and where they had considered the ground impracticable, detached at once several batteries and other troops from their centre to meet it, and Bosquet’s artillery became heavily engaged, but not at very close range. St. Arnaud, taking advantage of the success of this manœuvre, in order to prevent General Bosquet from being overpowered, on the firing of the first gun at once ordered the columns of General Canrobert and Prince Napoleon to attack them in front.’

We will not follow Mr. Kinglake in his account of the movements of the French army, or point out the frequent unfairness and inaccuracy of his statements. But we cannot pass over the struggle at the Telegraph Station, which Mr. Kinglake treats as a pure invention scarcely worthy of notice. Those who were at the half-finished tower as the battle still raged, and those British officers who visited it the day after, know well that it was more than a fiction. The interior was choked with the bodies of the dying and the dead, and French and Russians, mingled together as they had fallen in the brief but bloody struggle, covered the rising ground upon which it was built.\*

But the British assault upon the centre took place before the French had completed their work. Space will not permit us to follow Mr. Kinglake in his minute account of the operations of the different divisions. That he should have fallen into many inaccuracies is not surprising. No one who has attempted to relate the history of a battle will question the difficulty of describing the movements, at any given moment, of any particular regiment or bodies of men, and more especially of any particular individual. We should not, therefore, quarrel with Mr. Kinglake, if, in an honest attempt to describe the battle of the Alma, he had been occasionally misled by his authorities. But we do find fault with him for picking out certain regiments and certain men, and making them his heroes, to the sacrifice of truth, to the ultimate prejudice of their reputation, and to the injury and pain of others, who are passed over altogether, or are only contemptuously or disparagingly mentioned. Gladly would we devote some space to the 2nd Division, so ably led by Sir De Lacy Evans. We reluctantly pass them by, because Mr. Kinglake appears to have especially misapprehended Sir George Brown's operations, and in justice to that gallant officer we think it right to give some account of what really occurred.

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front. In advancing they were warmly received at the river by the Russian skirmishers. The French artillery was brought into action, the batteries of Prince Napoleon being placed on the right of the village of Bourliouk. The French columns soon forced the passage of the river, and began to swarm up the heights, the enemy gradually retiring before them, but disputing every inch of ground. . . . The enemy were driven back, retreating with heavy loss. Thus far the battle in this direction was gained, the French having accomplished a most difficult and gallant advance, for which their activity and dashing qualities were well suited. But a sterner and far more terrible struggle had commenced upon the left.—*Review*, &c., p. 48.

\* General Canrobert was moreover wounded. The 'Staff Officer' speaks of the 'sanguinary struggle' at the Telegraph Tower (p. 72). See also the works of Colonel Hamley and Colonel Adye. The article on the Crimean War, '*Quarterly Review*,' vol. xcvi., p. 216, entirely corroborates what has been stated in the text. The account there given is furnished by an eye-witness of the French attack, who was at the Telegraph Station before the battle was at an end.

Sir



Sir George Brown, with the Light Division, had before him the causeway running through the principal valley, commanded by the work which Mr. Kinglake calls the Great Redoubt, and protected by an advanced battery of field-guns, with a large amount of infantry, *en tirailleur* as well as in mass, flanking them. He had likewise the vineyards with their fences and walls to surmount, and the burning village to get round; and this under a murderous fire of round shot and grape. The two brigades composing his division moved on; the right covered by one wing of the 2nd battalion of the Rifles under Colonel Lawrence, the left by the other wing under Major Norcott. General Buller, who with the left brigade had already taken ground at the very edge of the burning village, kept steadily advancing. Major Norcott with his Rifles was across the stream still higher up, and had opened his fire upon the flank of the Russian skirmishers; while General Codrington's brigade (the right brigade of the Light Division) filled the whole mouth of the pass extending on both sides of the Eupatoria road. It is mainly with the proceedings of this brigade, which Sir George Brown accompanied in person, that we shall have to do, because Buller, though well employed in watching the enemy's cavalry, did not come much into action, except with one of his line regiments and Norcott's skirmishers.

Mr. Kinglake begins his narrative of the proceedings of Codrington's brigade with biographical sketches of the two Generals who headed it, both of which happen to be quite incorrect. Sir George Brown had not been, as the historian asserts, for nearly forty years immersed in the Adjutant-General's Office. With the exception of an interval of a few months, in 1815, Sir George had spent a long military life in doing regimental duty. He had served in the Peninsula and in America, in Light Infantry regiments. When the command of the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade fell vacant, in 1824, it was conferred upon him; and he remained at the head of that fine battalion till the year 1841. He left the Rifles on being promoted to the rank of Major-General; and then first joined the Adjutant-General's department. When the war with Russia broke out Sir George Brown was unemployed, and, volunteering to accompany Lord Raglan, was appointed second in command. To him, and not to Airey, Lord Raglan always referred when in difficulties. He, not Airey, prepared the means of transporting the army across the Black Sea, made arrangements for the embarkation and disembarkation of the troops, and suggested the order of their advance from Old Fort.

General Codrington, we are told, though a Colonel, had  
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but a few weeks previously been a mere traveller on a visit to the army in Bulgaria. This is an entire mistake. Colonel Codrington quitted London with the brigade of Guards in command of one of the battalions, and being promoted to the rank of Major-General while so serving in Bulgaria, he refused to return home. 'Airey's' removal to the Quartermaster-Generalship occasioned a vacancy in one of the brigades of the Light Division, and to the command of that brigade Codrington was appointed. The absence of a plume, of which Mr. Kinglake makes so much, and the important fact that Codrington's head was covered by a forage cap, are thus sufficiently accounted for. The General had found no opportunity as yet of equipping himself according to his new rank; he therefore continued to dress like a Colonel of the Guards.

It was not to be expected that such chiefs as Brown and Codrington, one of them 'too long immersed in an office' to remember the lessons of his youth, the other coming for the first time into practical acquaintance 'with the common obstacles offered on a battle field,' should escape falling into blunders. Sir George, though trained in the school of Moore, and long practised in the Duke's glorious Light Division, did not take the common precaution of covering his advance with skirmishers; and unfortunately Mr. Kinglake was not at hand to advise. He formed line outside the enclosures, and 'the whole body went stark on with bare front, driving full at the enemy's stronghold.' Whenever Mr. Kinglake undertakes to describe formations and evolutions, he invariably gets into trouble. The real facts of the case seem to be these:—On the deployment of the Light Division into line, it was covered, as we have seen, by the 2nd battalion of the Rifles, Lawrence with one wing extending along the front, Norcott with the other scouring the flank of the division. This naturally brought Lawrence first into collision with the enemy. He continued to push on, driving the Russians before him, till utterly baffled by the smoke and flames of Bourliouk, and was then obliged to take ground to his left. He thus came to the right of the 2nd brigade, where the 19th regiment was posted, and he was ordered by General Buller to cover the advance of that regiment, which was directed to separate itself from the other two. The skirmishers, whom Mr. Kinglake would have hurried through the burning village, thus reached the bank on the other side of the river by going round the village, whence being much enfladed by the enemy's fire, they dashed rapidly on towards the Redan, and entered it on its proper right. This was done simultaneously with another attack hereafter to be mentioned. Lawrence and his Adjutant were both dismounted

by a discharge of grape within a few yards of the work, their horses being killed under them, and Lawrence rolling under the breastwork itself.

While Lawrence was thus covering the line by the only process open to him, the line itself continued to advance, clambering over the walls, passing round the houses, and struggling through the obstacles which opposed the crossing of the stream. This brought Codrington's brigade to the steep bank of which Mr. Kinglake speaks, with its wavering outline and its scarp edge, varying from eight to fifteen feet in height. And here, according to our historian, Sir George Brown ought to have halted. Had Mr. Kinglake been in Sir George's place, skirmishers would have been thrown upon the summit to keep down the enemy's fire, till every man in every company could have been got into his right place, and the line reformed with perfect symmetry. Was that possible, and if possible would it have been of the smallest use? \* It was not possible. Along the entire slope of that ridge there was nowhere level ground enough on which to effect a regular formation. Was it to take place in the bed of the river? But granting the possibility, where would have been the profit? Does Mr. Kinglake suppose that their line could be preserved by men scrambling up a very steep bank from eight to fifteen feet high, with only breaks here and there on the crest of it, sufficient and no more to afford footing to a few marksmen? If so, he is probably farther of opinion that the advance first up the steep, and by-and-by along the plateau, should have been effected in slow time,—certainly at a pace not less measured or more disturbing than that which in Hyde Park carries our gallant Volunteers up to the imaginary foe whom they are supposed to be charging. But since the invention of firearms, a battery, such as that which swept the slope, from the Redan to the bank, and commanded the valley beyond, has never been, nor ever could be, successfully stormed except at a rush. You may move your line with some steadiness over an open plain, through the range of round shot and shell. Even then, if the fire be heavy, the line will lose a good deal of its symmetry; but from the moment you arrive within reach of canister and grape you must give the men their heads or they will take the matter into their own hands, and either go on without you or turn tail. There is nothing for it but a hurrah! And with the utterance of the hurrah, order, in the sense which martinets and historiographers apply to the term, is for the moment at an end.

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\* See the 'Staff Officer,' p. 69.

In the case of which we are speaking, the distance between the ledge to be scaled and the guns to be taken was little more than two hundred yards. Grapeshot flew like hail over the men while clinging to the shelter of the bank. Would it have been worth while, if the ground had been ever so favourable, to pause in the battle, allowing the cannonade upon the Guards in the rear to go on, only in order to re-form the young soldiers in a line, which, from the very nature of the contest, must be broken again the moment the bank was breasted? General Brown did exactly what had been done before at the battle of Bladensburg, in America, where, by the by, he led the advance. He trusted to the courage of his troops, and carried his point. Nor was he without far higher precedent. It was thus that Napoleon, at the battle of Lodi, drove the Austrians from their guns, and opened a way for the advance of the French army. Had he attempted, after crossing the bridge, to regain his formations before hazarding the attack, the Austrian guns would have swept him from the face of the earth, and stopped the columns in his rear. According to Mr. Kinglake Sir George was perfectly aware of his own shortcomings; 'but an officer honoured by the command of British troops can always hope that when his skill fails him, his men may still retrieve the day by sheer fighting.' Such is the introduction to a scene wherein Sir George is represented as scrambling alone, on his grey charger, up the bank, and sitting among the Russian skirmishers flushed and angry, while his plume floats in the breeze, and his presence in the character, which it seems is most dreaded by foemen, of 'a fearless near-sighted man,' strikes awe into the hearts of his enemies.

Has it never occurred to Mr. Kinglake that occasions do arise in war when a General, if he intend to win, must expose himself, and cheer on his men by showing them the way? Has he mixed so much with military men of experience without hearing that, later than the Alma, assaults have failed, mainly owing to the lack of this sort of forwardness on the part of the officer to whom the management of them had been entrusted? Be this, however, as it may, Sir George Brown saw at a glance that there was nothing for it, except by a rush to capture or compel the enemy to withdraw their guns; and having previously conferred with the commanding officers of the 23rd and 19th Regiments (the latter detached, as we have mentioned, from Buller's Brigade), he resolved to make the rush. With this view he forced his horse up the steep; a wave of his plumeless hat (such it was) set these regiments in motion, and without a check, though with heavy loss—Colonel Chester being killed,

and Colonel Saunders severely wounded—portions of these regiments carried the Redan.

But whilst the battle was raging in the narrow valley leading up to the height, what was Lord Raglan doing? It has hitherto been supposed that it is the duty of a commander to direct and watch over the army confided to his care. Mr. Kinglake, in his new art of war, teaches differently. According to him, 'there lurks in the men of these isles a vestige of Man the Hunter and Man the Savage.' It appears that on the day of the Alma the spirit of 'Man the Hunter' prevailed in Lord Raglan, as that of 'Man the Savage' did in Sir G. Brown. Led away by it, he forgot his troops, dashed off upon 'Shadrach' (who, 'in olden times, having been ridden to hounds,' seemed, like his master, 'to think of the great days in the Gloucestershire country'), and galloped blindly onwards towards the enemy. A vulgar French soldier, ignorant of Mr. Kinglake's new rules of war, 'paused in his loading, and stood gazing, with ramrod half-down, as though he were trying to make out how it accorded with the great science of war, that the English General and his Staff should be riding through the skirmishers, and entering, without his battalions, into the midst of the enemy's dominions.' Wiser heads might have been equally puzzled! However, Lord Raglan was led by 'a golden chance,' and 'Fortune, enamoured by his boldness, was awaiting him with her radiant smile.' He suddenly found himself, to his surprise, on an unoccupied and undefended knoll almost in the rear of the Russian position, and from which the earthwork could be enfiladed. 'Now,' he exclaimed, 'if we had a couple of guns here!' Colonel Dickson instantly seized the word, and rode off in haste. The guns were brought up, a flank fire reached the earthwork, and the fortune of the day, hitherto wavering, immediately turned.

Now, we know Lord Raglan had become impatient of the screen interposed between him and the enemy by the burning villages. Probably it was in search of some eminence clear of the volume of smoke that he rode off. A 'Staff Officer,' who had more opportunities of knowing what passed than Mr. Kinglake, thus describes what really took place: \* 'Directly we got into the river and were crossing to the road on the opposite side, a very heavy enfilading fire was poured upon us, both from cannon and small arms. In the river two of the staff were shot down; but Lord Raglan, whose presence of mind never left him for a moment, turned to one of his aides-de-camp, and said, "Ah! if they can enfilade us here, we can certainly enfilade

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\* 'Letters from Head-Quarters, by a Staff Officer,' 3rd edit., p. 68.

them on the rising ground beyond. Order up Turner's battery !” He then went on following the road which turned away to the right, and at length got on a sort of landing-place on high ground. ‘He at once perceived the importance of getting guns up here, where they could enfilade all the Russian artillery. One, two, three aides-de-camp were sent to know why Turner’s battery did not arrive.’ The ‘Staff Officer’ afterwards describes the cause of the delay—a dead horse, which blocked up the passage of the river. A brigade of infantry was also ordered up. Lord Raglan was not, therefore, guided by ‘a golden chance,’ but with his quick, keen glance, had marked the position to which he rode, having already ordered the two guns to follow.

There is no doubt that the appearance of the English commander with the four guns—for two more afterwards arrived \*—upon the knoll had a marked influence upon the issue of the battle. Whether it compelled the Russians to abandon the earthwork is doubtful. There are very strong reasons for thinking that the earthwork had been evacuated before the guns were brought to bear upon them.† However that may be, both guns and infantry, when they arrived, did good service. But neither would they have been safe in so forward a position, nor would the Russians have retreated, overawed by Lord Raglan’s plume, but that the French were beginning to close upon the Telegraph Hill—the true key of the Russian position—and to make it too hot for the troops which held it. As to the Duke of Cambridge and Sir Colin Campbell, now Lord Clyde, we suspect that the one must by this time be as complacent under Mr. Kinglake’s censure as we believe the other to be impatient of his praise. The Royal Duke was left without orders. The Commander-in-Chief, with all his staff, had disappeared. It was His Royal Highness’s first practical experience of war. If he did mistrust himself, which we believe that he did not, who could be surprised at the circumstance? No sooner, however, was it apparent to him that the moment had come for supporting the first line than he put his division in motion, and entered into the battle. He arrived at the crest of the bank beyond the river just in time. The detachments from the regiments which had carried the Redan were attacked by superior numbers, and fairly driven down the slope. Just then the brigade of Guards came up. Had they made their appearance sooner, they must have been exposed in passing through the vineyards to the fire of the enemy’s

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\* ‘Staff Officer,’ p. 71.

† This seems to be confirmed by the ‘Staff Officer,’ p. 70.

batteries, and must have suffered from it.\* As it was, they arrived fresh, in good order, and comparatively untouched—an unspeakable advantage at such a moment—the very crisis of the battle. The Fusilier Guards rushed forward to retake the Redan, but failed. Some of them got up to the parapet and clung to it, but not a man entered the work, while the great body retreating got intermixed with the 23rd regiment, along with whom they lay down behind the broken bank, from which it was found impossible for a considerable space of time to move them.

While this was going on upon the left of Codrington's brigade, the right, consisting of the 33rd and 7th, gallantly attacked the Russian infantry which protected the battery and the Redan. The battle was not fought, however, as Mr. Kinglake would have us believe. Lacy Yea and his gallant Fusiliers did just as well, but not one whit better, than Colonel Blake and his equally gallant 33rd. The personal exploits of Lacy Yea, Mr. Kinglake's particular protégé, are about as authentic as those of Homer's heroes, and so is the long fight maintained by him and his men against five or six times their number of Russian troops. The two regiments went forward together, Codrington leading them on. They drove back the Russians and planted themselves on the brow of the height, from which the enemy retired; and they remained there, partially engaged, till the Russians rallied and advanced to recover the Redan. Symptoms of unsteadiness then began to show themselves, and no wonder. A mass of Russian troops came towards them in front. They saw their comrades driven out of the Redan upon their left; they distrusted their own ability to keep the advanced position which they had won, and they wavered. Sir George Brown observed this from the point where he was, trying to rally the 19th and 23rd in their retreat: he rode over to the height, and did his best to stop the 33rd and 7th; but they would not attend to him. It has been said that a bugle sounding the retreat misled them. For this the evidence is, to say the least of it, very incomplete; but whether by sound of bugle or not, they turned round and moved back, slowly and doggedly, just as the Grenadier Guards came upon the ground and were formed and ready for action.

Having opened to let the 7th and 33rd pass, the Grenadiers reformed line and advanced against the Russian columns in their immediate front. Sir George Brown went with the Grenadier Guards; and when they arrived abreast of the Redan he requested the commander of the battalion to detach a party from

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\* 'Staff-Officer,' p. 71.

his left and to reoccupy that work. There was no risk in this; neither could the flank of the Grenadiers be said at this juncture to be exposed, because the men of the Light Division, who had been driven out of the Redan, were lying in an irregular line with the Fusilier Guards under the bank, and kept up such a heavy fire on the space between themselves and the work as compelled the enemy's masses, which had occupied the work, to halt and finally to withdraw. Protected on the left by this fire the Grenadiers moved forward, till, having crossed the swell of ground from which Codrington's brigade had retreated, they found themselves confronted by the Russian columns. Upon these they opened such an effective and well-sustained fire as soon told. The enemy wavered and gave ground; but in proportion as the Grenadiers pressed upon them, their own flank became exposed, and they were in danger of getting involved in a contest single-handed with a very superior force of the enemy. Seeing this, Sir George Brown rode back across the front of the Redan, and, rounding the corner of the hill, came upon the Coldstream Guards in line and under the steep ground, and with their right somewhat thrown forward. He conferred briefly with the Duke of Cambridge and General Bentinck, both of whom were beside the Coldstreams, and the whole immediately advanced. The Coldstreams took their place on the left of the Grenadiers and shared in the battle. But the battle was already dying out. The Grenadiers had carried all before them; the Redan was empty; and, stealing away in a direction to their own right, the Russian columns were in full retreat.

It was at this juncture that Sir Colin Campbell and his Highlanders made their appearance. Pushing past Buller, Sir Colin's battalions, coming up in *échelon*, arrived just in time to see the enemy in full flight, and fired on them as each battalion got within range, which however, to the more forward of the three, was never a close range.

We are compelled to leave unexposed many of the inaccuracies of this most audacious history. A volume would be required to refute Mr. Kinglake's blunders, which, ludicrous when he is describing military operations on a great scale, become positively offensive when he condescends to speak of individuals. He takes 300 pages to narrate imperfectly what Napier or any other historian practically acquainted with war would have made clear and intelligible in a third of the space. His pictures may be vivid, but they are all of them overcoloured; he confuses himself and bewilders his readers by shifting the scenes too often. But what we particularly object to is the spirit which



which pervades every line devoted to the doings of our allies. He denies that they ever became closely engaged with the Russians at all, though (as we have already mentioned) officers who rode over the ground the same evening saw their dead and the dead of the enemy lying on the Telegraph Hill side by side together. Against the spirit which characterises this part, as all others of Mr. Kinglake's book, we cannot too frequently and too earnestly protest. He may be well assured that the reputation of our arms will not be increased by sneers at the personal courage of Prince Napoleon and other French officers, by denouncing the 'backwardness' of the French army, the 'delinquencies' of French divisions, and the 'want of lustiness' of French troops, and insisting upon the contempt entertained for them by the enemy; nor by reciting, in boasting and exulting contrast, the heroic deeds of English officers; the warlike passion of Lacy Yea bursting 'his curt, red shell-jacket;' half a company of guardsmen, consisting of 'two score Islanders,' repulsing a large Russian column (p. 436); the advance of the plumed Highlanders 'with strong, lithesome, resolute step,' which so frightened the Russian General that to describe his consternation Mr. Kinglake is compelled to have recourse to no less than four passages from the 'Warlike Psalmist' (v. ii. p. 440); the distress of the Russian battalion at the very sight 'of the spruce beauty of the slender red line;' and the mighty column 'bulging, heaving, heaving,' and finally giving way 'by the very cadence of the cheering' of the British Grenadiers (p. 446). And then he gravely tells us (p. 511), 'Of my own countrymen I have hardly suffered myself to speak in words of praise. I have only told what they did!'

The Russian army, broken into a disordered crowd, retreated by the Sebastopol road. The British cavalry followed the enemy to a short distance, but was recalled by the express orders of Lord Raglan. It was his desire, it is said, to pursue the Russians on that afternoon. St. Arnaud declined, on the ground, according to Mr. Kinglake, that the French soldiers had left their knapsacks in the valley before ascending the heights. He does not mention the cause assigned by St. Arnaud himself,—that the troops had exhausted their ammunition.\* Lord Raglan might himself have pursued the retreating Russians. On other occasions he had not been particularly mindful of his colleague; but now, it appears, he feared 'to put the alliance and even the ruler who contrived it in grievous peril' (p. 496). He had two divisions, the 3rd and 4th, and not one as Mr. Kinglake states,

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\* 'Staff Officer,' p. 73.

which

which had not been engaged. Moreover he had cavalry, which the French had not. If he had advanced, the French would probably have advanced also. Mr. Kinglake carefully keeps out of sight that St. Arnaud proposed to advance on the following day, and that Lord Raglan declined to do so. He had probably weighty reasons for refusing; we trust that a future French historian of the war will not explain them after the fashion of Mr. Kinglake.

The total loss of the English army was 2002 killed and wounded. That of the French, according to their official returns, 1339. Mr. Kinglake does not even give the number in the text, but merely states that 'Lord Raglan came to the belief that it did not exceed 500.' He takes care to inform us in a note (p. 503) that Lord Raglan further believed 'not only that the French returns were grossly erroneous, but that they were intentionally falsified,' and that a French soldier after the battle estimated the loss at fifty (*une cinquantaine*).\*

In commenting upon Mr. Kinglake's account of the battle of the Alma, we have not quoted Mons. de Bazancourt's 'History of the Crimean Expedition,' which was published under the sanction of the French Government, and was founded upon information furnished from official sources. Our description of the part taken by the French army has been derived from eyewitnesses and from the published accounts of British officers. Our reasons for not quoting the authority of the French historian of the war will be obvious. It is rejected not only by Englishmen, but by every honest Frenchman, because in a boasting spirit he exalts the deeds of the French, and disparages those of the English, that he may increase the fame of his countrymen. In thus writing he becomes altogether untrustworthy, and his work a worthless history. It would have been well for us if our literature had been spared the reproach of having its Bazancourt!

Mr. Kinglake believes that the war with Russia has been without results equal to the sacrifices entailed upon us. Of the Ministers who entered upon them, only one, he says, would do the same again. That one is Lord Palmerston. We may add our conviction that, whatever the opinions of the surviving members of Lord Aberdeen's Government may be, the people of this country would side with Lord Palmerston. It has been the fashion of

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\* The numbers given by St. Arnaud in a letter written after the battle were—3 officers killed and 54 wounded, and 253 rank and file killed and 1033 wounded. He then explains, and perhaps not without reason, his small loss as compared with that of the English. 'J'ai perdu moins de mon monde, parceque j'ai été plus vite. Mes soldats courent; les leurs marchent.'—*Lettres*, p. 494.

late in some quarters to accept the dictum of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright that this war was a wicked and useless war. It is well, therefore, that its results should not be altogether lost sight of.

Before the invasion of the Crimea, the military power of Russia was a constant menace to Europe : that power was exhausted by the defence of Sebastopol. It became necessary for the Czar to send to that distant part of his empire vast bodies of troops, which were not only enormously reduced by war and its ordinary casualties, but by the fatigues and exposure of long and arduous marches. The total losses of Russia will never be known ; they have been estimated at more than half a million. Since the peace Russia has made little or no progress towards replacing these terrible losses. Her strength as a military power has been seriously crippled ; Austria and Prussia have been relieved from her imperious influence ; and although a party in Prussia may still lean to a Russian alliance, yet the danger threatened by the preponderating influence of Russia in central Europe has now passed. Thus has one of the chances of a European war been removed. At no time was this more evident to thoughtful men than during the French campaign in Italy. The mouths of the Danube have been set free ; Turkey has been delivered from the danger of invasion ; and although the ambitious policy of Russia in the East has not been abandoned, and by her ceaseless intrigues amongst the Christian populations she still keeps the empire in constant agitation, impeding both real progress on the part of the Turkish Government and material improvement in the condition of the Christians themselves, yet Turkey has no longer reason to fear any actual armed interference.

Russia herself has learnt the little value of mere military strength. The great engine of despotic power, raised at so vast a cost to the empire by Nicholas, crumbled away before the stern realities of war. A new era has begun, and the Emperor Alexander and the most wise and prudent of his councillors have been taught that the greatness and strength of Russia must be sought in the improvement of her civil administration, the extension of the liberties of her people, and the reform of those abuses which reduced her in some respects even below the level of Turkey. This is an additional pledge for the peace of the world.

England was awakened from the lethargy which a long continuance of peace in Europe had brought upon her. Summoned once more to war, she proved, at first, unequal to the task. Her military administration and establishments were found wanting.

wanting. They broke down at the very outset. The loss and suffering entailed upon our armies, and the consequent prolongation of the war, deeply affected the people of this country, and roused them to a sense of their danger and insecurity. They have led to military reforms, in accordance with the progress of the age. But whilst the system failed in the Crimean war, England saw with just pride that there was no falling off in the ancient valour and in the noble spirit of resignation and devotion of her soldiers.

Mr. Kinglake has directed his bitterest invective against the alliance between England and France founded upon the Russian war. This, according to him, is still a curse hanging over us. By our connexion with Napoleon the honour and dignity of England have been tarnished. Lord Palmerston, he insinuates, was the real cause of our disgrace. But Lord Palmerston in his foreign policy represented the feelings and opinions of the people of this country. In accepting the Emperor Napoleon, he accepted the chief whom the French people had elected. It was not for us to dispute or to reject their choice. It was the wish of this country to be on terms of cordial friendship with the French nation.

That the alliance has greatly contributed to the maintenance of the peace of the world, and has conferred material benefits on both countries, no one can now dispute. We cannot gather from Mr. Kinglake's work what other course in his opinion the British Government should have taken. Does he think that it was incumbent upon England to refuse to acknowledge Louis Napoleon, and to go to war with France to replace Louis Philippe or to restore the Republic? or ought we to have assumed a cold, defiant attitude towards the French nation? The people of England will certainly not agree with him if he does. What Lord Palmerston did, every English statesman would have done in his place. No Government has attached more value than that of Lord Derby to the alliance with France.

Since the foregoing remarks were written, the second and third editions of Mr. Kinglake's work have appeared. A remarkable testimony this to the popularity of the book; we wish that the circumstance had been equally demonstrative of the fair dealing of the man. But the reverse is the case. Convicted over and over again of mis-statements and even perversions of historical truth, Mr. Kinglake allows the text of his narrative to remain as it originally stood, and contents himself with appending a note here and there at the bottom of the page, by which the reader is instructed to correct for himself the mistake to which the author adheres. For example, it is stated in the text, that

that 'Sir Arthur Wellesley being about to depart for the expedition against Copenhagen, attached Lord FitzRoy Somerset to his staff.' Mr. Kinglake being shown that this was not so, declines to correct the mistake in the text; but puts a note at the bottom of p. 15, to say that the text is wrong. Again, in p. 130, Mr. Kinglake had forgotten to speak of the meritorious services in the Bosphorus of Mr. Roberts, the master of a transport. Mr. Roberts was of much use, and certainly had reason to complain of the neglect with which the Government afterwards treated him. But Mr. Kinglake, instead of rectifying the mistake, if it was one, appends a note, in which he claims for that gentleman a great deal more than will be conceded to him by those who are conversant with the case as it occurred. And so it is in many other cases. Colonel Dalrymple, it appears, not Colonel Berkeley, commanded a particular company of a particular regiment at the battle of the Alma. Colonel Berkeley, however, is still the hero of the piece in the history itself, while the note advises that for his name that of Colonel Dalrymple should be read.

The case of Colonel Lawrence is still worse. In the body of the narrative he is never once named. Mentioned in the despatches as commanding the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, and decorated with a Companionship of the Bath because of his gallantry and skill on the occasion, Mr. Kinglake makes no allusion to him whatever; but represents Major Norcott as leading on the skirmishers, and carrying them quite away from the position in which they could have rendered any service. Colonel Norcott, in a letter to the 'Times,' refuted Mr. Kinglake's statement as far as he was affected by it. General Lawrence, in a private note, a copy of which we have seen, explained to Mr. Kinglake himself how far he had gone away from the truth in his description of what was done by the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade on the day of the battle of the Alma. What follows? Does Mr. Kinglake correct his mistakes, as he ought to have done, by rewriting a portion of his narrative? Nothing of the sort! He contents himself with appending to six different pages foot-notes in small print, which suggest that when the name of Norcott appears in the text, Lawrence should be read. Who is to make the substitution if Mr. Kinglake himself does not?

We pass by the accumulation of foot-notes, in which Mr. Kinglake labours to put himself right in regard to his history of the doings of the Scotch Fusilier Guards. His original text is so full of blunders, that all the note-writing in the world could not correct them. He is wrong in having asserted that the Fusiliers, in their tumultuous advance, encountered a heap of our men running  
away

away from the redoubt. The fugitives from the redoubt were clean out of the way when the Fusilier Guards pushed forward. The battalion, not well formed from the first, got into utter confusion in the rush, and never again, till near the close of the action, recovered its order. But we have a still graver charge to bring against him. By his notes to the third edition he has exaggerated, instead of explaining away, the injustice done in the body of the work to the Duke of Cambridge and Sir George Brown, as well as to the whole of the Light and First Divisions;—with a view, as it appears, of still more highly exalting the renown of one who neither needed nor desired false praise, and from whom Mr. Kinglake would lead us to believe that his information is immediately derived.

Appended to pages 425, 426, and 431, will be found the offensive notes of which, without quoting them in full, we shall here give the substance. Mr. Kinglake asserts that at a certain stage in the battle the 88th and 77th Regiments, both in General Buller's brigade, were retreating,—the former in square, the latter in line; that at this critical moment Sir Colin Campbell, with the Highland Brigade, came upon the ground; that the troops driven out of the Great Redoubt were lying helpless under the bank, firing useless shots in the direction of the earthwork, then filled with Russians; that Sir Colin, seeing that the fate of the battle was compromised 'by the discomfiture of Sir George Brown's troops, considered it a thing of great need to show, and to show at the very instant, a steady and well-formed battalion \* ranged full and fair on the slope;' that he carried forward the 42nd, and placed it in advance of the alignment which the Coldstream Guards were taking up; and, that, after speaking roughly to the officer in command of the 88th, he led the Highlanders on and won the battle.

The real facts are these:—His Royal Highness, as we have stated above, put his division in motion to support the Light Division exactly at the right moment, whether acting simply on his own judgment—or advised through Colonel Steel by General Evans—or directed in Lord Raglan's name by General Airey—

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\* One great blunder pervades all Mr. Kinglake's military narratives. He has got it into his head that ours is the only army in the world which fights in line. This is quite a mistake. The Continental armies *attack* in column, while we attack in line. But they always defend their positions as we do, in line, if the attacking party give them time to deploy. The Russians attacked the Light Division, and drove them out of the Redan in column; but the columns which Sir Colin Campbell attacked after he mounted the hill, were not formed for defence, but for retreat. Indeed it may be doubted whether the whole Russian army was not preparing to retreat, in consequence of seeing the French on the hills to the west, before our people advanced at all, in which case the firing of the village was probably intended to mask the movement.

or counselled and lectured, as Mr. Kinglake describes, by Sir Colin Campbell. The Guards on the right passed straight through the vineyard; the Highlanders on the left by a more circuitous route went higher up the stream. Sir Colin found the 88th or 77th neither retreating nor either of them in square. General Buller, threatened a few moments previously by the Russian horse, had begun to form the 88th into square; but the horsemen held back and the formation was stayed. The 88th accordingly returned to a line formation, though somewhat irregularly. Mr. Kinglake seems to think that Buller hung needlessly back, and asserts positively that the 19th regiment stole away from him, and connected itself with Codrington's brigade. This is not so. The 19th, covered by Lawrence and his Rifles, moved forward at the express command of General Buller. Whether General Buller did wrong in allowing Campbell to pass him, or Campbell did wrong in leaving Buller behind, we shall not presume to decide. Campbell's advance, however opportune, was neither so critical nor so decisive in its results as Mr. Kinglake desires us to believe. Lord Clyde himself, if consulted, will, we make no doubt, say that he met with no serious resistance, though he judiciously prepared for it; showing himself on this, as on all other occasions, a most excellent officer. The entire loss of the brigade fell short of twenty killed and wounded.

In the cases to which we have called attention, Mr. Kinglake has at least placed his various conflicting statements together, so that they come under the reader at the same time. But there is another case, and one requiring delicate treatment, in which Mr. Kinglake has not supplied the antidote along with the bane.

In his text, and in a note, Mr. Kinglake indignantly and with something almost of personal feeling directs our attention to the unworthy conduct of Count Mensdorf and Colonel Rochow. We find that 'unhappily for the peace of Europe, they had suffered themselves to become the mere creatures of the Czar.' Their 'shameful presence' at the thanksgiving for the slaughter of Sinope had produced a baneful effect at St. Petersburg, and dishonoured Austria and Prussia, of which Powers they were the representatives (pp. 188, 478, 480).

Notwithstanding all this, we find upon a close examination of Mr. Kinglake's third edition, that Count Mensdorf and Colonel Von Rochow were not really guilty of the shameful conduct imputed to them in the text.

At p. xxvii, next after the Table of Contents, and first among the 'Notes of reference to be appended,' we find the following note:—

'In

'In vol. I. append to the word "Czar" in p. 188, to the word "Sinope" in p. 478, and to the word "her" in p. 480, a reference to the note in the Appendix, entitled Note respecting the "Te Deum" for Sinope.'

The note is as follows :—

'As is stated in the text, the "Te Deum" for Sinope was attended by the representatives of Austria and Prussia, but it was a mistake to connect Count Mensdorf and General de Roehow personally with this act of prostration, for it happens that at the time in question these diplomates were absent on leave, and it was in the persons of their Secretaries of Legation, then left in charge at St. Petersburg, that Austria and Prussia took part in the public thanksgiving. Count Mensdorf, I believe, was an honest soldier, too high spirited to be capable of shrinking from what he understood to be his duty; but he had had little of the training needed for a diplomatist, and it was not in deference to his own tastes or wishes that he accepted the mission to St. Petersburg. At the period of the "Te Deum," he was not only absent from St. Petersburg, but was almost in a dying state.'

Then, we ask, what good purpose could it answer for Mr. Kinglake, after he has come to a knowledge of the truth, to parade his misstatements and undeserved invectives in the text, while he leaves the contradiction to be made out, by careful readers, from a note in small print, lurking in the Appendix?

The importance of the subject may justify the space we have devoted to Mr. Kinglake's work. Our readers will be able to judge of its value and weight as history. They will, no doubt, condemn the spirit in which it is written as one altogether at variance with the English sense of justice and fair play. They will, we think, agree with us that it has been unfortunate that private and official materials of so much importance have been placed in Mr. Kinglake's hands, to be employed for the purposes of a violent partisan, and not for the object of writing a lasting and truthful history. We trust that the correspondence and papers of Lord Raglan will some day be placed before the world in an authentic shape. This would be only just to those whom Mr. Kinglake has so mercilessly assailed. When we see the manner in which he has garbled and misquoted such published documents and information as are within our reach, we may be forgiven for suspecting the use that he may have made of those which we are precluded from examining. We have hitherto prided ourselves upon the impartiality of our historians—especially in a manly and generous treatment of other nations, even when our enemies. Mr. Kinglake has deprived us of that privilege. We can no longer protest against the

the



the historic perversions of a Thiers, or the vain-glorious boastings of a Bazancourt. The answer will be, 'You English have your Kinglake.' It is said that the circulation of this work has been prohibited in France. If the Emperor had any desire to embitter the feelings of France against this country—to render the maintenance of the alliance difficult—and to gather to himself the sympathies of the French people—he could not adopt a more effective course than that of giving the largest possible circulation to these volumes. Whether, therefore, as inflicting unnecessary pain upon the living or as wantonly damaging the reputation of the dead, whether as injurious to the fame of English literature or as hurtful to our national character, we feel ourselves compelled to coincide in the verdict that has been almost unanimously pronounced upon Mr. Kinglake's work—that it is, in every sense of the word, 'a mischievous book.'

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## INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

## A.

ALFORD's Greek Testament, 95—boldness in reconstruction of the text, 100.  
 Alma, position of the armies at the battle of the, 552—description of the battle, 556—losses of the Allies, 569.  
 Alpaca, its introduction into New South Wales, 19—importation of its wool, *ib.*—cross with the llama, 20—its habits, *ib.*  
 America, low morality and humiliating requirements of political life in, 288.  
 American war, 322—classification of errors in the English view of American affairs, 323—resources of the South as to clothing, food, and arms, 325—original great want of arms, 326—peculiar strength and weakness of the South, 328—its general rush to arms, 329—composition of the Northern armies, 330—contrasted with Southern troops, *ib.*—want of organisation among the Federalists, 331—Southern military schools, 332—seizure of the Southern forts, 333—Northern' design of sacrificing its garrison in Fort Sumter to excite enthusiasm, 334—the 'Anaconda' scheme a fatal blunder, 335—its first development in the invasion of Virginia, 337—superiority of Southern tactics, 338—fatal defect in the constitution of the Northern forces, *ib.*—battle of Bull Run described, 339—wise organisation of the Southern army, 341—enthusiasm of the South, *ib.*—depredations of the 'Nashville' and 'Sumter' on Northern commerce, 342—barbarous attempt to destroy the port of Charleston, 342—seizure of the Southern Commissioners on board the 'Trent,' 343—singular circumstances of the surrender of Fort Donnellson, 344—its disastrous consequences to the South, 345—fall of New Orleans, 346—the 'Merrimac' and 'Monitor,' 347—tide of Federal successes turned, 348—defeats of McClellan and Pope, 349—Harper's Ferry seized by the South, 350—battle of Antietam Creek, *ib.*—defeat of General Burnside, 351—the

Federalists submerge vast regions by cutting the banks of the Mississippi, 352—probable results of the war, 353.  
 Anacoluton not an uncommon figure in Parliament, 43.  
 Andes, table-lands of the, 9—cities on great elevations of, *ib.*—geological formation, *ib.*—passes, 11—aborigines, 13.  
 Ashworth's magnificent salmon fisheries, 402.  
 Assam tea plantations, 293.  
 'Aurora Floyd' reviewed, 492.  
 Autocrat, Russian title of, 72.

## B.

Balsa, Indian boat called, 9.  
 Bayle's 'Critical Dictionary,' 365.  
 Biographical dictionaries, necessity of including living persons in, 382.  
 Birkbeck (Dr.), originator of Mechanics' Institutions, 35.  
 'Blackwood's Magazine,' origin of, 225—early contributors, 226.  
 Blue and buff, origin of the Whig colours, 250.  
 Brown's 'Natural History of the Salmon,' 400.  
 ——— (Sir G.), 555—Mr. Kinglake's attack on, 563.  
 Burke's (Edmund) Memorandum on his public services, 242.

## C.

Cadenas, the appanage of crowned heads, 194.  
 Cambridge (Duke of) at the battle of the Alma, 573.  
 Campbell (Sir Colin) at the battle of the Alma, 567.  
 Cassell's publications useful, 45.  
 Chalmers's, the earliest biographical dictionary, 371.  
 Charles Edward (Prince), poetical remains of, 241.  
 Chatham (Lord), enigma by, 253.  
 Chili, Republic of, 34.  
 Chincha Islands, guano of, 17.  
 Chinese encyclopædias, 387.  
 Chirimoya, an exquisite Peruvian fruit, 14.

- Christianology, suggestion for a history of, 181.
- Chunchos of Peru, the, 13—never eat their female prisoners, *ib.*
- Church, the constant victim of Liberal Ministers, 260—anti-Church pledges readily taken by candidates, 262.  
— education, Mr. Lowe's attacks on, 266.  
— and State, their union bound up with the existence of the aristocracy and throne, 264.
- Cinchona, or quinine, discovery of, 10—diminution of mortality effected by, *ib.*
- Coca, the solace of the Peruvian Indian, 30.
- Codrington (General) at the battle of the Alma, 561.
- Colenso and Davidson on the Old Testament, 423—Bishop Colenso should have waited to determine his promised substitute for the religion of the Bible, 425—confuses two classes of evidence, *ib.*—Elohistic and Jehovistic theory, 427—illogical statement in answer to Dr. McCaul, 428—in-sufficient induction of the Partitionists, 430—i.e. unity of Daniel acknowledged, notwithstanding the promiscuous use of the two names, 432—Dr. Davidson's absurd examples to prove diversity of authorship in Genesis, *ib.*—examination of phrases said to be peculiar to each writer, 433—refutation of pretended inconsistencies, 435—assertion that the name Jehovah did not exist till the time of Saul, 437—Colenso's blundering from haste, 438—insufficient reasons for chronology of the Psalms, 440—discussion of Psalm lxxviii., 441—internal unity of the Pentateuch undisturbed by the partition system, 443—variation of the names Jehovah and Elohim accounted for, 444—the Elohistic theory a speculative dream, 446—reflections on Bishop Colenso's position in the Church, *ib.*
- Coleridge's poetry, Jeffrey's opinion of, 221.
- Conservative teaching of recent events, 260.
- Convict management in Ireland, 161—four principles of the system, 163—test of self-control, 165—voluntary emigration encouraged, 166—establishment at Lusk, 167—approach to freedom by exertion and good behaviour, 168—the mark system, 169—supervision of discharged convicts, 170—only 7 per cent. of tickets of leave recalled, 172—English and Irish systems contrasted, 173. See 'Ticket of Leave.'
- Corneille's 'Dictionary,' singular circumstances originating, 358.
- Coronelli's 'Biblioteca Universale,' 368—author of 111 printed volumes in various languages, 369.
- Cotton-plant, great value of the Peruvian, 18.  
— question, the, 299.  
— Radicals, 257.
- Country-house building, 203.
- Coup d'état of 2nd December, 523.
- Crimea, invasion of the, 514—Russian breach of international law, 522—account of the origin of the war, 530—Vienna Note, 532—injurious delay in landing the British troops, 546. See 'Kinglake.'
- Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru, 9.
- Cyclopædias, history of, 354—'Chambers's Cyclopædia' the origin of the 'Encyclopédie,' 355—Harris's 'Lexicon Technicum,' 356—Corneille's and Furetière's rival dictionaries, 358—Goldsmith's project of a cyclopædia, 360—the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 361—Historical dictionary of Moréri, 363—Bayle's 'Critical Dictionary,' *ib.*—supposed encyclopædia by Acquaviva, *ib.*—Alsted's 'Encyclopædia' the first work of magnitude bearing the name, 366—the title originated by Acquaviva or by Ringelburgius, 367—Hofman's 'Lexicon Universale,' 368—Coronelli's 'Biblioteca Universale,' *ib.*—Zedler's 'Universal Lexicon,' in 64 folio volumes, 369—Chalmers's the earliest biographical dictionary, 371—the great work of Ersch and Gruber still advancing, *ib.*—Krünitz's 'Encyclopædie,' in 242 volumes, 372—'Conversations-Lexicon,' *ib.*—'Gelehrten-Lexicon,' or Biographical Dictionary of Authors, *ib.*—Brockhaus's 'Lexicon,' 373—other foreign encyclopædias, 374—translations of the 'Conversations-Lexikon,' 375—'Robert Chambers's Cyclopædia,' *ib.*—suggestion for a European cyclopædia, 376—recent English encyclopædias, *ib.*—divisional cyclopædias, 377—Migne's 'Encyclopédie Théologique,' *ib.*—'Encyclopædia Metropolitana,' 379—Partington's 'British Encyclopædia,' 380—Knight's 'English Encyclopædia,' *ib.* (See 'Knight.') 'Annuaire Encyclopédique,' 386—Chinese encyclopædias, 387.

## D.

- Dalrymple (Colonel) at the battle of the Alma, 572.  
 Davidson's 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' 412—his amenities, 426.  
*See* 'Colenso.'  
 Demetrius, the Russian Pretender, success and suicide of, 456.

## E.

- Earthquakes, Peruvian, 23.  
 Ellicott's 'Commentary on the Epistles,' 95—character of his notes, 99.  
 Emerald, cause of its deep green, 23.  
 Emperor (French), Mr. Kinglake on his personal courage, 525.  
 Encyclopédie of Diderot and D'Alembert, 355—its distinguishing feature the encyclopædia of sceptics, 360.  
 Ersch and Grüber's Encyclopædia, 371.

## F.

- Federal government a failure in South, as well as North America, 8.  
 'Female Life in Prison,' 160.  
 Furetière's (Abbé) Dictionary, 358.

## G.

- Gin-drinking caused by loathsome exhalations, 45.  
 Gladstone's (Mr.) support of an anti-Church administration, 265—crusade against indirect taxation, 283.  
 Goldsmith's project of a cyclopædia in conjunction with Johnson, Burke, and Reynolds, 360.  
 Gordon's (Mrs.) 'Life of Professor Wilson,' 208—unjust attack on Mr. Lockhart, 227.  
 Gothic styles, variety of, 191.  
 Greek styles, Aristotle's distinction of two, 108.  
 — Testament, importance of its study, 95—neither English version nor original text infallible, 96—dubiousness one thing, indistinctness another, 97—Bentley's opinion on the various readings, 99—what constitutes the great difficulty of the Testament, 99—question of uncial and cursive texts, 101—extravagancies of German commentators, 103—importance of grammatical details, 106—the *εἰρηνική λέξις* distinguished from the *συνοστραμμένη*, 108—style of the Greek Testament, 109—written for persons already instructed in Divine truth, 110—the Word formed

to stimulate thought and provoke inquiry, 112—force of the Greek article, 115—*θεός* with and without the article, *ὁ*.—*υἱός*, *ὁ*.—*πνεῦμα*, *κύριος*, and *χριστός*, 116—graphic effect of the article, *ὁ*.—'Granville Sharpe's rule,' 119—precision in the employment of pronominal inflections, 120—signification of the cases the great problem of Greek, 122—wonderful machinery of the Greek tenses, 125—Oratio obliqua, 126—peculiar uses of the aorist and other tenses, *ὁ*.—moods, 129—precision in the use of the prepositions, 129—illustrations, 131—conjunctions and particles, 133—their significations, 134—Greek inflections lost in English, 136.  
 Guano war, the, 17.

## H.

- Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*, 356—his death in poverty, 357.  
 Hogg's (the Ettrick Shepherd) identification of parr and salmon, 393.  
 Hole (Mr.) on institutions for mechanics, 56.

## I.

- India, considered as a field for English capital, 289—revolutions in the indigo trade, 290—native mania for adulterating every production, 291—tea plantations, 294—coffee planting, 296—Bengal silk trade, 298—the cotton question, 299—Indian cotton good enough for 75 per cent. of the manufactures, 300—scarcity of timber for railway sleepers, 302—list of railways now open, 303—tramways, 304—the Ganges Canal, 307—irrigation, 308—mineral wealth, 309—gold, *ὁ*.—iron and coal, 311—want of fuel for iron works, and remedies suggested, 312—the Damooda and other coal-fields, 314—capital more profitable than in Australia or New Zealand, 316—a British colony in Hindostan impossible, 317—increased value of European life in India, *ὁ*.—effect of the power of purchasing land in fee simple, *ὁ*.—prospects of English settlers as landowners, 318—Chittagong, Sumbulpore, and the Sunderbunds, as districts for European settlers, 320.  
 Indians of North and South America, contrast between, 30.  
 Indigo trade, revolutions in, 290.  
 Inspiration, insidious nature of attacks on, 105.

**Institutes for working men**, 35—history of *Mechanics' Institutes*, *ib.*—no longer institutions for mechanics, 37—skilled workmen will not fuse with rough labourers, 38—adults should not be mixed with youths in classes, 39—toleration must be accorded to smoking, 39—mental calibre of workmen overrated, 40—abstractions unintelligible to the uneducated, 41—remarks on the style and delivery of lectures, 42—causes of failure, 43—value of anecdotes, *ib.*—proper subjects for lectures, 44—'Working Men's Educational Union,' 44—suggestions for the library, 47—reading-room, 49—evening classes, *ib.*—examinations of the Society of Arts, 50—village libraries and reading-rooms, 51—Bible-class, 53—in whom the management should be vested, 54—causes of the decay of such institutions, 59.

**Ionian Islands**, sacrifice of the, 277—England's empire narrowed by their cession, 279—remarks on cession of territory without parliamentary sanction, 280.

**Italian unity**, impediments to, 269—resistance of the Pope, 271—of the Emperor, 272.

**Italy** a talismanic word with the Government, 268.

## J.

**Jardine** (Professor), description of, 211.  
**Jeffrey's** (F.) letters to Professor Wilson, 219.

## K.

**Kensington** (South) Museum and Loan Exhibition, 176—accidental communication of vitality to the Museum, 178—Mr. Robinson's share in its creation, 179—collections of mediæval curiosities, 182—an epitome of art history for 1500 years, 185—summary of the collections, 186—symbols of French and English manners of the 18th century, 188—iron chair of Ruker, 189—sudden change from the art of the middle ages to that of the Renaissance, 190—variety of styles termed Gothic, 191—imperfect knowledge of the resources of mediæval art, 192—description of remarkable classes and articles in the collection, 193—questions as to the practical value of the Loan Exhibition, 196—advantages of such exhibitions, 198—effect on the study and appreciation

of artistic styles, 201—argument for disconnecting the School and the Collection, 204—merits of the Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition, 205—general gratification afforded by it, 206.

**Kinglake's 'Crimea'**, 514—the style laboured and artificial, 515—Louis Napoleon represented as the cause of the war, 516—fancy portrait of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 521—history of the *coup d'état*, 523—rancorous animosity against the Emperor, 523—consequent reaction in his favour, 524—attack on the personal courage of the Emperor, 525—account of the massacre on the Boulevards, 526—exaggeration of the number killed, 528—account of the origin of the war, 530—misstatements respecting St. Arnaud, 535—Lord Raglan's interview with the French Emperor, 537—duplicity ascribed to Lord Raglan, 538—dinner at Pembroke Lodge, 541—Duke of Newcastle's despatch, 542—alleged removal of a buoy by the French, 545—account of an interview between Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, 548—description of the battle of the Alma, 556—movements of the French army, 559—attack on General Codrington, 560—on Sir G. Brown, 563—on Lord Raglan, 564—invective against the alliance of England and France, 571—perversions of historical truth corrected only in notes, *ib.*—text full of blunders, 572—offensive notes, 573—military blunder pervading his narratives, *ib.*—the history at variance with English justice and fair play, 575—a mischievous book, 576.

**Knight's 'English Cyclopædia'**, 354—its biographical dictionary the most copious in the language, 381—contains many hundred biographies of the living, *ib.*—its great literary merits, 383—contains much information not in any other cyclopædia, 385—deficiencies, *ib.*

## L.

'**Lady Audley's Secret**,' reviewed, 491.  
**Lawrence** (Col.) at the battle of the Alma, 572.

**Ledger's** (Mr.) alpaca breeding, 19.  
'**Leisure Hour**,' The, recommended, 48.  
**Lima** destroyed by an earthquake, 25—200 survivors out of 4000 inhabitants, *ib.*

**Lime**, borate of, 17.

- Llama, a beast of burden, 19—importation of its wool, *ib.*  
 Lockhart (J. G.), Mrs. Gordon on his character, 227—vindicated against her attack, 227.  
 Long's (Professor) article on Roman Law, in the 'English Encyclopædia,' 385.  
 Lusk, convict establishment at, 167.

M.

- Malabar coast, an Indian California, 309.  
 Markham's Travels in Peru, 10—courage and tact in transporting cinchona trees to India, *ib.*  
 Marlborough characterised by Wellington, 249.  
 Martin's (Sarah) efforts for the reformation of criminals, 141.  
 Migne's 'Encyclopédie Théologique,' 377.  
 Miller's (General) services in Peru, 33.  
 Mississippi, Federalist submersion of a region as large as Scotland by cutting its banks, 352.  
 Mita, or forced labour in Peru, 6.  
 Moore's (Sir John) despondent letter on his retreat to Corunna, 247.  
 Moréri's 'Historical Dictionary,' 363.

N.

- Napoleon characterised by Wellington, 248.  
 National existence, a vigorous central power the condition of, 8.  
 Neilgherry Hills, cultivation of cinchona on, 10.  
 'No Name' reviewed, 495.  
 Novgorod, its incorporation with the Grand Duchy of Moscow, 67.

P.

- Palmerston's (Lord) management of the Reform question, 255—the two chief points in his policy, 257—conduct towards his Radical supporters, 259—the object of his administration to find an acceptable substitute for Reform, 260—his administration more hostile to the Church than any since Parliamentary government began, 265—patronising diametrically opposite systems of finance, 275—adroitness in playing a double part, 284—summary of charges against his ministry, 285.  
 Panslavism, objects of, 88—monarchical and federative, *ib.*  
 Partington's 'British Encyclopædia,' 380.

- Peel (Sir R.) on the character of Sir Robert Walpole, 245.

- Peru, original extent of the appellation, 1—constitution of the native empire, 2—early communication with Japan or China, *ib.*—its civilisation more remote than the Incas, 3—their theism corrupted into sun-worship, *ib.*—administration of Spain, 5—unprecedented consumption of life by forced labour, 6—population reduced from ten to two millions, *ib.*—natives forced to purchase useless articles, *ib.*—magnificence of the viceroys, 7—streets paved with silver ingots, *ib.*—forms of government since the revolt from Spain, *ib.*—thirty revolutions in seven years, 8—geography of the modern republic, *ib.*—cinchona or quinine, 9—improvident destruction of the trees, 10—aborigines, 11—richness of vegetation, 13— inexhaustible supply of nitrate of soda, 15—particulars of the exports of it, *ib.*—borate of lime, 17—the guano war, *ib.*—calculation of the quantity of guano on the Chincha Islands, 18—cotton cultivation, *ib.*—silver mines, 21—hoards of gold secreted by the Indians, 23—emeralds, *ib.*—earthquakes daily, *ib.*—volcanoes, 25—river communication with the Atlantic, 26—steamer to Peru, 3000 miles from the mouth of the Amazon, 27—government, *ib.*—population, 28—imports of British products, 29—symptoms of detachment from the papacy, *ib.*—numerical preponderance of the natives, 30—their character, *ib.* and 33—intellectual progress, 31—anticipation of renovated nationality, 32.

- Philology, Scriptural, 113.

- Poland, its liberation compared to that of Italy, 449—retrospect of the partition, 450—review of Russian and Polish history in relation to each other, 453—union of Lithuania with Poland, 454—partition of Russian territory by Poland and Sweden, 458—reign of Sobieski, 460—proposal of partition did not come from Russia, 462—proposed to Catherine by Frederick the Great, *ib.*—Russian resumption of Polish conquests not 'the great crime of the age,' 465—parallel case of the Moors and Christians in Spain, *ib.*—Polish religious intolerance and persecution, 467—Catherine justified by common religion and nationality, and ancient possession, 469—Polish anarchy, 471—Constitution

of 1791, a deathbed repentance, 472  
 —the Poland that lost independence consisted of 150,000 souls, 474—the Polish nobility were the Polish nation, *ib.*—Magna Charta of the Polish slave-owner, 475—degraded situation of the peasants, 476—fine of 15 francs for killing one, 477—outrages on plebeian maidens, *ib.*—inhuman domination of the nobles, 478—the partition a false ground of Polish complaint, *ib.*—a just retribution for Polish aggression, 479—misgovernment of Poland since 1815, *ib.*—the deepest brutality alone could make the independent government regretted, 480—duty of interposing between Alexander II. and his oppressed subjects, *ib.*—an independent Poland a chimera, *ib.*  
 Prime Minister, a very sensitive weathercock the ideal model of a, 287.  
 Pure literature, London Society for diffusing, 48.  
 Purus (the), a water communication between Peru and the Atlantic, 26.

## Q.

Quinine, trees producing, 9.

## R.

Radicals classified into Commercial (or Cotton), Religious, and Sentimental, 257.  
 Raglan's (Lord) conduct in the invasion of the Crimea, 542—in the battle of the Alma. *See* 'Kinglake.'  
 'Recommended to Mercy' reviewed, 493.  
 Religious (or Dissenting) Radicals, 258.  
 Ruker's iron chair, 189.  
 Rurik dynasty in Russia, extinction of, 69.  
 Russell's (Earl) opinion of the indispensable union of Church and State, 264.  
 Russia, obscurity of its history, 61—early forms of constitutional government, *ib.*—vechés or assemblies of the people, 62—their composition and powers, 63—the Slavonic veché of a representative character, 64—final suppression of liberty at Pskof, 67—second period of Russian history, *ib.*—States-General summoned in 1550, 68—extinction of the Ruriks, 69—decree of 1597 binding the peasants to the soil, *ib.*—election of Michael Romanof by the States-General in 1613, 70—charter imposed on the new Tsar, *ib.*—title of Autocrat, 72—States-General

of 1642, 73—reign and legislation of Alexis, 75—retrospect of the States-General of the 16th and 17th centuries, 76—reign of Peter I., 77—charter accepted by Anne, 78—accession of Catherine II., 79—Parliament or 'Commission' of 1767, 80—source of the glory of her reign, 81—new era on the death of Nicholas, 82—state of Russia under him, 83—reforms by Alexander II., 84—emancipation of 23 millions of persons, *ib.*—conditions of the emancipation, 85—earlier projects of emancipation, *ib.*—imperfection of the reforms now made, 86—nobility divided into two sections, 88—objects of the Pan Slavist party, *ib.*—difficult position of the nobility, 89—the mercantile community, *ib.*—nature of Russian political agitation, 90—books translated into Russian, 92—what form of representative government adapted to the country, *ib.*—constitution suggested by Dolgorukof, 93—intellectual party, 94.

Russia and Poland. *See* 'Poland.' Russia throws off the yoke of the Mongols, 455.

Russian policy towards the Greek Christians of Turkey, 518.

## S.

Salmon : a prime salmon as valuable as a Southdown sheep, 389—the salmon traced from the egg to the table, 391—the Duke of Athole and Mr. Young's identification of the grilse and salmon, *ib.*—rapid growth of the fish, 392—the Ettrick Shepherd's identification of the parr and salmon, 393—Stormontfield experiments, 394—as possible to cultivate the waters as the land, *ib.*—Mr. Ramsbottom's account of the impregnation of the ova, 395—summary of what has been achieved at Stormontfield ponds, 397—habits of the salmon, 399—decision in returning to its native stream, *ib.*—the parr cannot live in salt water, 400—question of a biennial migration to the sea, *ib.*—piscicultural system in Ireland, 401—Mr. Ashworth's fisheries, 402—state of the salmon fisheries in the three kingdoms, *ib.*—overfishing, 404—poaching a trade, *ib.*—export of 'carrión' to Paris, 405—salmon once in the Thames, 406—injury by fixed capturing engines, 407—cause of the diminishing weight of the fish, *ib.*—necessity of protecting the grilse, 408

- description of the Tay, 408—value of its fisheries, 411—Severn produces the finest English salmon, 412—suggestion for stocking it, 413—the Spey well managed, 414—Mr. Bain on the relation between upper and lower proprietors, *ib.*—results of special legislation for the Tweed, 415—General Salmon Fisheries Act, 416—enumeration of improvements by the Tweed Acts, 416—table of the produce of the Tweed, 417—fearful grilse slaughter, 419—results of angling at Sprouston Dub, 421—suggestions for legislation, *ib.*
- Sensation novels, a counterpart of the spasmodic poem, 483—causes of this phenomenon in our literature, *ib.*—circulating-library, periodicals, and railway stalls, 484—sensation novels for amusement or didactic, 487—proximity and personality necessary for the sensationist, 489—the subclass Bigamy-novels, 490—'Lady Audley's Secret,' 491—'Aurora Floyd,' 492—noble-minded and interesting sinners, 494—'No Name' and other novels reviewed, 497—self-immolation of the author of 'Nobly False,' *ib.*—a woman's noblest sacrifice made that of her virtue, 498—repulsive virtue and attractive vice, 499—the criminal variety of the newspaper novel, 501—holding a religious service in a gin-palace, 502—the 'Old Roman Well,' a group of blackguards of both sexes, 503—female fiends a stock article, *ib.*—mastery of thieves' Latin, 504—theological sensation novels, *ib.*—sensation titles, *ib.*—aristocratic branch of sensation literature, *ib.*—hero and villain of the piece synonymous, 505—penny and halfpenny sensation for the million, *ib.*—specimens, 506—picture of refined love, 507—plebeian scene, 508—'Heart of Mid-Lothian' metamorphosed, 510—Scott neglected, 512—suggestion for a retrospective library, 513.
- Sentimental Radicals, 267.
- 'Sharpe's (Granville) rule' on the Greek article, illustration of, 119.
- Silver, masses 15 yards long and a yard thick, 21.
- Singing-rooms and casinos, pernicious effects of, 52.
- Soda (nitrate of), vast supply in Peru, 15—preferred to guano, *ib.*
- Sodium universally present in the atmosphere, 16.
- Solar spectrum, researches on, 16.
- St. Arnaud (Marshal), Mr. Kinglake's misstatements concerning, 535.
- "Stanhope Miscellanies," 241.
- Stansfield (Mr.), the exponent of the Sentimental Radicals, 258.
- Statesmen (English), classical tastes of, 252.
- Stratford de Redcliffe (Lord), Mr. Kinglake's fancy portrait of, 521.
- Stuart, Lays of the Last, 241.
- Sunderbunds, islands in the Delta of the Ganges, 319.
- T.
- Talfourd (Justice) on the amalgamation of classes, 59.
- Tay (the), description of, 408.
- Ticket-of-leave system, 139—the army of criminals at large, *ib.*—160 offences formerly punishable by death, 140—prisoners should be sentenced to so much labour instead of time, 142—views of Archbishop Whately and Captain Maconochie, *ib.*—objections to a purely penal colony, 143—substitution of penal servitude for transportation, 144—punishments deterring and incapacitating, 146—incapacitation physical and moral, *ib.*—defectiveness of the Act of 1853, 148—tickets of leave not proofs of reformation, 149—conditions of revoking them a dead letter, 150—absence of supervision of liberated convicts, 151—crimes becoming more atrocious, 153—increase of the percentage of recommitments, 155—diminution of the number of young offenders by reformatories, 156—failure of the separate system in Pentonville prison, 157—huge size of prisons a radical fault, 159—sending convicts to Bermuda and Gibraltar pernicious, *ib.*—management of women, 160—convict management in Ireland, 161—suggestions, 174. *See* 'Convict Management.'
- Titicaca, the great lake, 9.
- Trevoux, publication of books without official sanction at, 359.
- V.
- Vechés, Russian assemblies of the people, 62. *See* 'Russia.'
- W.
- Walpole's (Sir R.) character drawn by Sir Robert Peel, 245.
- Webster and Wilkinson's Greek Testament, 97.



Wellington's characters of Napoleon, 248—and Marlborough, 249.  
 Whately's (Archbishop) opinion on secondary punishment, 142.  
 Whig colours, origin of the, 250.  
 Wilson (Professor), faults in Mrs. Gordon's Life of, 208—the Professor's parentage, 209—passion for angling, 210—love for the original of 'Margaret Lindsay,' 212—life at Oxford, 213—slovenly habits, *ib.*—pedestrian tours, 214—allegiance to the Lake school of poetry, 215—anecdote of bull-hunting, 216—marriage, 217—poetical publications, *ib.*—'City of the Plague,' 218—loss of his patrimony, *ib.*—unemployed as an advocate, *ib.*—letters from Jeffrey, 220—characteristic letter to the Ettrick Shepherd, 223—opinions on contemporary poets, 225—connexion with 'Blackwood's Magazine,' *ib.*—intimacy with J. G. Lockhart, 227—the Chaldee MS., 229—great extent of his contributions to 'Blackwood,' 231—habits of composition, 232—chosen professor of moral philosophy, 232—anecdote of his canvassing the magistrates, 232,

*note*—description of him as a lecturer, 232—'Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life,' 234—'Margaret Lindsay,' *ib.*—the most popular man in Scotland, 235—ascendency over his class, *ib.*—brilliancy in conversation, *ib.*—death of Mrs. Wilson, 237—break-up of his health, *ib.*—resignation of the professorship, 238—pension, *ib.*—death, 239—admirable personal character, *ib.*—merits as a writer, 240.

Wit and Humour, beneficial effects of, 46.

Wordsworth's poetry, Jeffrey's opinion of, 219.

————— Greek Testament, 95—wide range of the notes, 97.

#### Y.

Young on the natural history and habits of the salmon, 399.

#### Z.

'Zedler's Universal-Lexikon,' in 68 folio volumes, the most colossal of German compilations, 369.

### END OF THE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

#### ERRATUM.

Page 336, line 5 from bottom of page, for "Kentucky" read "Virginia."







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